

Clairwood Survey: community views of the value of Clairwood in the context of current development plans for Durban port expansion

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South Durban Community
Environmental Alliance



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About the Clairwood Value Study

As part of the 'valuing development' theme of the Leverhulme Centre for the Study of Value (LCSV), University of Manchester research programme, research was conducted from July 2013 to February 2015 to analyse how the residents of Clairwood in South Durban value the proposed multi-billion rand Dig-Out Port infrastructural development project proposed by Transnet, eThekweni Municipality and the Government of the Republic of South Africa. This project is framed as serving the economy and society by producing jobs and growth, but the official development and social impact technologies commissioned and used from 2009 to 2013 emphasized modernist assumptions of employment and growth extrapolated from macroeconomic models (UrbanEcon, 2011; Graham Muller Associates, 2009), with relatively little in-depth or micro-level qualitative research. The 'Status Quo Economic Impact Analysis' does not compare the status quo to analysis of the future for the actual project affected persons, while the 'opportunity cost' of "the displacement of other non-port related activities" is deemed beyond the scope of the report (Graham Muller Associates, 2009b). The Clairwood survey summarised in this report rectifies this research gap to some extent, and also calls into the question the tendency to pathologise the community as broken and 'not worth saving' in the face of predicted national gains to gross domestic product and the minerals-energy complex. Thanks to the hard work of specially trained enumerators at the South Durban Community Environmental Alliance (SDCEA), coordinated by Desmond D' Sa and Priya Pillay (at <http://www.sdcea.co.za/>), we completed 1,000 household surveys on community values, both qualitative and quantitative, all sampled between 4th November and 26th November 2013. This report is a summary of the qualitative data, and will be joined shortly by a second report on the quantitative findings.

This milestone completes a process of community engagement with the Principal Investigator, Professor Sarah Bracking, facilitating debate at the Durban Chamber of Commerce on 24th July 2013, the Poor Flat Dwellers Education Workshop on 24th August 2013, and at Toti Conservancy on 16th September 2013, the latter in debate with Mr Des D'Sa of SDCEA, and Mr. Marc Descoins, Transnet Programme Director of the Durban Dig-out Port project.

Preliminary research findings were also presented at a Clairwood Community Engagement meeting on 20 November 2014 in order to verify the findings of the report. The community were happy for us to go ahead and publish this technical report.

Executive Summary

Clairwood (CW) has been a home to a vibrant community for over 150 years. Affectionately known as “Little India,” it is situated in the south of Durban within walking distance to the beach and the Durban Port. In the official impact assessment commissioned by eThekweni Municipality, Clairwood is referred to instead, along with its nearby neighborhoods of Wentworth, Ispingo, Bluff, Umlazi and the Umbilo/ Congella area, as the ‘Back of Port’ or ‘BOP’ logistics area (Graham Muller Associates, 2009). The Durban Port is one of the largest in the Southern hemisphere. The national government has plans to expand the port to include a new dug-out section on the land plot of the former Durban International Airport, as well as plans to rezone and reconfigure a large area behind the port for a logistics service area, necessitating the demolition of housing and removal of persons (groundwork, 2014: 34-44). Although Transnet and eThekweni Municipality have no formal plans for ‘forced removal’, a gradual process of rezoning is taking place following land sales. The Municipality seems to be adopting a position that Clairwood will become increasingly unbearable, such that ‘the market’ will convince residents to move without official sanction: which according to groundwork amounts to a “cheap alternative” even to forced removal (groundwork, 2014: 37). As eThekweni summarises in a press release, no-one will be “forcibly removed...However, the current environment in Clairwood lacks normal residential amenity which will continue to decline” (eThekweni Municipality, 2012; cited in groundwork, 2014: 37).

Residents of Clairwood are thus concerned that, as a result of the port expansion, they will be moved away from this area which they have called home for many generations, and with little currently confirmed in re-housing or compensation (eThekweni Housing Committee, 2012)¹. There appears to be a slow decay of the various social infrastructures and poor regulation of illegal industrial activities in the residential areas which are contributing to effectively area degradation, up to the extent that it can soon become unlivable. Residents thereby feel that they would have no choice but to leave. Indeed, the social impact assessment itself stresses social problems, and the employment creation key to support for the port expansion, is replaced by social pathology and the need for ‘social programmes’ to address alcohol and drugs for the project affected persons themselves (Graham Muller Associates, 2009, chap. ‘Social Impact’; Bracking, 2013c). Such conditions have seen rising tensions as some community members have been protesting against this possible scenario. The municipality has insisted that they will not force anyone to move. Yet evidence gathered by their team suggests reasons for citizens to believe the area has become unfit for living. For example, the initial baseline reports described Clairwood as crime ridden and underutilised as a residential area, quoting that “over 70% of the area is not used as residential” (Gedye, 2012). The initial social and economic impact assessment commissioned by eThekweni Municipality described the area as ridden with crime, drugs and social and economic pathologies (Graham Muller Associates, 2009, chap. On ‘social impact’). Within the report, the people of the area were represented as criminals and incapacitated persons in an area so bad that nobody could value it or miss it. As such, the poverty of the area is being used against the people, who were largely blamed for their own condition. This history of neglect by the municipality, and the history of promises that

¹ “A report is to be submitted to the Housing Committee that suggests settlements for relocation to Cornubia in terms of a prioritization process. The 12 settlements requested for relocation will be included in that report. As the report currently stands there is a need of approximately 30 000 units identified for relocation to Cornubia. If the 764 structures (excluding the possibility of the “backyard shacks” in formal sites that are in the process of been quantified for Clairwood) the demand on Cornubia is further increased. The Cornubia development allows for the construction of approximately 12000 fully subsidized housing structures. Therefore there is an oversubscription of almost 18 000 units” (eThekweni, 2012).

Clairwood was safe and securely zoned as residential were neatly excluded from review.

As importantly, it was difficult to determine from the quality of the economic case for the port expansion as to whether a developmental case had been made to justify the extent of spending when predicting in the context the loss of jobs and removal of persons (Bracking, 2013a, 2013b; Desai, 2015). Significantly, the 27,000 predicted 'new' jobs along the entire transport corridor up to Johannesburg includes employment in the construction of the port itself which would not be sustained after it is complete, and is a figure based only on textbook standard predictive multipliers rather than specific counting at the firm level (UrbanEcon, 2009). The actual port design is predicted to be machine-based and automated, ultimately employing very few if indeed any more persons than currently. Given the developmental ethics surrounding project affected persons; the lack of data contained in the official impact assessment of what would be lost to the area as a consequence of removals; and the lack of any compensation policy by eThekweni to date, Sarah Bracking decided to fill this gap in the impact assessment process with a local valuation survey. This puts the people back into the valuation process, while providing a baseline assessment of the economic values of their assets, businesses, properties and local formal and informal economic activities.

This alternative study was undertaken in the area of Clairwood from 4th November to 26th November 2013, and this took the form of a questionnaire with qualitative and quantitative questions. One thousand (1000) respondents were interviewed. The aim of the study was to determine what the Clairwood community valued about their area. This report summarises the main findings of the qualitative section of the questionnaire, and this sub-section was made up of six questions. This qualitative section will be complemented with the quantitative report (April 2015, forthcoming). Through qualitative data analysis, key words, phrases and categories were derived from the data. This information was coded and then analysed using content analysis techniques. Eleven value categories, eight problem categories and a short report on the willingness to move based on the perception of the Clairwood respondents emerged from the data. Below we mention some of the salient points made by the community.

Value 1: Relationships

Relationships are identified by respondents as an important part of life in Clairwood. The majority of the respondents quotes friends, family and neighbours from the area as most important to them. These personal connections contribute highly to many who have decided to continue to live in Clairwood. They indicate that their community is close knit, supportive, and loving. Some of the noticeable statements were as follows:

"... everybody knows everybody," (20130563, Female, Houghton Rd).

"Here [Clairwood], we would receive help from neighbours even if we do not have food; we would never sleep hungry," (20130694, Female, Sir Kurma Rd).

"I like how we interact as a community and support each other," (Female 20130726, Cherry Rd).

"I like living here 'cause of my friends. I can just chill with them and have a few beers," (Female 20130709, Flower Rd).

"Brother-like relationship with neighbours. Member of senior citizen club. Clairwood is like a small family to me," (Male 20130389, Houghton Rd).

"Here, the community helps one another [and] I won't get that anywhere. I was sick not too long ago, when I sat on my porch my entire friends and the community itself all came to see me and comfort me as well," (Female 20130153, Houghton Road).

Overall, the community is perceived as positive around the social relationships they had formed, many of which began many years ago. The community members are an important source of support, and this support includes emotional support as well as material support such as with food items during difficult times. Many respondents have relatives who live close by in the area, and respondents are worried that they will lose this easily accessible connection if they move. The community is very tolerant in allowing for different races to co-exist peacefully in the community. In social science terms this value would be termed 'high social capital' (Putnam, 2001). In the context of rising xenophobia in other parts of South Africa, it can be viewed as a key community asset.

Value 2: Business & Employment

Clairwood is found to be appreciated by the community because the area provides jobs and business opportunities for all income levels. Some respondents state that it is easy to earn a living in the area. The responses show accessibility to jobs, especially in the form of part time and female employment. Many made the comment that because the area is busy with pedestrian and car traffic, it is easy to start and sustain a business. The nearby factories, such as manufacturing and clothing factories, furniture factories, food markets, spice shops (mixing of food and curry spices), 'Defy appliances' outlets, plastic and foam manufacturing companies, Hulletts Sugar Mill and various industrial companies, also provide formal employment within walking distance. Many of the residents state having small businesses apart from their primary jobs; the popular businesses are selling fruit, vegetables, sweets and cigarettes on the street. Both informal and formal businesses seem to be doing well in Clairwood according to residents. However, respondents fear losing their jobs and businesses, which could therefore mean losing their livelihoods if they are to move away from Clairwood. During relocation, there is also no guarantee that they will be able to find similar employment or be able to start a successful business in another area. The busy industrial area is not found in other parts of Durban as is established in Clairwood. Some respondents stated the following:

"Good job and business opportunities. We are working, running our businesses here. We cannot allow the government to move people from Clairwood," (Female 20130445, Pine Rd).

"Easy to make money in Clairwood," (Male 20130383, Ganesh Rd informal settlement).

"Employment is always available because it's an industrial place," (Male 20130522 Sirdar Rd).

"I raised my kids with this business," (Female 20130558, South Coast Rd).

"Jobs are everywhere. It is easy to open the business," (Male 20130631, Sirdar Rd).

"I came here with nothing and I now have a [...] cellphone, stove and furniture. I want to stay because this area has made me a better person [...] I feel safe and I know that if I work hard this place will give me everything as it has done," (Male 20130057, Sastri Rd Informal settlement)

"Good location, very busy [...]the fact that commercial and residential zone are together so there's a lot of passing trade which makes business good[...] Don't want to move, very happy here[...] will be very worried about new business, rent is very high in other areas and trade may not be so good," (Female 20130114, Flower Road)

Value 3: Memories

The respondents that quote memories as an important value in Clairwood are usually those residents who were born in the area or those who grew up in the area. Most of these local respondents have fond memories of Clairwood, and many comment on how the area was different back then. Some of these time framed responses are as follows:

"Clairwood was like a little India and was nice and safe in the 60's and 70's," (Male 20130191, Ganesh Road).

"Clairwood used to be [an] alright area to live in, but after the drugs came in, it changed everything," (Female, 20130008, Cherry Road).

"If Clairwood has a little attention financially, it could go back to being a good area," (Male 20130052, Sirdar Road).

"Clairwood used to be a nice residential area," (Female 20130867, Sirdar Road).

"Family memories. Was born in Clairwood and has lived here for 54 years," (Male 20130388, Horseshoe informal settlement).

Value 4: Belonging

Also associated to relationships and memories was a sense of belonging and social cohesion which was perceived amongst the community. Respondents also feel that they belong in Clairwood, and this is important to their contemporary urban life. A majority of respondents states that they have lived in the area for their whole lives or for a long time. They also mention that they have a sense of belonging because the community integrates them, and this integration is all that they know within their life. Here are some of the interesting responses from Clairwood residents:

"Clairwood is who we are [...] Clairwood is more than just an area, it is our life," (Male, Sastri Rd)

"Everyone here is in the same struggle here and we share our struggles and that is who we are. I like how there's a mix of all races here: Coloured, Indian, White, Zulu, Xhosa, Zimbabwean, everything,"

(Female, in informal settlement).

"Here we would receive help from neighbours even if we do not have food we would never sleep hungry" (Female, Sir Kurma Rd).

"I was born here, my mother and father died here. I will die here too," (Female 20130017, Horsham).

Value 5: Cost of living

Living in Clairwood is convenient because respondents mention that everything is located within walking distance. Whether one is going to their nearby school, hospital, shops, market or work, the high cost of transport is not always required to reach a destination. This savings of transport costs make the cost of living affordable. The Clairwood residents appreciate this because many are the working poor, and they do not earn high wages. They are also able to send their children to school without worrying about transport fees. When residents do need to go into the inner Durban city, the transport is also cheap. They state that in the Clairwood location, it is easy to survive because the neighbours at times help each other out with expenses; this includes anything from food to part-time employment. Many of the salient points of costs deal with cost of transport as found here:

"All shops are close to me; I don't pay for transport," (Male 20130629, Sirdar Rd).

"I do not use transport to get to school and work and to access facilities and services," (Male 20130534, Sirdar Rd).

"The life in CW is not costing. Transport here is not costly. Everything is nearby us. Everything in CW is cheaper than in other areas," (Male 20130652, Houghton Rd Informal settlement).

Value 6: Infrastructure

The residents state that they appreciate the infrastructure available in the area, such as the sports ground that is used by many for jogging and playing sport such as soccer. Cemeteries, religious facilities, shops, health facilities, schools, malls, post office, police station, ATM's and banks are also close by. These amenities make life easy according to respondents. The Housewives Market, the local produce shop, is noted as one of the most treasured infrastructure as well as schools.

"It is close to the shops and there is a place for jogging. Sometimes my friends and I go and jog on the field," (Female 20130696, Transit Camp).

It is important to note the absence of valuation of local infrastructure in official impact assessments. Many of these, such as children's playgrounds, are currently in disrepair due to neglect. However, it can be reasonably anticipated that restoration costs would be less than green-field building for these social and 'soft' infrastructural assets.

Value 7: Location/Proximity

Clairwood is well situated for work and home, as everything needed for everyday life is conveniently close. It is also close to the sea providing fishing opportunities for those that rely on fishing to earn a living. The beach is nearby, providing for the much loved recreational facilities. It is close to the industries making it easy for residents to reach their work place while at the same time, providing a large clientele base for other small and local businesses to thrive.

“Close to town. Fishing at beach possible,” (Female 20130039, Flower Rd)

“Clairwood is close to firms and it is good for business as a lot of people pass CW on way to town,” (Male 20130494, Houghton Rd).

Value 8: Land & Assets

The most valued asset was their houses because they have been in many families for generations, and they have spent a lot of money building and renovating the homes. Such investment may not be returned if they move. The flat land and fertile soil of Clairwood is an asset because it is good for gardening and farming.

“I don’t want to be moved because I won’t get paid for all the renovations we’ve done on our house,” (Female 20130632, Sirdar Rd).

“Flat land with rich soil, large plots good for planting vegetables,” (Female 20130209, Sir Kurma Reddi Rd).

Value 9: History/Culture

The history of Clairwood is cherished because it is one of the first Indian settlements in the country, and this past account made way for the appropriate name of the area as ‘Little India.’ It was one of the first homes for people ‘freed’ from indentured labour under the British Empire, when Natal was a colony, although it quickly became multi-racial and a relatively safe haven from British and apartheid oppression (Desai & Vahed, 2012). It was an interracial residential area even before the Group Areas Act was abolished. There are many historic monuments that are of value to the community, such as St Louis Catholic Church which was built in 1884, Shree Siva Soobramonior Temple, which is listed as a heritage site due to its place of worship from as early as the 1800s. Meanwhile, in the early 1900s the Flower Road Mosque was built, the Tamil Institute Hall, and also Clairwood Boy’s Primary School, in Done Road, which is also on the heritage list. The house at 67 Sir Kumara Reddi Rd, is also a listed building due to its wood and iron architecture – just some of the buildings representing the rich and diverse heritage of the area.

Value 10: Religion

Religion is also an integral part of the community; there are many temples, churches and mosques that cater for all religious groups. Tolerance for religious practice is found in Clairwood.

Value 11: Living conditions²

Residents generally describe Clairwood as a peaceful community network, however they feel that public maintenance and attention from the municipality was highly neglected. Respondents feel that the area has lost some of its historic glory, and has now become somewhat overcrowded and dirty. Nevertheless, many feel that because their families are close by, they would prefer to stay within these conditions rather than move.

Due to deteriorating living conditions, neglect from the municipality and the disrepair of infrastructure and public goods, some respondents do wish to move. In fact, whatever the community and social capital asserts identified, some residents, particularly those in informal and squatter settlements, live in such dire need that they would happily move anywhere if it were to include clean water, a roof, cooking facilities or shelter from the cold and rain (for further data on relocation aspirations please refer to the Quantitative Report forthcoming, 2015). Living condition problems mentioned by households overall include:

- **Crime**- a few residents mention home break-ins and there is a perceived increase in hijackings. While some mention police presence, others request for more visible policing.
- **Traffic & Trucks**- respondents feel that these commercial vehicles pose a danger to their lives and the lives of their children. There are constant truck accidents on Clairwood roads where trucks strike down pedestrians. Illegal trucking operations are also starting to encroach into the residential space which degrades the residential area, and this development is not welcomed by residents.
- **Pollution**- the trucks cause a lot of noise and air pollution, making the residents ill with breathing and hearing problems.
- **Sanitation & Health**- there is lack of proper public ablution facilities, there is no running water in some areas, and there is limited electricity in most of the homes within the informal settlement.
- **Drugs**- there is an increase in drug abuse and drug trade which causes an increase in other illegal businesses such as crime and prostitution.

Some of the respondents blame the municipality for some of the degraded infrastructure in the area; they feel the area is being neglected in an effort to encourage them to move voluntarily.

2 Comprising of mostly general comments of why people like to stay in Clairwood

Qualitative Research Findings

1. Methodology

The Clairwood survey uses a mixed methods design, and this report utilises data from the qualitative section of the research. The current dataset comprises of a sample of 1000 respondent observations sampled at residential addresses in Clairwood, located in both formal and informal sections of Clairwood. The research objective is to gain a sampled aggregate measure of the varying perspectives and experiences of residents in this community. Some of the qualitative questions are intended to reveal some selected research themes with more depth and detail. The qualitative responses are analysed in this research findings report, and the findings will complement the quantitative responses. The particular themes are organised around the value placed on businesses, homes and livelihoods by Clairwood community members.

The quantitative section consisted of twenty-seven (27) questions, and the qualitative section had a total of six (6) questions. The findings mentioned in this report are based on the analysis of the qualitative section, and the six questions are outlined below. As shown, the qualitative questions are open-ended, allowing respondents to express their point of view, and allowing themes to emerge organically and iteratively with enumerators encouraged to provide prompt questions where appropriate. More specifically, the questions inquire about what values are assigned to various aspects of Clairwood life by the survey respondents, whether, it be material or non-material. Below are the six qualitative questions:

1. How much money would the government have to pay you in compensation for you and your family to happily leave Clairwood and move your house and business to another neighbourhood? (Question 28)
2. If the government gave you enough money to move your house and your business to another neighbourhood tomorrow, are there reasons you would still want to stay in Clairwood? And if so, what are they? (Question 29)
3. Are there other things beside money that you/your household would lose and/or miss if you and your neighbours have to move because of the port expansion? (Question 30)
4. What do you like about living/working in Clairwood (as compared to other places you could live)? (Question 31)
5. What do you think is most valuable about Clairwood? (Question 32)
6. Is there anything you would like to add? (Question 33)

The data for the survey was collected through purposive sampling of one thousand respondents. The inclusion criteria were that respondents had to be over 18 and resident in the Clairwood area. The researchers then sampled sub-groups depending on housing type and address in order to capture a purposive sample with research power. Initial invitations for recruitment to the research were issued at a public meeting held by SDCEA, and through SDCEA networks. Once potential subjects had indicated a wish to participate then home visits were arranged. Although exact figures on persons resident in Clairwood are a challenge, 1000 questionnaires were calculated at power. Researchers worked in groups of two, and the teams choose a diversity of households/participants when conducting the survey, including in relation to gender, age and race balance. Data was collected in most of the Clairwood area, including the following streets and areas: *Flower Rd, Houghton Rd, Pine Rd, Sir Kurma Reddi Rd, Sastri (informal settlement), Sirdar Rd, Persadh Rd, Richburgh Rd, Ganesh Rd, South Coast Rd, Sardar Rd, Cherry Rd, Horshaem Rd, Sisthree Rd, Rich Barrel, Saddara Rd, Jacobs Rd Horseshoe Rd, Kylecha, Citrus Rd, Market Street, Sekuruma Rd, Teakwood Rd, Norton Rd, Archary Rd, Amber Rd, Barkus Rd, Bayal Rd, Hornbine Rd, Sirdaa Rd, Siddhra Rd, Seda Rd, Taslil Flats, Sigar Money Rd, Lockhart Rd and Dayal Rd*. While over 30 locations are identified, the distribution of the completed surveys may not be representative of the entire location. Some suburbs especially those located along Flower Road, Pine Road, Sirdar Road, and Houghton Road, South Coast Road, etc., have relatively more representation in the total number of surveyed households than others.

To avoid repetition (as in approaching the same informant twice), each morning the group of researchers would gather and discuss which geographical areas had already been covered and where to conduct the next surveys. If – for whatever reason – repeat visits occurred anyway, informants would usually outline that they already participated and refuse to answer the survey again.

The contracted remunerators received training from Professor Bracking on ethical considerations of the research, and on recruitment criteria, inclusions and exceptions criteria, and were given information sheets and consent forms to explain and collect from participants. Each of the 1,000 completed surveys is accompanied by a signed consent form in name or alias. Given the constraints of determining exact population, combined with the power calculation and the test of saturation in qualitative research – the repetition of data around identified themes and narratives – the survey can be viewed as representative of the population of Clairwood given the relatively large sample size, covering, as it does, nearly the whole street geography of Clairwood. The survey qualitative responses can be viewed as meaningful themes and concerns of the interest of the residents of the area.

1.2 Description of Data Analysis

The data analysis of the survey's qualitative section helps to provide some in-depth insight on the findings to the study. More specifically, the data analysis delivers a description of the findings around value and willingness to move, followed by its analysis. To facilitate the identification of a particular survey respondent, as well as to allow for the analysis of possible relationships between different variables, the unique identifier (UID), the date of survey, the interview number, gender and the interview location are noted in the survey work.

The researchers underwent the process of content analysis, by reading through the data, and then systematically identifying key words and phrases. These were then coded, and categories created to correspond to the substantive meanings that residents assigned to aspects of their lives and concerns. The various emerging patterns on the meaning of 'developmental value' were based on the study participants' responses. From the six qualitative questions, the researchers look across the questions to the overall goal and objective of the study, and attempt to classify and code the responses around what is of value to the person in the community of Clairwood. In an excel datasheet, the researchers coded the content (under the columns) and entered an interpretation of each respondent's 'value,' while other team members reviewed these coded entries for verification and additions to the interpretations. This cross-checking allows for the reduction of errors.

The researchers utilise inductive analysis, which is when "patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1990: 390). While reviewing the data a large frequency of similar type responses produce key concepts and patterns. For inductive analysis, Patton (1990) describes two approaches for emerging theme development: indigenous concepts and sensitising concepts. Indigenous concepts take note of emerging categories developed by the respondent community themselves, while sensitising concepts use the knowledge and experiences of the researchers to create new and substantively commensurate themes. In this analysis, the researchers used the sensitising approach after intensive review of discussions from the South Durban basin (where Clairwood is located) and its supporting documentation around Clairwood history and recent developments. In November 2014, the analysis was provided with indigenous validation and feedback when results were shared with the South Durban and Clairwood researchers and community. At this point, the emerging patterns were categorised and organised for presentation, and community review and feedback were then used to amend and interpret the core findings and outliers.

It became clear at this meeting that some of the responses were contested and depended on other variables, such as the housing status or livelihood type of respondent households. For example, attitudes to trucking

depended greatly on whether respondents were settled and formal residential (who tended to view trucking as a menace to community safety and the currently held, but threatened, residential zoning status); as opposed to some informal housing dwellers who viewed trucking, and its ancillary employment as a potential economic opportunity). Also, attitudes to potential resettlement were also correlated to current residential status: those in settled formal housing are strongly opposed to resettlement as a potential consequence of port expansion; whereas some respondents who currently suffer from extremely challenging living conditions, such as in makeshift box accommodation under railways bridges and in 'illegal' settlements', are understandably more willing to move, *if* that move were to secure them access to their basic rights, such as clean water or weatherproof housing. Nonetheless, there is a clear commitment to current opportunities in Clairwood expressed by those in all housing groups, and willingness to move for basic services is clearly embedded in demands for government guarantees, which are so far not believed or forthcoming.

In the course of the qualitative data analysis process, eleven "value categories" emerged within the coding process, including:

Value 1: Relationships,
Value 2: Business & Employment,
Value 3: Memories,
Value 4: Belonging,
Value 5: Cost of living,
Value 6: Infrastructure,
Value 7: Location/Proximity,
Value 8: Land & Assets,
Value 9: History/Culture,
Value 10: Religion, and
Value 11: Living conditions³.

Some of the responses can be classified in more than one value category. Others mentioned values, captured in comments by the enumerators which less clearly fitted in the 11 repeated categories. These, as well as thoughtful reflections of a general nature, were listed in another category - *additional comment*.

To allow for a deeper analysis and the identification of possible correlations, as well as to place further depth on the main emerging categories outlined above, the researchers analyse complementary responses under the categories: 1) '*willing to move*' or '*not willing to move*;' and 2) '*high non-material value*.' These additional interpretations were again based on the qualitative questions and categorised as either 'yes' or 'no'. Finally two other categories: '*reason for willingness to move*' and '*conditions for moving*' are also reviewed and interpreted within the data.

Even though it was not the focus of the study, there emerged some mention of issues or problems by the participants not necessarily well related either to their views on the worth or otherwise of their community, environment or public services, or to the potential port expansion which forms the conditioning context of the survey. These problems are also reviewed and categorised under emerging themes. In other words, the questionnaire does not directly request respondents for answers around problems but the researchers note these emerging patterns. The categories that have emerged include:

Problem 1: Crime,
Problem 2: Pollution,
Problem 3: Sanitation,
Problem 4: Living conditions,

3 Comprising mostly general comments why people like to stay in Clairwood

Problem 5: Health,
Problem 6: Traffic,
Problem 7: Drugs,
Problem 8: Business, and
Problem 9: Other problems

Problems that were mentioned by the participants, but do not fit into one of these categories are listed in the category '*other Problems*'.

Research Findings

The findings, as explained above, are based on the qualitative data analysis of the Clairwood surveys, which were conducted between the 6th and 25th November 2013. This analysis includes surveys marked with *unique identification numbers* (UID) labelled from number 20130001 - 20131000. There is a mix of female (43%) and male (57%) adult respondents. Both informal and formal settlements and various business operators or workers are covered, which thereby provide heterogeneity of opinions and perspectives in the community. At a later stage, we plan to complement this in-depth qualitative research with descriptive quantitative statistics based on the sample results.

2.1 The meaning of the qualitative questions

As mentioned, the questionnaire incorporates a qualitative section which comprises of a total of six questions. This section goes through each question. These qualitative questions and related explanation are listed below:

- i) How much money would the government have to pay you in compensation for you and your family to happily leave Clairwood and move your house and business to another neighbourhood? (Question 28)

This question establishes, at least from the perspective of the affected representative households, the self-calculated cost of relocation. It also implies the calculation of the possible problems and losses which the household may include with such relocation. Such monetary information can, for example, reflect what is the expected level of compensation in order to pursue economic and social prospects within a new location scenario given adjustments in a new area. In the findings, some of the figures appear highly inflated when considering the present circumstances of an interviewee. For instance, one person living in an informal dwelling requested compensation of R1 million. Such figures can convey a perception of high premium on relocation, given the priority and political importance given to the port expansion in the President of South Africa's strategic infrastructure project list. Some figures may have also been based on real market value calculations of impacts on the household should they be asked to relocate to another locale.

- ii) If the government gave you enough money to move your house and your business to another neighbourhood tomorrow, are there reasons you would still want to stay in Clairwood? And if so, what are they? (Question 29)

This question reflects on the respondent's answer to the previous question, and further probes as to what factors would still motivate the individual to remain in Clairwood. In other words, the question explores the trade-off used by participants between monetary and non-monetary calculations of value, which would motivate a person to remain in the area. It is assumed that persons make complex calculations in which money is only one variable, and this was indeed evident in responses. The question considers other socio-economic and welfare elements which would keep households from leaving Clairwood. Such aspects likely affect the household's short- to long-term prospects. As expected, many responses to this question refer to issues that affected household's social relationships, such as the likely absence of close social relations or close community connections currently present in Clairwood. The loss of a business client base was the response by many of the business owners who ran informal businesses. Their business had initially been established in order to respond to needs of the local community members. Developing such contacts and clients in a new location would require another round of social investment and time, some of which cannot be measured with money.

- iii) Are there other things beside money that you/your household would lose and/or miss if you and your neighbours have to move because of the port expansion? (Question 30)

In valuing all possible resources within an individual or household's livelihood, this question focuses specifically on the role of non-monetary considerations in decision making. Other values such as social aspects and related cultural factors were expected to be complementary responses which would help to foster some resources needed within a household livelihood. Other considerations such as length of stay in Clairwood affected the answer given by respondents around the various losses with a possible move. For example, relatively older people and those who have stayed in Clairwood for longer periods have more social connections and face a stronger loss in terms of established social network than those who have been there for only a few years. There are reasons for being in Clairwood which are unaccounted for when one only measures in monetary terms, and this question explores these other immaterial elements. For example, one can provide a perceived role or value of the immediate society or community to a respondent's welfare. From the findings, important references were made to community safety through cooperation between households within area sections, especially with those communities where ties seemed strong. For example, respondents with high levels of perceived social cohesion tend to be characterised with less references to crime.

- iv) What do you like about living/working in Clairwood (as compared to other places you could live)? (Question 31)

This question asks about the perceived value of other intrinsic comparative aspects (both material and non-material) which have not yet been considered in the previous questions. Answers to this question include information with respect to proximity, cost of living and in some few cases, a reference to the loss of value. When individuals had to delve into the recent developments in Clairwood, some pointed out aspects which are used to undermine the value of some stated social and material assets.

- v) What do you think is most valuable about Clairwood? (Question 32)

The question aims to target the most treasured characteristics about the community of Clairwood. Responses to this question differed widely, and in most cases, the differences were in respect to the duration the individual has stayed in Clairwood, and on the location where they were based. In many cases, respondents stayed in informal settlements along Sirdar Road, Pine Road and Houghton Road, and they tended to see employment both part-time and full-time as being the most valuable aspect above all other things. The length of time which is spent by individuals or households in Clairwood also gives an idea of movement into Clairwood. More specifically, employment possibilities and low cost of living are evident pull factors into the area. The differences in the years an individual has been in Clairwood can be indicative of the progression and growth of their own livelihoods within Clairwood.

- vi) Is there anything you would like to add? (Question 33)

Question 6 is an open ended question where the respondents had the option to add any further information which had not been addressed in the qualitative questions or the whole survey. Findings show that much of the information recorded in the problems categories came from this question in the survey. An interesting point was that many of the problems stated by respondents were focused on a few key and life threatening issues specific to the community.

2.2 Value category findings

In interpreting some of the values derived from the main qualitative questions of the Clairwood survey, the findings indicate various non-material values (i.e. relationships, memories and belonging) are strongly voiced by respondents. Following these values, business and employment also comes out strongly as aspects valued by respondents in regard to the Clairwood community. The values of Clairwood respondents have been

diverse, ranging from economic values to intangible values.

Table 1: Summary of Clairwood responses on values

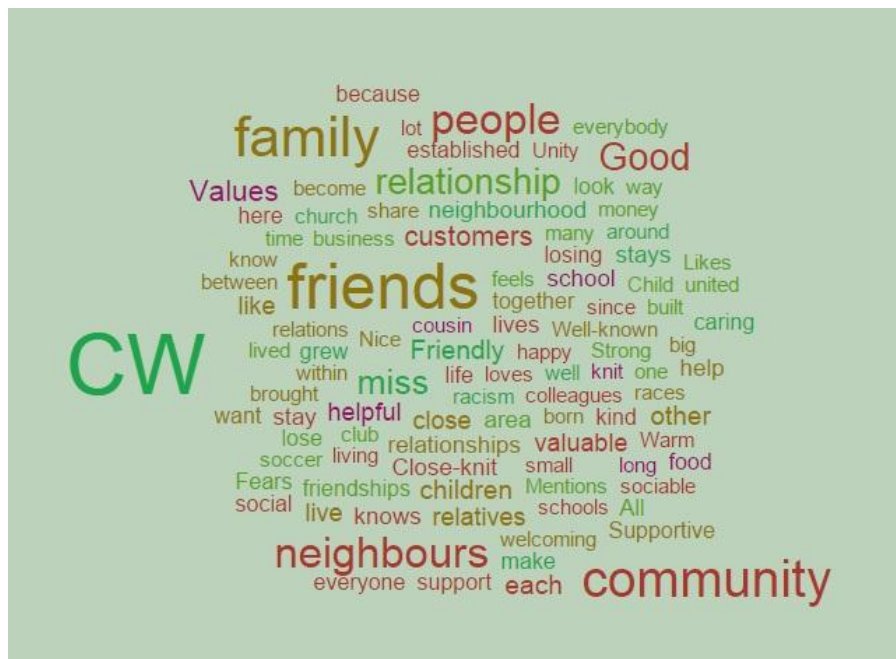
Value 1: Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondents mentioned valuing the friendships they have in Clairwood (CW*). - Respondents value living with their families or close to their relatives in CW*. - The neighbours are viewed as caring, and they have become like family. - The community is friendly, close-knit and supportive. - The community is diverse with people from different races and backgrounds living peacefully together.
Value 2: Employment and Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majority of the respondents appreciate the good job and business opportunities in CW*. - Most people are employed in CW,* and their work is within walking distance to where they live. - People run informal businesses such as: selling fruits on the side walk. CW* is a busy area with many passing customers, which is good for business. - There are lots of factories in CW* that provide part-time jobs for the unemployed.
Values 3: Memories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondents who were born and raised in CW* have fond childhood memories of the area and do not want to lose them. Some inherited property from previous family generations that had lived in CW*. - Respondents have family memories they have shared within CW*.
Value 4: Belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These respondents are those that expressed loving the area or said they loved living in CW*. - Most respondents who were born and raised in CW* said they also wanted to die in the area. - Respondents described their lives as rooted in the familiar surroundings of CW*. - Respondents, despite low income and inequalities, find there is social cohesion due to their struggles together in the community.
Value 5: Cost of Living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondents described everything as being low cost in CW*. - Majority of the respondents mention not having any transport costs or living along the taxi and bus routes. Everything (facilities) are within walking distance. - Respondents expressed that since commercial and residential zones are proximate, it is good for business and accessibility. - Groceries are cheap in CW,* and it is easy to make money informally selling food.
Value 6: Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Schools, shopping malls, markets, hospitals, clinics and cemeteries are all close-by (within walking distance).
Value 7: Location/Proximity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondents employed in CW* mentioned that their work places were within walking distance. - CW* is centrally located and conveniently close to the city centre/ town. - Respondents who relied on fishing for their livelihoods appreciated how the area is situated close to the beach.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The factories are also close-by for the respondents that are still job hunting or are employed part-time.
Value 8: Land & Assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respondents value the homes that they have built, renovated and owned in the area. - There are respondents who have invested a lot of money in the businesses they run within CW*. - Respondents fear losing assets that have been in their families for generations. - Respondents appreciate the flat land within the area which has rich soil and large plots that are good for planting vegetables.
Value 9: History/Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majority of the respondents that value the history of the area said it must be preserved and not destroyed. - The culture of the area is described as diverse. - The heritage is viewed as rich. - Respondents mentioned generational history, heritage and sentimental values that they have acquired from living in the area as valuable.
Value 10: Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These are the respondents that made reference to religious places of worship such as: mosques, churches and temples. - These worship places were often described to be close-by to where they lived. - Respondents value the graveyards and express that they cannot be left behind as that would mean leaving the ancestors behind. - Respondents here mentioned valuing the relationships they have with their church members/community.
Value 11: Living conditions/General descriptions of CW*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most respondents will miss the unity and diversity the area offers. - The area is described as peaceful, quiet, friendly, and safe. - Respondents who only value living in CW* for economic reasons often mention living under poor conditions and they have issues with the area because of problems such as crime. - Some respondents value the environment and nature of CW*.

In reviewing the emerging values stated by Clairwood respondents, the findings suggest that *Value 1: Relationships*, *Value 2: Business & Employment*, *Value 6: Infrastructure*, and *Value 7: Location/Proximity* are perceived as the most important aspects to Clairwood life. In looking more in-depth at these specific values, as well as some of the less mentioned value patterns, the following observations are established:

2.2.1 Value 1: Relationships

The research findings show a noticeable mention of relationships as an important value by the respondents, especially by those who had indicated an unwillingness to move out of Clairwood. These cited relationships consist of human relationships, such as those with friends, family, and neighbours, and in some cases, customers.



Respondents also state that their children school in the area, and the kids grow up with their friends and neighbours. They value living in the Clairwood area because there is a strong familiarity, and close relationship to their relatives, neighbours, and friends. The researchers also found respondents make mention of a relationship to their community, which may mean more of a broader relationship with people within the small area. In some cases, the community are noted for being united, friendly and very closely related to 'family'.

"Community stands together. Live together like a happy family," (Male 20130067, Rich Barrel informal settlement).

"Everybody knows everybody because it's a small community. Here, the community helps one another; I won't get that anywhere. I was sick not too long ago, when I sat on my porch all my friend and the community itself all came to see me and comfort me as well," (Female 20130153, Houghton Road).

In many cases, respondents picture the people of Clairwood as being of value themselves. A majority of participants state that they have close relationships with friends and family in Clairwood and/or the surrounding areas. They are afraid that should they have to move to another area, this disruption would mean the dispersion of this extended family, and the possible destruction of these relationships. A large portion of the respondents who expressed such sentiments were those that were born in Clairwood and have been living in the town all their lives. Furthermore, many participants described the community of Clairwood as being close-knit, warm and welcoming; with respondents commenting on how helpful and caring people were in the area. Several mentioned community empathy and assistance through food or through neighbours caring for their children.

"If you stay here, you can survive because the people help you out and with food when you have none," (Female 2013059, in informal settlement)

"You never sleep hungry," (Female 20130135, Sirdar Road)

Respondents strongly emphasise that they like the high levels of racial tolerance within the community, and they further describe how this fact contributes to the peaceful co-existence of community members. Despite the potential for conflict arising from the racially-mixed composition of the community and the location of low-

income households adjacent to wealthier ones, one respondent mentions some form of unity or perhaps empathy of the same “struggle”:

“Everyone here is in the same struggle here and we share our struggles and that is who we are. I like how there’s a mix of all races here: Coloured, Indian, White, Zulu, Xhosa, Zimbabwean, everything,” (Female 2013059, in informal settlement).

The neighbourhood appears to be an important point of reference and a safe haven for most of the residents – people seem to know their neighbours very well, and they talk of supporting each other in their daily struggles. Some respondents even state that their community and/or their neighbours are like a family for them and it is those individuals who make a favourable contribution to their relationships in Clairwood. This value attribute is displayed well in the following quote by a man living in one of the informal settlements of Clairwood:

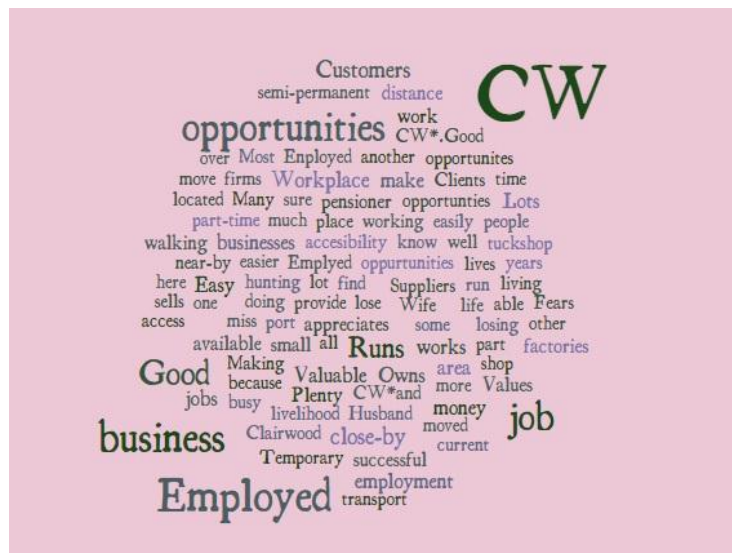
“The people are like my brothers and nobody here cares if you are black, Indian or white. We all live together peacefully [...] the people make this place valuable. Without the people there is no value because it is them who have helped me in my life [...] you learn a lot from the different kind of people who stay here [...] Even though we have so little, we make a difference in each other’s life,” (Male 20130057, Sastri Rd Informal settlement).

Based on the findings, several respondents refer to having supportive neighbors who help them when they are struggling financially or assist them by looking after their young children while they are at work. The female respondents who make mention of this are primarily concerned with the safety of their young children, and they trust their current neighbors enough to know that they prioritise this safety concern as well.

Respondents value the relationships that they have as a community. This is broader than just the appreciation of their neighbours; it includes valuing the close relationship dynamics that exist between different neighborhoods in Clairwood. These neighborhoods come together to represent one community and this area is perceived by the respondents as unified, friendly, supportive, and non-discriminatory. Many of the respondents share a common love for living in Clairwood, which ultimately suggests a perceived cohesiveness amongst their group of people. As a result of this, a number of the respondents expressed how people in the community knew each other, and this has developed a sense of trust within their community. This collective sentiment then perceives the biggest problems in the community to be caused by ‘outsiders’ or other external factors. For example, respondents commonly refer to the trucking business as a problem and this is caused by individuals who are not part of their communities. One reference was made to the issue of unqualified foreign truck-drivers who travel through their community on a regular basis. The second most mentioned problem in the community is drug abuse and corrupt police officers are perceived to be bribed by outside drug dealers who lead the community’s young people to drug exposure and exploitation. This shows that the respondents are welcoming, but they are also protective of their community and its wellbeing as a whole, not just for their households, extended families or neighbors only. The respondents value the collectiveness of the community which brings a sense of solidarity and togetherness amongst them all.

2.2.2 Value 2: Business & Employment

The overwhelming majority of participants agree that *Value 2: Business & Employment* plays an important role in their lives. Many responses stated either being employed in Clairwood or running a business in the area.



Respondents felt that there are relatively good jobs and business opportunities in Clairwood, and they stress that this aspect is highly valuable to the area. The industrial area has a mix of formal enterprises and informal traders, both of which provide various services and products. While the factory and service work provides formal employment to many in the area, many record that they have part-time or temporary work. The low-income community is also reliant on its informal business sector and several mention small, odd, or day jobs or being employed as a labourer. As expressed by one respondent (Male, Satri Road):

"You never go hungry in CW [Clairwood]."*

Formal and informal business activities

Local manufacturing has provided much work for residents within the factories, but there are also port-related and logistics service work. There are also examples of informal work including: selling fruits and snacks on the sidewalks, running of trucking or transport businesses and recycling goods in exchange for money. Services also form part of the informal business sector such as: salons, small-scale catering spots, washing and sewing clothes, and unpaid care labour (for example, caring for the young, elderly and disabled within households). Respondents also mention having multiple work opportunities; for example, some record being employed and having a business at the same time. Drawing on the qualitative data, people state that they depend on Clairwood as a "business and employment location" to make a living, either by being formally employed in the nearby firms, through running their own business, or by participating in the informal sector as a street vendor, scrap metal collector, recycling cardboard boxes, tuck shop assistant, shebeen owner or laundry assistant for their neighbours. Street vendors appreciate the flexibility of running their business in this environment, and the constant movement of people on the street allows for consistent purchase of vegetables, fruit or snacks from commuters.

Besides work found in the industrial complex, Clairwood is located along the coastline and many respondents rely on fishing (for their families and customers) as a livelihood activity. Some remark on the possibility that they would live in dire poverty if they are moved away from the ocean. Respondents also value the flat-land farming and gardening where they harvest produce and they later sell on the sidewalks for income. When asked about willingness to move from Clairwood, one respondent states: *"We want a house and a new site to plant our vegetables and a market to sell,"* (Female, Cherry Road). They rely on the flatland for farming and gardening produce that they later sell to sustain their households. The Clairwood community values their environment because it forms their livelihood base, and some respondents are saddened to see parts of their area being neglected. As one respondent notes,

"I would ask for Clairwood to be cleaned, build more houses with inside toilets. The roads must be cleaned" (Male, Cherry Road).

The informal sector plays a crucial role in the overall economy of Clairwood given that income generation remains within the local community. The small earnings made by people contribute heavily to the livelihoods of many low-income residents.

Good work opportunities

Interestingly, respondents who show high levels of attachment to Clairwood and those who do not⁴, seem to equally value the good business and job opportunities in Clairwood, and both groups describe Clairwood as place where one "can easily make money" (Male 20130431, Houghton Road: Informal Settlement). Others state that they could lose a job one day, but easily find another on another day. Even though some respondents would strongly claim to not enjoy living in Clairwood, they thereafter would explain that they currently stay in the area because they are employed there. Even those who live in relatively impoverished conditions or feel just above it state that they have better chances of surviving their day to day expenses while living in Clairwood than in any other area. This idea of self-improvement via work is reflected in the following quote by a man residing in an informal settlement in Clairwood:

"I came here with nothing and I now have a [...] cellphone, stove and furniture. I want to stay because this area has made me a better person [...] I feel safe and I know that if I work hard this place will give me everything as it has done," (Male 20130057, Sastri Rd Informal settlement).

The majority of respondents who claim to be employed in Clairwood fear losing their job if they are forced to move, and they doubt that there would be new employment found somewhere else. They fear that moving their business (whether illegal or legal) will not be easy. Some respondents thereby state that they are only willing to move out of the area should they be compensated with enough money to buy houses or start businesses in the new area. Other respondents fear that they will not be able to run their informal businesses as efficiently in other areas because of existing restrictions in other areas. Some respondents also spoke of prior removals and displacements, where houses had been promised, but had not subsequently been provided. Removed families were instead found homeless or had stayed in 'temporary' accommodation up to this day. There was very little faith to be found in promises by the Municipality of care in relocation.

Clairwood's customer 'traffic'

Most of the local and small-scale businesses are well-established in Clairwood. Customers, as well as suppliers who are situated in the area, appreciate the business location because there is high pedestrian foot traffic capturing residential clients, and because Clairwood is proximate to a main travelling corridor for vehicles, both local cars and non-local commercial trucks to and from the port. This high movement in both residential and commercial transport services, and low cost rent, appear to be crucial factors for their business and financial success. As reiterated by another respondent:

"Good location, very busy [...]the fact that commercial and residential zone are together so there's a lot of passing trade which makes business good[...] Don't want to move, very happy here[...] will be very worried about new business, rent is very high in other areas and trade may not be so good,"(Female 20130114, Flower Road).

Those participants who currently run a business in Clairwood are convinced that moving their home away from the industrial zone of Clairwood would lead to the decline of their business. Accordingly, a woman living in a

4 See, for example, category *High non-material value*

nearby informal settlement in the residential area states:

"If moved to another area, life will be unbearable as I would not be able to make my money like [in] Clairwood," (Female 20130419, Sastri Rd Informal settlement).

Only very few participants understand the possible financial compensation related to the relocation. In other words, the chance to start a new (even more successful) business elsewhere does not seem to be in the current imaginary of the residents given the prospect of removal. Few residents are planning what they would do if paid due compensation, as few are expecting anything. Rather, the majority states that a singular compensation would not outweigh the disadvantages of having to close down their business and start again from scratch in a new area.

Living near work

Besides these arguments, the proximity of the industrial sector to the residential areas allows most employees to walk to their workplace. This seems to be contradictory to the often cited assumption that the mix of industrial and residential areas in Clairwood is a huge disadvantage for the residents. In this case, it is highly valued by most respondents. In fact, only very few respondents bring up any problems in reference to the close vicinity of residents to the business sector⁵.

The findings indicate that the majority of the respondents live and are employed in Clairwood. The nature of the employment is not always clearly stipulated, but respondents insisted that the chances of finding part-time employment are relatively higher in Clairwood than when compared to the other surrounding areas of Durban. Respondents who state that they own a Clairwood business find the area a conducive and centrally located environment. Much of the area is industrial and the various trades contribute to its constant activity and movement of people. Some business owners stated that this industrial atmosphere allowed their businesses to continue to thrive, and they fear that being moved to another area would lower their profits. Clairwood is a small community, and the business owners establish sound relationships with their customers. This matches with the earlier perceptions of solid relationships made with friends and neighbours which are highly valued by respondents, and translated into horizontal circulating social and economic capital. Both owners of small-scale and large-scale businesses express similar views of relational value and share the same sentiments about not wanting to lose the established relationships with their current customers should a forced move take place. One respondent, who owns a business in the area, applauds the safety measures that protect businesses, based mostly in informal observation, community action and knowledge networks.

In sum, Clairwood is a highly industrial area, but what makes it unique and valuable is that the residential zone is also located within the same space. This distinctive feature is valued by respondents because they can move around the area with little expense given that work and their essential needs are within close walking proximity to where they stay. The majority of the individuals who are employed in Clairwood state that they live close to their place of work. Those who run and own businesses in the area also share the same proximity as employees. Many respondents who live in the area for its business opportunities value the relationships they have established with their clientele and community:

"Clairwood is close to firms and it is good for business as a lot of people pass Clairwood on way to town," (Male, Houghton Rd).

Given the importance of the informal and formal work opportunities in the area, critical questions which arise are: Will the municipality take into account the existing informal jobs which currently guarantee the livelihood survival of many Clairwood people? In other words, are certain values around work included within their own

5 See Section 5. Analysing problem categories

calculations of value and employment statistics on Clairwood? If not, what are the possible implications to the back of port plans? How many people will in fact lose their job or current work arrangements if they are asked to move? Will the rezoning of Clairwood and the proposed port development really make available some of the existing Clairwood jobs and work opportunities in consideration of the current informal sector space? In other words, would people who run an informal business be compensated when forced to move? Or will the poorest – as so often happens – end up with their livelihoods ignored or not counted? Given that there is much evidence of informal businesses conducting basic port service requirements, such as trucking, bunkering, loading and unloading, container lorry parking, will there be an attempt to draw these people into a more inclusive port expansion plan? The next technical report on the quantitative research finding will return to these job and employment considerations.

However, it should be noted here that while some members of the community appreciate the flexibility of running informal/illegal businesses in the industrial area, the trucking industry is a big concern to a number of residents for several reasons. Trucking companies contribute to localised noise and pollution, damage the road infrastructure and storm drains, while poor driving has killed members of the community through road accidents. Trucking companies are also allegedly hiring illegal undocumented drivers. While its employees do buy from vendors, trucking companies can be a big challenge for street vendors because some vendors run their businesses close to the road and on sidewalks where accidents are most likely to occur.

Community engagement clarifies unacceptable ‘informal business activities’

The November 2014 meeting held in Clairwood to engage with the community around the research findings of this project updates the contradictory responses around trucking. There are a number of residents that do not appreciate having illegal commercial enterprises entering into the distinct residential zones. This was also found by one respondent in the survey:

“This place has taken care of me and the area has been good to me[...]I think the government should look at improving our lives instead of bringing businesses that are going to destroy our livelihoods”
(Male, Sastri Road).

One participant stated that some illegal businesses owners are purchasing houses in the residential areas and converting them into businesses. Such operations in the residential area are noted as disruptive by residents and degrading their housing values. Respondents express how this was mostly done by scrap and trucking businesses which are not abiding by private property laws within the area. The residents also expressed how law enforcement officers are doing very little to monitor and regulate these informal businesses within the residential zones. The community also expressed concern with the fact that the businesses running illegally in the residential zones are mostly owned by people who do not come from, or live in, Clairwood. Lastly, some of the informal settlements are also found in the residential areas which are being converted to scrap yards and they are disrupted by the operations, being asked to move out of their area by the new land owners with varying degrees of force but in some cases involving violence. Since the informal settlements themselves are not strictly legal, despite their longevity, the victims of forced removals have little or no recourse to the law or Municipality.

The local small-scale activities are important and exist within this local community, contributing to a low carbon, low emission way of business and life. This low-income community can sustain their lives in the area with this mix of residential living, micro work and large industries as they have been doing over the years. However some elements are starting to change the dynamics of this community. The lack of service delivery and infrastructure, and the sheer pressure of need, has led to rapidly degrading environments within the informal settlements located in the residential section, exacerbated by the encroachment of the scrap yards and trucking businesses. There is also the current and perceived threat that the proposed Durban port

expansion will disrupt further the micro system which currently works, with the expectation that rapid industrial change at scale will trample networks under foot. This is not a reflection of an uninterested community itself, but rather shows how little collaborative efforts from residents, industry and government are being made to nurture a conducive and healthy living and working environment now, or moving forward.

2.2.3 Value 3: Memories

Throughout the findings, while *Value 3: Memories* is not the most mentioned value, quite a few respondents state being born or growing up in the area and having childhood memories. Some state that they have lived in Clairwood their whole life, and that moving to another area would mean losing their memories of the area. Most respondents who are currently pensioners expressed the fond memories they had of Clairwood during the 1960's -1970's, commenting on how the area was different now and stating:

"Clairwood was like a little India and was nice and safe in the 60's and 70's," (Male 20130191, Ganesh Road).

"Clairwood used to be alright area to live in but after the drugs came in, it changed everything," (Female 20130008, Cherry Road).

"If Clairwood has a little attention financially, it could go back to being a good area," (Male 20130052, Sirdar Road).

"Clairwood used to be a nice residential area," (Female 20130867, Sirdar Road).

These reminiscent sentiments applies especially to those participants who were born and raised in Clairwood, and those who state that their family and childhood memories are intrinsically linked to the area of Clairwood. As one woman states:

"Because I was born here, moving really would be unfair on my children who will miss out on a chance at a great childhood," (Female 20130382, Houghton Road).

Given that memories directly shape perceptions of belonging and inform a sense of place, this value category appears to be closely linked with *Value Category 4: Belonging*. Remembrance does not only function as an intrinsic link between the past and present, but by remembering, one continuously reassures and reproduces one's identity. These processes of reassurance and reproduction require – in order to stabilise one's identity - to relate remembrance to a specific real or imagined location (*lieu de mémoire*). There are thus strong links to identity through place and this thereby creates a sense of belonging. It is not surprising that some respondents point out that their identity, their very self, is inextricably linked with Clairwood.

"Money is not important. People and the environment are the only important things in this world. I would lose a part of who I am if I had to move," (Male 20130058, Sastri Rd informal settlement).

The value of memories was expressed by those respondents that have strong sentimental attachments to the area. Some respondents stated they were born in Clairwood, and they would like to stay there until they die. These same respondents share fond sentiments towards the area given that their families have passed down memories from the previous generations. These particular respondents expressed strong dislike of the government's back of port expansion plan, and its demand of them to relocate. Some of these respondents

value the memories that they had accumulated from being a part of different social clubs, such as local soccer teams and fishing clubs, and of attending local schools. Respondents made mention of valuing memories of people who have died and are buried in Clairwood. These respondents do not want to be relocated and thereby leave their ancestors behind. They feel this movement would have cultural implications to their lives. They also feel that their young children are being robbed of an opportunity to grow up in Clairwood. Memories and the relationships that respondents have established in the area are aligned because respondents talk of how they will miss their friends, neighbors, family and community if relocated, many of whom they have known since birth, family, or from school cohorts.

2.2.4 Value 4: Belonging

The *Value 1: Relationships* and *Value 3: Memories* both complement this *Value 4: Belonging* as it captures all social and immaterial values stated by respondents in reference to Clairwood. Statements indicate that a respondent's social connections can be informed by his or her sense of place. This value category thus includes belonging statements such as "being familiar with the area," "loving the area," and "Clairwood being valuable for itself." It also comprises of accounts indicating that a participant is deeply rooted in the area. This deep-rootedness is, for instance, displayed in descriptions of Clairwood as: "home" and their "hometown." A respondent references her family being based in Clairwood for generations, having lived in the area his or her whole life, or having spent his/her childhood in Clairwood. Respondents also state personal identity within Clairwood, so much so that they would want to die there, expressed as at almost any cost. Participants mention this value category (*Belonging*) more than *Value 3 (Memories)*. Some respondents are deeply attached to Clairwood and strongly hold a sentimental attachment as is evident in the following quotes:

"I was born here, my mother and father died here. I will die here too," (Female 20130017, Horsham).

"Clairwood is who we are [...] Clairwood is more than just an area, it is our life," (Male 20130092, Sastri Rd informal settlement).

Respondents also mention that they have a sense of belonging because the community integrates them, and this social cohesion is all that they know within their life. This social cohesion also exists due to shared feelings of struggle and hard work put towards their lives, and despite being a disadvantaged community, they support each other in times of need and have mutual tolerance and cooperation. The history of growing up in Clairwood within the family, however plays the largest influence in community solidarity. It is these social incidents which contribute to the sense of belonging. Here are some of the interesting responses from Clairwood residents:

"Everyone here is in the same struggle here and we share our struggles and that is who we are. I like how there's a mix of all races here: Coloured, Indian, White, Zulu, Xhosa, Zimbabwean, everything," (Female, in informal settlement).

"Here we would receive help from neighbours even if we do not have food we would never sleep hungry" (Female, Sir Kurma Rd).

2.2.5 Value 5: Cost of living

The subsequent value, *Value 5: Cost of living*, is believed to be a major reason for people to reside in Clairwood, and is mentioned often by quite a few participants. Life in Clairwood is described as being cheap or affordable, and the cost of living is said to be lower when compared to other areas. The findings show that respondents highly value the low cost of living in Clairwood. Food is indicated to be cheap, and rents are perceived to be relatively low and affordable. A few respondents seem to benefit from not paying rent at all,

and from receiving free electricity and water – either due to social welfare programmes or illegal connections – as well as from charity programmes run by community members, churches or outsiders. A few respondents mentioned that they value how the access to free water lowers their living costs. In some cases, they are provided with free fresh food and clothing. Some respondents are currently not paying any rent nor receiving basic services because they are living in the informal settlements, but can make enough money in the area to subsist outside formal social welfare programmes, through small informal businesses and part-time employment. Respondents who do not have a strong attachment to the area are most likely to have stayed their less time and more precariously in the informal areas, with employment opportunity in Clairwood, and the low cost of living, valued most highly as their reasons for staying. However, respondents in both housing types stated that they valued the nearby schools and hospitals because they are affordable in Clairwood relative to other areas.

Nearby facilities equates to less costs

Many respondents allude that buying groceries is cheaper in Clairwood than in other areas, and this is largely due to the convenience of goods located in the area. There is a lower need to incur transport costs. Given that almost all facilities are close-by⁶, transport is seldom needed, and therefore the overall transport costs remain low. This convenience appears to be a key factor that contributes to lower costs of living because some people feel they have no need to go to town. In addition, should transport be required, the cost of the available transport itself is stated to be relatively cheap. The cost of living is kept low, and this is beneficial especially to those who are unemployed, those who survive on social grants, and to those that are self-employed as micro-traders. Most of these respondents appreciate having no transport costs for commuting to and from work, or they expressed that their transport costs were relatively low because they lived close to main taxi/bus routes. Clairwood is a small town and respondents appear to value that everything they need on a daily basis is within walking distance which contributes to low living costs. One respondent (Female. 20130114, Flower Road: Informal settlement), asserts that the reason it is cheaper to live in Clairwood is because commercial and living zones are combined in one space. Respondents largely referred to the area as being centrally located and this is cost-effective for them when they travel to other parts of Durban especially to the city centre.

"Transport money is saved because everything is nearby," (Female 20130153, Houghton Road).

"I do not use transport to get to school and work and to access facilities and services," (Female 20130364, Sirdar Road).

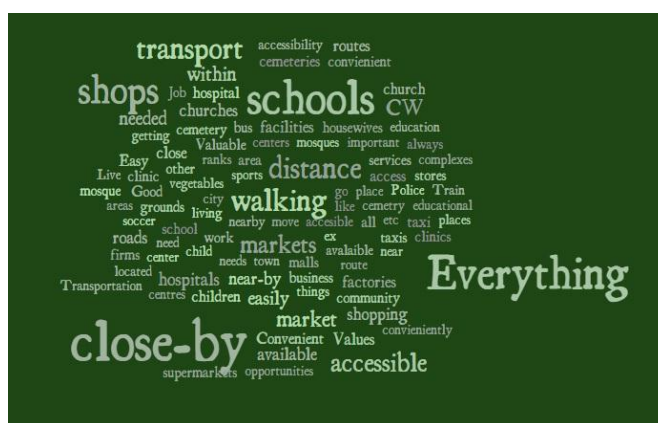
"No transport costs and everything is cheap in Clairwood. We are able to get more for less," (Female, 20130466, South Coast Road).

The current costs are perceived to be very low, and respondents are unsettled about being relocated because they do not have the capital to move elsewhere. Respondents not only appreciate low costs in the area, but they mention that this allows them the opportunity to save a portion of their incomes. Respondents seem to value the frugal lifestyles that they live in Clairwood, and therefore can retain some of their earnings for future needs. For example, many of those in the informal settlements have families in the farms outside of Durban, and the money that they earn needs to take care of this life aspect as well. It is notable that respondents invoke patterns of circular urban/rural migration as part of their livelihood strategies and that many, even of the very poorest, are send cash transfers out of Clairwood to an unknown number of other beneficiaries in other areas. They appreciate that they can save on costs such as transport, meaning that they can then send the extra money home. It is likely that some of those interviewed themselves have a number of locations where they might sleep, with 'home' defined still as a rural area, and life in Clairwood a weekday occupation or less. In the community engagement, a discussion arose, for example, of persons from Umlazi who had intermittent

6 See Value 6: Infrastructure

residency in Clairwood, but used this to access local schools, perceived as better than those in the township. Also, we found extremely vulnerable persons, many no doubt undocumented or with refugee status, who referred to saving or sending income to further afield and to other countries.

2.2.6 Value 6: Infrastructure



"Changing of schools is making children to be more difficult and ununderstandable," (Male, 20130854, South Coast Road).

Convenient location of services

A number of respondents appear to value living in Clairwood because of the flexible operating hours of some infrastructure facilities. For example, pensioners in the area value that shops are conveniently close-by because they can walk to the shops themselves without bothering other people for transport help. As reiterated by a respondent:

"This is a nice place with markets, roads, factory and other business to keep life rolling. The schools which make us feel free to send our children to. The markets which is assisting in terms of getting fruits and vegetables," (Male 20130002, Sir Kurma Rd informal Settlement).

"Things [are] easily accessible in Clairwood. Shops are always open," (Male 20130033, Flower Road).

"We have our schools, mosques, shops and factories," (Male, 20130384, Houghton Road- Informal settlement).

Respondents value that the area has good schools and other educational opportunities that are close to where they reside. The area also has recreational facilities for children such as soccer grounds and parks which are also mentioned.

Participants who indicated health issues such as Respondent 20130194 (Female, Persadh Road), appreciate that the hospitals are close-by, and this accommodates her needs. Only two respondents said they value the running water, electricity and proper sanitation which are provided to the community. These were not necessarily respondents living in the informal settlements where such infrastructure is limited. Respondent UID 20130091 (Female, Pine Rd) mentioned that charity organisations are valuable in Clairwood; this could be where the community supplies the poorer members with free food and clothes.

Business owners in the area value the infrastructure because various facilities are close-such as the location where they purchase supplies for their businesses. This saves them costs, and allows them to have more flexible business hours and dynamics (Female, 20130363, Sirdar Road). Overall, the Clairwood location is valued highly for having all basic and needed amenities within walking or nearby distance.

2.2.7 Value 7: Location/Proximity

As mentioned within *Value 6: Infrastructure*, many of the facilities are commended by participants due to another value, *Value 7: Location/Proximity*. In other words, most respondents primarily value the proximity of Clairwood to the city centre and local industries as well as its central location to the infrastructure or facilities listed above. With industrial areas conveniently located adjacent to residential ones, the workplace of many participants is within walking distance and no transport is needed. Furthermore, being situated near the seafront allows residents not only to use the beach for recreational activities, but also for subsistence fishing. One respondent commented that they liked the fact that Clairwood was close to the sea and they could smell the clean air. One question which may be posed in the later analysis is the connection with women respondents and their value of proximity to work, and other infrastructures such as Clairwood schools and hospitals. Women, in particular, seemed to be negotiating multiple roles such as work, child care, house maintenance, and so forth, and there was evidence of informal early child development facilities, nurseries, play groups and collectivised care of the young. But it is arguable that within this need for multiple responsibilities, women were benefiting from Clairwood's close proximities:

"Our children are happy here and we can find work to feed them," (Female 20130369, Sirdar Road).

This value category represents those respondents who mentioned that they value the central location of the area. As complementary to cost of living and infrastructure, the centrality seems to make travel affordable particularly to town or when looking for employment and business opportunities in Clairwood and beyond. Even within the area itself, respondents value that factories and firms are close-by and they too provide higher employment chances when compared to living in other less industrial areas.

One respondent pointed out that there is a valuable large fruit and vegetable store which supplies all the small businesses in the area, particularly the street hawkers and vendors. One business owner said she values the location of Clairwood because there is a constant movement of people, and this ongoing trade increases their profit and contributes to higher household earnings. She elaborated:

“Good location because it is very busy with lots of customers,” (Female 20130114, Flower Road informal settlement).

In sum, the convenience to easily move around to all needed facilities and workplace makes Clairwood a valuable location for its residents.

2.2.8 Value 8: Land & Assets

Of all the listed values, *Value 8: Land & Assets* is the least mentioned identified value, with only relatively few participants stating that land or assets are an important aspect of their value calculations. This may indicate that there are many Clairwood respondents who are renting or leasing land to live or to work. Nevertheless, respondents who did mention land and assets as a value spoke of significant financial and time investments made on the houses that they have built, renovated and own. There are some respondents who state that they have invested a lot of money in the businesses they run within Clairwood. Respondents do fear losing these fixed assets that have sometimes been in their families for generations. Respondents also state that they live on or nearby the flat land within the area which has rich soil and large plots that are good for planting vegetables. If they do have land, they either refer to the value of flat land for agricultural purposes or some form of transacted investment in property or business.

2.2.9 Value 9: History/Culture

Unlike *Value 8: Land & Assets*, *Value 9: History/Culture* holds a more important value trait. Some of the respondents state that the culture of Clairwood and its history are to be valued and praise its community heritage (especially its ancient temples, churches, graveyards and mosques). The community has a rich history and a unique culture. Several people recall the history of the area as settlers and this heritage has been around for centuries and within families for generations. Some affectionately calling it ‘Little India’, as this location is one of the areas where the first Indians who arrived in South Africa historically resided, or where allowed to reside.

2.2.10 Value 10: Religion

Similar to *Value 8: Land & Assets*, *Value 10: Religion* is only mentioned by relatively few participants, most of them either stating that the religious places of worship such as churches, mosques and temples are valuable. They value their parish community as well as the family members who are buried in Clairwood. Cemeteries were of value as mentioned on several occasions by respondents.

2.2.11 Value 11: Living conditions

The last category, *Value 11: Living conditions* is fairly broad and entails general descriptions of why people value life in Clairwood. While many participants describe Clairwood as convenient, surprisingly quite a few respondents state that Clairwood is a safe, peaceful and quiet place with low crime rates⁷. This finding contradicts widespread media assumptions of high levels of crime and insecurities associated with living in Clairwood. Respondents have also stated that they feel safe in Clairwood because: “*everybody knows everybody.*” (Male, 20130310, Dayal Road); there are close relationships and they state that the people take care of each other. These observations are closely related to the most mentioned value: *Relationships*.

In summary, the research findings around value amongst the Clairwood respondents give us a richer understanding of the material and immaterial aspects of their everyday lives. Clearly, this small community in South Durban has built strong community relationships which are supported by a long-standing history punctuated and embedded in heritage, culture and social capital. The closeness of residential and industrial zones as well as a full range of amenities convenient and available to all citizens makes this a working community ecosystem.

2.3 Analysing problem categories

In analysing the problem categories, one has to be fully aware that the identification of problems linked to life in Clairwood was not the main scope or objective of the study. Rather, the identified problem categories evolve from comments made by respondents within the qualitative part of the survey, especially in the context of the open-ended *Question 33*⁸ which allowed for additional comments. As comments on problems faced by residents were not directly asked within the questionnaire, two interpretations can be drawn: firstly, it can be assumed that the results would have been different if problems had been the main focus of the study and/or if the survey would have included direct questions about problems and challenges. If questions were directed towards highlighting the problems of Clairwood, it would most likely be the case that problems would play a central role in the report. Secondly, given that participants had come up with their own problems without bias or direction, the identified problems are likely to be the most pressing ones in the respondent’s life.

About three key problems seems to have more weight from the community’s standpoint; these key ones are the problems of crime, high traffic problems caused especially by trucks and problems of illegal drug use and trafficking. Other problems such as those relating to sanitation, pollution, health and business were also identified, although their weight was not emphasised as much by the respondents. Key information came forward about problems that might arise should government go along with projected port expansion, the context in which this study was carried out. Traffic problems, drug trafficking and pollution are already encroaching into Clairwood’s residential area, but are likely to increase with more concentrated industrial activity in an extended back of port zone. Below is Table 2 which summarises some of the problems identified by Clairwood community respondents.

Table 2: Prevalent problems in Clairwood from qualitative responses

Problem 1: Traffic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Too many trucks poses a hazard for residential community especially their children ▪ Too many accidents have been reported from trucks with associated loss of people’s lives and uncompensated damage to property (ie knocked walls and smashed houses). ▪ Roads have been reported too narrow to accommodate the trucks and road infrastructure is damaged by trucks ▪ Trucking traffic is reportedly too high and residents feel there is need for a reduction of truck traffic.
Problem 2: Crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Respondents pointed to high crime rates in CW* particularly robberies, theft, or

⁷ There are presumably more respondents who value the safety of the area than participants who complain about high levels of crime

⁸ Question 33: Is there anything you would like to add?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> house break in. Outlawed practices such as illegal driving and the absence of a police station was mentioned in a few responses Hijacking has been pointed out by some Better police services were identified as a solution
Problem 3: Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of noise and air pollution were reported. Insufficient services pertaining to waste removal and cutting grass. Trucks, industries and factories are causing pollution
Problem 4: Sanitation / Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The absence of running water presents a sanitary problem. Inadequate sanitary facilities: the absence of toilets was pointed out by some respondents. The state of the area in terms of water and waste has been attributed to hygiene problems prevalent in the area.
Problem 5: Living Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Housing and adequate shelter, according to some respondents are critically needed. There are small rooms used for accommodation which are overcrowding. Respondents in informal settlements pointed out the absence of electricity connections. Some respondents pointed out the presence of informal settlements as a problem worsening living conditions.
Problem 6: Drugs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Drug abuse was reportedly on the rise, with increasing numbers of drug dealers in the area. Alcohol abuse was also a reported problem in CW* Young drug addicts have been reported to be perpetrating crimes endangering the lives of the local community.
Problem 7: Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trucking business are located in CW* and are creating associated trucking problems. Scrap businesses have engendered the growth of scrap yards and resulted in increases in crime rates. Some respondents were concerned with relocation and its adverse impacts on their business which are their prime source of livelihood. Prevalence of illegal businesses in the residential areas was reportedly high. Too many businesses have been reported and organized markets are needed for street vendors.
Problem 8: Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police corruption reportedly an increasing problem Absence of Government provision of basic services (housing, water, electricity, social transfers and pensions) for the elderly is a critical problem in CW* High unemployment rate has been a reported problem in CW* Sex working is a growing concern as reported by residents Shacks are being built everywhere as well as illegal housing on the back of properties. Most respondents have a problem with the government plan to relocate them since that entails various economic and non-economic losses to them, and feel government design is motivated more by private profit than broad, general welfare considerations Poor infrastructure and needs for repairs for the currently available one Port expansion Too much industrial activity is degrading the value of CW

Source: Authors

There are many Clairwood residents that love their area and are not considering leaving under any circumstances. However, there is also a rising number of those residents who are fed up with deteriorating conditions, and do not want to stay in Clairwood anymore. These residents would welcome a change of neighbourhood because they are unhappy with their current living conditions.

The major themes that are convincing Clairwood residents to move come through the problems of the area such as the increasing number of trucks, crime, drugs, and pollution leading to health concerns as well as lack of running water, electricity and sanitation services and the rise in sex workers. The municipality's unwillingness to address these issues was also a key concern among the residents. All these problem issues are encouraging the residents to move away from Clairwood. The next section provides more detail into each of the identified problems.

2.3.1 Problem 1: Traffic (particularly trucks)

The findings suggest that *Problem 1: Traffic* is the most severe problem facing the community of Clairwood. To provide context, Clairwood is located at the back of the Durban port operations where large trucking and logistics companies are located. Large transport trucks are commonly driven on the main roads such as Solomon Mahlangu Road (formerly Edwin Swales Road) and South Coast Road. There were many respondents who remark on there being too many trucks and request that they be removed. Comments on traffic relate to their respective dangers and problems, such as (deadly) motorway accidents, deterioration of roads, accidents, and noise pollution. One respondent was highly concerned of her children's safety on the roads of Clairwood:

"Trucks are dangerous for children. Bosses of trucking companies hire unskilled foreign drivers. They would not even stop after knocking somebody down," (Female, 20130007, Pine Road-informal settlement).

While previous comments valued the proximity and walking distance of the industrial zone to residential areas, there remain safety risks when moving around close to logistics and trucking companies where there is an ongoing flow of trucks. Other areas of concern include the respondent perception of the irresponsible attitude of truck companies in respect to property damage and the hiring of unskilled and illegal workers. Smashed houses, and knocked walls were some of the property damage mentioned by respondents. A few respondents stated that some truck drivers would not even stop after knocking someone down.

"Truckers must move, not the resident. Truckers do not think of the lives of the residents. A resident complained about how the trucking company damaged her wall it is broken," (Female 20130211, Sir Kurma Reddi Road Informal Settlement).

As a result, most respondents demand to either reduce trucking or to remove truck companies from the community.

Damage to public infrastructure

The problems caused by the truck traffic include damage to infrastructure such as public roads. The residents also complain that the roads are too narrow to accommodate the trucks. Damage to essential utilities and infrastructure have also been pointed out such as damage to street light structures and water meters. There were several mentions of numerous deaths caused by trucks hitting people on the road. An observation made by an interviewer further elaborates:

"It's sad to see people suffering in this area. A lady has been knocked by the truck. She was taken to Wentworth hospital. The truck company did not pay for anything. Her mother also died because she was knocked by a truck," (Interview notes: Comment based on the circumstantial situation of Respondent 20130026 (Female, Flower Road Clairwood)).

"The trucks in Clairwood, the bosses hire unskilled foreign drivers, which make it dangerous for kids to

walk around, 2 days ago a lady was knocked and the driver didn't stop," (Female 20130007, Pine Road Informal Settlement Clairwood).

The interviewer observes how one respondent seems particularly upset with how the truckers are knocking down residents or structures without even stopping or helping them but instead they flee the scene and try to escape. Two other respondents share the same emotion by stating:

"The other day the street lights were down, the trucks knock down people and light poles. The trucks knock down water meters," (Female 20130157, Amber Road Clairwood).

"Photograph all the area to depict the outrage in Clairwood due to the inconvenience caused by the truck. There are increased truck densities around the area, people complain about the accidents caused by the trucks and nothing is being done about them," (Male 20130003, Houghton Road Informal Settlements Clairwood).

The data suggests that especially respondents who are highly attached to the community and/or are rooted deeply in Clairwood identify traffic, in particular trucking, as a problem. Again⁹, this finding might be informed by the fact that respondents who stayed in Clairwood for a long period of time possibly witnessed the slow invasion of truck businesses in some of the residential areas, comparing past and present. Some respondents even predict that there is likely going to be an increase in traffic if the port is expanded. The majority of the residents are reportedly advocating a stop or reduction of the truck traffic to improve community welfare.

2.3.2 Problem 2: Crime

There were a few respondents who mention crime as an issue in Clairwood. First of all, it is important to place this in context when identifying problems as stated by survey respondents. The majority of Clairwood respondents state the area to be a safe place especially compared to other places. These perceptions leave one wondering how much media and outsider perceptions contribute to the production of certain images of Clairwood as dangerous and ridden by violence and crime. This feeling of safety is influenced by community cooperation, police presence and strong neighbourhood ties. One male from Pine Road asserts, "... I feel safe with my neighbours, everybody looks out for each other." Nevertheless, relatively few respondents do state that they perceived a diminishing feeling of safety in the community. Some speak about the Clairwood area being nice and safe in the 1960s and 1970s (Male from Ganesh Road). But such feeling seems to be fading as one male from Houghton Road states "... now you can't leave your gate opened, it's not safe anymore."

Of all problems identified, *Problem 2: Crime* seems to be a relatively minor issue; few perceived that high crime rates were found in Clairwood. Although not an issue highlighted by the majority of the respondents, some respondents state that they perceived robberies, theft and house break-ins as the main crime issues. Those who listed these specific criminal acts also perceived drugs to have some relationship to these activities. A few of them blame crime on the emergence of industries and scrap yards. A concern with such crime problems lies in the diminishing feeling of safety, particularly the safety of women and children. The crime rate is perceived to have risen to a noticeable concern, with some of the respondents below alluding to high crime and falling levels of safety in Clairwood.

"Yes, there are too many trucks taking the lives of people in the area, I remember when there were not so many drugs and crime in this area," (Female 20130060, Sarstri Road Clairwood).

"The crime level is a bit high here and these truckers are damaging our road," (Male 20130216, Persad Road Clairwood).

⁹ See Problem 2: Crime

“Once upon a time this place was called little mini-little India, now you can’t leave your gate opened, its not safe anymore,” (Male 20130341, Houghton Road Clairwood).

“No I am only here because of work and this place is filled with crime and drugs, it is not safe,” (Male 20130969, Transit Camp Clairwood).

Given the increase of crime witnessed over the years, some feel that the port expansion would lead to a further increase in crime. Moreover, the need for a stronger police presence and better policing were mentioned by a few respondents.

The identification of crime as a problem occurred both within the group of respondents showing high levels of attachment to Clairwood and the group of respondents showing low levels of attachment to the area. In other words, it is perceived that respondents who grew up in the area or lived in the community for a long period are equally concerned about crime compared to others. However, those long term residents have also pointed out comparisons of crime from the past to the present, and they feel that there is an increase of crime in the area over time.

The increasing severity of crime seems to be undermining the prominent positive values many of the respondents had mentioned. The disincentives presented by crime appear to be given a premium when compared to intangible values. In other words, some respondents do feel compelled to move out of Clairwood due to the crime. One respondent states:

“I have lived here all my life, but would still want to move because of the crime taking place. Would like for the crime rates and drug abuse to stop” (Female 20130158, Pine Road Clairwood).

One respondent believes that port expansion will bring positive aspects to Clairwood where there is a need for urban renewal to an unsafe place:

“The development [port expansion] must continue, it’s going to be a good one and people will have job opportunities. Clairwood is not a safe place, so it must shut down,” (Male 20130322, Sarsti Road Clairwood).

Crime is identified as an issue amongst few of the respondents, but there are a greater number of respondents who identify the area as safe and supportive for the community.

2.3.2 Problem 3: Pollution

Problem 3: Pollution is only mentioned by a very few participants and is mostly referenced around two things: 1) a lack of waste removal and street or park maintenance of the area and 2) high levels of noise and air pollution due to heavy trucking and adjacent industries. Some respondents even blame the municipality for deliberately letting the area degrade in order to drive people out of Clairwood.

Problem 3: Pollution does not appear to affect whether the person was highly attached to Clairwood or not. Pollution problems most identified are noise pollution, air pollution and litter. The industrial activities and traffic especially from trucks (ie. exhaust gases) were perceived as the root cause of the respondent’s pollution concerns. A few of the noise and air pollution problems would be followed by reference to trucking and fewer air pollution comments were related to industries in Clairwood. As a result, concerns have been raised with respect to cleaning up the area and restoring the environment.

"No more trucking, factories too much noise and bad smells," (Female 20130015, Flower Road Clairwood).

"The residents they mustn't be moved but the problem is the trucks killing the people and factories making air pollution must be reduced," (Female 20130041, Flower Road Clairwood).

"I don't want trucks because they're dangerous and cause a lot of pollution," (Female 20130139 Dayal Road Clairwood).

Other respondents point out that Clairwood has an absence of waste removal and therefore the area is found to be dirty and seen as a dump site. Respondents strongly feel that there is a need to clean up and maintain the environment and area (including the suggestions of litter bins, street cleaning and cutting the lawns). One respondent (Female 20130856, Ganesh Road- informal settlement) indicates that second to high crime rates, pollution caused by trucking traffic has made her feel motivated to move.

"House robberies and truckers causing more pollution. If compensated I will gladly move to buy a house in another area, truckers causing more pollution," (Female, 20130856, Ganesh Road Informal Settlement).

The unbearably high noise levels due to the volume of trucks moving through Clairwood roads presents a problem to some respondents (cf. Respondent 20130830).

2.3.4 Problem 4: Sanitation & Health

Problem 4: Sanitation only seems to be a concern for few respondents, mainly for those living in informal settlements where there is no access to running water nor to proper (private) toilets, and thus they are facing problems of meeting their hygiene and sanitation needs. The few who do mention health are either concerned about their health being negatively affected by their direct living conditions (as in, by living in an overcrowded shack where diseases spread easily) or about adverse health effects due to air and noise pollution, especially in relation to heavy trucking and toxic emissions by surrounding industries. Mentions around *Health* were made mostly by pensioners and the elderly who live in Clairwood. The sanitation problem category identifies the importance of public sanitary facilities, access to clean and running water and water services to an individual. Waste build up and accumulation and maybe public littering has been attributed to a lack of bins which could serve as waste disposal points, and a respondent pinpointed the need for bins to combat this problem of littering.

"Put bins in areas so residents don't litter," (Male 20130437, Houghton Road Clairwood).

Such services are reportedly not available or undersupplied.

"No water, no lights, have to wake up early every day to fetch water from another area," (Female 20130237, Pine Road Clairwood).

That the need for basic services such as running water and proper housing is an aspiration for many of the CW residents, particularly those located in less favourable areas such as informal settlements and less developed suburbs, can be seen in the comment below from one of the respondents.

"The place we live in is not a proper place to stay, if they would build us RDP houses we would be happy. And give us homes with running water and sanitation," (Male 20130278, Sistrir Road Clairwood).

"We would like to ask the government for a safe place where we can stay because this place is not right and some people here are sick and have TB and we do not have toilets here and the air we breathe is not safe," (Male 20130967, South Coast Road Clairwood).

Additional costs were reportedly being incurred by some residents in accessing safe water. One male respondent from Houghton Road (20130850) stated that they had to pay someone to get water. General calls for better sanitary facilities, such as provision of running water and waste removal would help make Clairwood liveable with less health risks.

2.3.5. Problem 5: Living conditions

Respondents who reside in informal settlements or are homeless (examples of living under the nearby bridge or on the road) complain about difficult living conditions, overcrowding in small rooms, and inadequate housing or shelter availability. In addition, one respondent states that informal settlements are a problem. However, this perception seems to be the exception rather than the majority's perception.

"The Njondolos (Informal settlements-shacks and cardboard houses) behind houses are a problem, they don't pay rent and there is more and more of them, they are living illegally on their property," (Male 20130115, Sarstri Road Clairwood).

"Remove the truckers and squatters," (Male 20130191, Ganesh Road Clairwood).

A shortage of basic services particularly toilets with proper sanitation, running water, electricity and modest living space were issues raised by respondents.

"There is a shortage of basic needs for our people here in the informal settlements, we need basic necessities," (Female 20130224, Houghton Road Clairwood).

For some, relocation to another area with better living conditions is much preferred, as their current status of deprivation in CW undermines their capabilities. However for some, an improvement of living conditions is all they are lobbying the government to deliver because they feel they are entitled to it.

"If we are being moved there must move us to proper places and we live here because we do not have relatives living in the surrounding," (Female 20130226, Khayelitsha Clairwood).

"There's no toilets and water in the place I stay, instead of expanding the ports they must improve the quality of our living that's all," (Male 20130058, Sarstri Road Clairwood).

Overcrowding is reported through observations by the interviewers and this shows inadequate shelter availability.

"Interviewer observation- one room overcrowded house with many tailoring equipment. Really not happy about moving, feels like meeting with owners of Transnet and strangling them," (Female 20130227, Khayelitsha Houghton Road Clairwood).

2.3.6. Problem 6: Drugs

Also related closely to health, relatively few respondents name *Problem 6: Drugs* as an area of concern. If it was mentioned, respondents would state drug abuse amongst the drug users in the area as well as drug

dealers in the community. Many respondents view drugs use and the existing related (illegal) “drug business” structures as a contribution to negative outcomes in the community such as increased crime levels and endangering the residents especially youth. Most respondents do not explain in more detail which drugs they perceive to be especially problematic, but some comments suggest, however, that problematic “drugs” include alcohol, weed, as well as “hard” drugs such as cocaine, LSD, heroin and crack (so-called “sugar”).

Use and availability of illegal drugs has been reported by respondents to be on the rise in Clairwood presenting challenges to the community’s safety. According to some respondents, there is an immediate need to remove drug dealers to reduce the availability of drugs in Clairwood: some even believe the area has been corrupted by the presence of drug users inflicting fear in the community. As reiterated by these respondents:

“Need immediate affect of removing drug dealers and corruption,” (Female, 20130155, Flower Road Clairwood).

“The place is corrupted and full of drug mules who pay the police off and continue to scare people into their homes,” (Male 20130020, Cherry Road Clairwood).

“Truckers knocking down people into walls, drugs in Clairwood and hi-jacking,” (Female 20130203, Pine Road Clairwood).

The increase in the drug problems in Clairwood may be a recent development. This can be deduced from a comment made by one of the respondents who pinpointed how Clairwood community has changed, presenting challenges for children and the elderly and cites the problem of too many trucks and drug use as the emergent pressing problems (Respondent 20130717).

“The community has changed. It is no longer suitable for children and the elderly. There’s too many trucks on the roads and it is not safe with all the people smoking sugars,” (Male 20130717, Houghton Road Clairwood).

“No place is unhealthy and dirty has got very bad over past 10 years, lots of drugs and alcohol, stayed here for 27 years in same house, won’t miss it because things have got so bad,” (Male 20130115, Sastri Road Clairwood).

“Yes, there are too many trucks taking the lives of people in the area, I remember when there were not so many drugs and crime in this area,” (Female 20130060, Sarstri Road Clairwood).

According to one respondent, there seems to be a positive correlation between trucking and container movement with increase in distribution of drugs:

“When this process will come we’ll lose our homes, jobs and school for children. The transportation of container will increase the rate of drugs distribution,” (Male 20130002, Sir Kurma Reddy Informal Settlement Clairwood).

Drugs have negative implications for the community and this can be deduced from a comment made by a mother whose son was killed for owing one of the drug dealers and now she has to bear all the costs of raising the children the son left behind.

“No because I lost my son 4 years ago who was killed because of owing drug dealers in Clairwood,” (Female 20130729, Horsesho Road Clairwood).

Drug use seems to have contributed to the increases in crime rates and its perpetration by those who are intoxicated by those drugs.

In answering Q30, one respondent states *"No because the drug addicts are robbing us on the road and breaking into our homes," (Male 20130977, Ganesh Road Clairwood).*

The same respondent states:

"Drug addicts are involved in crime and endanger the local community." (ibid).

2.3.7. Problem 7: Business

Problem 7: Business is the least mentioned problem category. However, a few respondents declare that the notion of "profit before people," is a problem. These respondents view many business owners, some illegal, as penetrating the residential areas without regulation. Furthermore, some participants link certain kinds of businesses (i.e. scrap yards) to an increase in crime. High levels of youth unemployment and the rise of illegal businesses as well as (truck) business owners who are only working, but not actually living in Clairwood, are listed as additional problems. As reiterated by Respondent 20130023 (Female, Pine Road):

"It's wrong that truckers don't live in CW, but have their businesses here."

One of the pressing problems in Clairwood concerns trucking companies because it is suggested that most truck business owners do not reside in Clairwood, and do not care about the effects of their businesses on the environment of CW and its residents.

Scrap metal buyers or scrap yards, which are visited by scrap metal collectors, are also reported to be perpetrating some criminal activities.

"....it is a good area but it is becoming more difficult as the scrap yards increase crime in this lovely area," (Female 20130059, Sarstri Road Clairwood).

Other business related problems identified included the loss of income due to the rezoning of the port which will make them relocate and this will damage their flourishing businesses which are the source of their livelihoods. Respondent 20130235 (Female, Houghton Road) claims relocation will have adverse implications for her new business. For most of the respondents it appears that the main concern is the loss of business opportunities, while others demand that the government must compensate them with income that is equivalent to what they were getting from their informal businesses.

"I am against this development and I have a business that I have been running for quite time," (Male 20130323, Houghton Road Clairwood).

"If we move here through the job opportunities that are to be created here, how will I manage to come back and work here," (Male 20130221, Houghton Road Clairwood).

"If they are going to move me, they must provide for me, I need to survive and carry on with my business," (Male 20130275, Jacobs Road Clairwood).

For other residents, having too many businesses in the residential area has been a growing problem and a great percentage of these businesses are illegally run. The presence of such illegal businesses appears to have resulted in loss of property for one respondent.

"Please get rid of the illegal business in the core of the residential area," (Female 20130333, Cherry Road Clairwood).

Other problems are caused by disorder in the organisation of street vendors who have colonised pavements and public spaces in Clairwood. According to one respondent, there is a need for an organised marketplace where such businesses can be ordered and properly managed (Female, 20130933, South Coast Road). Some respondents were worried about the decision making process with regards to port expansion which they pinpoint would be best if moved to areas where the richer population segments reside. Another respondent claimed the absence of consultation between the government and residents of Clairwood in reaching the decision concerning the port expansion.

"Move the port expansion to the rich areas, why choose Clairwood, youth needs jobs..." (Male 20130768, Houghton Road Informal Settlement Clairwood).

"Government must listen to the people first not to taking decision about us without us," (Male 20130326, Jacobs Road Clairwood).

Overall, there were some issues which came through the qualitative results in regards to living in Clairwood. Traffic and trucks and crime were the strongest issues raised by respondents. Nevertheless, responses around the positive material and immaterial values of Clairwood still outweighed negative responses related to problems in the community.

3. Data Analysis: Willing to move or not?

Resentments against being moved and financially compensated ("sold out") seem to be strongest amongst those participants who show high levels of attachment to Clairwood and value the community on a non-material level. In these cases, the values of *Value 1: Relationships*, *Value 3: Memories*, *Value 4: Belonging* and *Value 9: History/Culture* play a crucial role. Interestingly, no line can be drawn between high-income and low-income households around levels of attachment to Clairwood. The majority of participants who live in Clairwood can be found under poor conditions, or some in informal settlements. Given this context, one could expect the financial need would convince residents to simply accept the compensation for a move. On contrary, there is not a strong feeling in favour of the proposed development and financial compensation.

Following this thread, findings suggest that participants who show low levels of attachment to Clairwood are primarily interested in monetary and material values (for example, *Value 2: Business & Employment*). Those who regard Clairwood only as a workplace are more likely to accept or negotiate the appropriate financial compensation, and were willing thereafter to leave the area voluntarily.

Even though some participants are willing to move if offered the right amount of money, the majority of the respondents refuse to leave their community, and in fact, they highly value Clairwood. A few of the respondents are very vocal about their resentment against the back-of-port plan, expressing how the possible rezoning is the municipality's way to corrupt them. They further assert that money cannot compensate them for their important deeper motivations around non-material value which they will lose if they are forced to leave the area. This is clearly reflected in the following quotes:

*"I will not take the money, in fact I'll take it and throw it in their faces!"
(Male 20130884, Jacobs Road).*

"They cannot buy us. We [are] humans, not metal," (Male 20130004, Cherry Rd).

"No money can buy love and happiness," (Male 20130751, Informal Settlement - Houghton Road).

"Money can't buy all our houses, memories, history, friendships that we've made here in Clairwood," (Female 20130090, Saddara Rd).

Many participants seem to feel betrayed by the municipality, and they think that the municipality may be following a principle of "profit before people," and thereby paying little attention to the needs of the poor. This is evident in the following two quotes:

"They must move the port expansion to another area. Leave us in Clairwood alone. Go to the rich people in Umhlanga Rocks. Why come to the poor and unemployed?" (Female 20130419, Sastri Rd Informal settlement).

"Don't take our beautiful lives and dump us like we are sheep. Think of the poor," (Male 20130004, Cherry Rd).

Furthermore, a lot of respondents seem to be bothered by the idea of a singular compensation, especially if they are employed or are running their own business in Clairwood¹⁰. The majority of respondents seem to be convinced that a singular compensation would not make up for their losses or contribute to a future stable livelihood. As a result, a few respondents would rather receive a monthly grant from the government after being relocated.

Analysing the correlation between the categories 'Willing to move, Not willing to move' and Conditions for moving has been used and this analysis has created a typology based on five different types of respondents. It has to be considered though that lines between the different types are blurry and that the allocation to one or another type is highly dependent on subjective perceptions and assumptions:

Table 3: Respondent Types in Clairwood

Type 1 Respondents	Type 2 Respondents	Type 3 Respondents	Type 4 Respondents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ participants who show willingness to move if compensated appropriately ➤ show rather low levels of attachment to Clairwood ➤ are likely to formulate a precise and apparently well-considered demands ➤ have a pre-conceived calculation of the taxed monetary value of their assets ➤ The amount of money demanded by Type 1 persons - compared to the other types identified – is relatively low. ➤ well-informed about the proposed port-expansion <p><i>I only need R5 000 a month</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ includes all respondents who insist on staying ➤ who give no details on which financial condition they would consider ➤ show high levels of attachment to Clairwood ➤ high resentment against the proposed rezoning plans ➤ respondents were not willing to engage in the possibility that monetary terms would balance out the immaterial values of Clairwood <p><i>There is no such thing as enough money!" „Money is not important. People and the</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ refuse to move ➤ who demand for relatively unrealistic compensation ➤ Demands placed range from R100 000 to up to R100 000 000 ➤ can be interpreted as a way of resistance and as a symbol of how highly people value Clairwood ➤ high non material attachment to CW <p><i>„ Money cannot buy love“ „ Money does not replace your home“ (R5 Million compensation)</i></p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p> <p><i>„There is no place in this</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ respondents who do not want to move ➤ make claims and demand compensation while stating that they would not move ➤ can be captured by the category of "moving if forced to" or does not want to move in the conditions for moving category ➤ respondents name realistic and mostly rather precise figures (comparable to Type 1) ➤ Respondents still shows high levels of attachment to Clairwood; quite a few people (especially in comparison with Type 2 and Type 3) seem to value Clairwood only on a material level.

¹⁰ See 4. Analysing value categories

<p>that will be enough. Woman, Clairwood</p> <p>"if they can give us a place that is not far from Clairwood and.... proper place to stay..."</p> <p>Woman, Clairwood</p> <p>"I don't mind to move only if the government would give me enough money relocate" R 70.000 compensation (enough to open business and buy house)</p> <p>Woman, Clairwood</p>	<p>environment are the only important things in this world. I would lose a part of who I am if I had to move".</p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p> <p>Money won't buy the memories" Man, Clairwood</p> <p>"I don't want to move, I don't want to sell" (no compensation)</p> <p>Woman, Clairwood</p> <p>"Will feel humiliated if displace form birth place". (No compensation amount)</p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p>	<p>entire country that can compare to CW". „ Try being forced to uproot your entire life due to the greed of others and see how you feel!" (R10 Million Compensation)</p> <p>Man, Sirdar Road Clairwood</p> <p>"Will fight to stay in Clairwood" (R30 Million compensation)</p> <p>Woman, Cherry Road Informal settlements</p>	<p>Clairwood is who we are (...) CW is more than just an area, it is our life" (R100 thousand compensation)</p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p> <p>If they try moving us "we will come out with our pangas" (R240 thousand compensation)</p> <p>Woman, Clairwood</p>
<p>Type 5 Respondents</p> <p>➤ includes all respondents who do not state clearly if they are willing to move or not</p> <p>show both high as well as low levels of attachment to Clairwood</p> <p>Everything (is) about money and wealth and no one cares about the lives of the people"</p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p> <p>"I don't blame thegovernment I blame our Indians for selling us out. We will hit and break this government..."</p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p>	<p>Type 6 Respondents</p> <p>➤ includes the respondents that feel that they have outgrown Clairwood</p> <p>➤ they would like to move somewhere else</p> <p>➤ had strong feelings about moving</p> <p>➤ Felt that Clairwood had changed and it was not what it used to be. They have cited problems such as crime as some of the reasons that make them want to move</p> <p>Clairwood is a 'bad place'. (Wiling to move, R1 Million compensation)</p> <p>Woman, Pine Road Clairwood</p> <p>"...before children were free to be children...now it's not safe at all my child can't even walk on the pavement...." (R3 Million Compensation).willing to move Woman, Clairwood</p> <p>"Clairwood is not good place to live." Man, Clairwood</p>		

	<p><i>"Clairwood is not as it was in the 60's and 70's"</i></p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p> <p><i>"There's no reason I'd want to stay here aside from work-wise" (house and R100 thousand compensation)</i></p> <p>Man, Clairwood</p>		
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Source: Authors

Type 1

*Type 1*¹¹ comprises participants who show willingness to move if compensated appropriately and rather low levels of attachment to Clairwood. Moreover, *Type 1* respondents are likely to formulate a precise and apparently well-considered demand when asked on what terms they would move. The general precise amount of (financial) compensation demanded by these respondents, points to the possibility of them being well informed about the proposed port-expansion and the related relocation plans and thus already having preliminarily accounted for the (monetary) value of their assets as well as possible costs related to the relocation of their homes and/or businesses to another area. Noticeably, in most cases, the amount of money demanded – when compared to the other types identified - is relatively low. This finding allows for two possible explanations: Firstly, given that these respondents consider moving a real option, their notion of appropriate compensation is probably informed by a more or less realistic view on how much compensation they could possibly obtain rather than by some fanciful figures. Secondly, given that respondents who fall in *Type 1* are likely to show rather low levels of attachment to Clairwood, it can be assumed that they only consider monetary values in their calculations but do not consider non-material values such as relationships. The bulk of demands for compensation are made in financial terms and range from R1500 to R1 100 000, depending on current living conditions, asset values, and the current employment status of the respondent.

Some claims are also linked to demands for housing, employment, transport and the convenient central location of the area rather than purely financial ones. This is reflected by how only a few participants are willing to move without pointing out under which conditions they would do so. This applies mostly to respondents who have not calculated the value of their assets yet or who show extremely high levels of willingness to move, and do not mind not being compensated at all – as long as they receive housing elsewhere. Moreover, a minority of *Type 1* respondents are trying to take advantage of their possible relocation and use the expected compensation as an entry point to make fanciful claims, by coming up with unrealistically high figures of compensation which neither correspond with the monetary value of their assets nor with their current living conditions. One example was a male respondent who wanted *"R5 000 000 and thereafter retirement"* which was an unrealistic expectation considering the respondent's current living conditions.

Type 2

*Type 2*¹² includes all respondents who insist on staying in Clairwood and give no details of conditions that would convince them to consider moving as an option. In all probability, participants who fall in *Type 2* seem to

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show high levels of attachment to Clairwood and strong resentment towards the proposed rezoning plans. When these respondents are asked about what they value most in Clairwood, they often refer to non-material values. Placing a price to non-material values such as relationships, memories, sense of belonging or culture is difficult for the respondents with a strong attachment to Clairwood. As a result, the respondents refused, or were unable, to come up with a precise compensation sum that would equate to their level of attachment to Clairwood. This can also be interpreted as a symbol of absolute resistance to the port expansion and the related relocation of residents. By not considering financial compensation as an option, the respondents are refusing to behave according to the rules of the municipality and other officials. These rules are based on the idea that everything can be commodified and priced and these respondents are contesting this perception. These respondents are mostly those who are born in Clairwood or have been there for long periods of time, for example their whole life. They show high attachment to Clairwood because this is the only home they know. Some of these respondents' families have been in Clairwood for up to five generations. One such respondent stated that a road was named after her grandfather. Another stated that their house has been around for fifty years. The cultural and historical attachments will not be easily replaced with monetary values.

Type 3

Type 3¹³ involves all participants who refuse to move and who demand rather unrealistic compensation when asked on which condition they would happily leave Clairwood. Demands placed ranged from R 100.000 to R 100 000 000, but with most sums demanded by these respondents configured in millions. Type 3 comprises predominantly from those who reside in informal settlements (in the whole sample, most of the survey respondents are from the formal housing units). Given their current dwelling situation, their financial demands seem relatively unrealistic to what may be their current income and financial asset values, and may not be equivalent to the current value of their properties. Respondents with high levels of attachment to Clairwood appear more likely to make large compensation claims in comparison to respondents with low levels of attachment to Clairwood. Those with high non-material attachment to Clairwood were mostly those from the informal settlements: they were in Clairwood to work and they had grown accustomed to the convenience of the area. They may also consider their 'real' homes to somewhere else in a rural area or township (where they come from). Some of these respondents want the government to give them proper housing and sanitation elsewhere, or indeed in any location. As a result, the respondents who have a strong attachment to Clairwood make (what may appear as) exaggerated claims. One respondent insisted that he would only move if he was compensated with R2 000 000 *plus* R15 000 for every tree on his property *plus* a guarantee that his whole neighbourhood will be relocated to the Bluff. This may seem exaggerated but it can also be interpreted as a resistance approach symbolic of how highly people value Clairwood. Asking for high financial compensation, in this sense, is not only an expression of the fact that not everything can be valued in financial terms, but it also involves the dynamics of existing power relations, and provokes power holders to contemplate an alternative view of value.

Type 4

Type 4¹⁴ comprises respondents who do not want to move but who do not have as strong a resentment towards relocation as Type 2-respondents. These participants make claims that will compensate them for the losses incurred from immovable assets because of the relocation process, but who also stated in some degree, that they did not want to, or would not, move. Most of the respondents falling in Type 4 can be captured under the category of "moving if forced to", who do not want to move in the conditions for moving category. In comparison to Type 3, which also involves resistance to relocation and the making of claims, Type 4-respondents name realistic and mostly rather precise figures (comparable to Type 1). This lead to the assumption that this precise pricing of assets is informed by an existing knowledge about the proposed port

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expansion and a prior process of reflection and discussion around it, sometimes with visiting officials or estate agents. Monetary demands range from R1 000 – R1 000 000 and are once more linked to demands of housing, the convenience of the central location of Clairwood and social service delivery. Even though the majority of *Type 4* -respondents still show high levels of attachment to Clairwood, quite a few people (especially in comparison with *Type 2* and *Type 3*) seem to value Clairwood only on a material level.

Type 5

*Type 5*¹⁵ includes all respondents who do not clearly state if they are willing to move or not. This applies to approximately one fifth of all the respondents. Respondents who fall in *Type 5* show both high and low levels of attachment to Clairwood. Thus, no correlation between these categories can be stated. Despite the fact that the respondents' narratives did not indicate clearly whether or not they would move, quite a few of them demanded financial compensation, in this case ranging from R10 000 to R3 000 000.

Type 6

*Type 6*¹⁶ includes the respondents that feel that they have outgrown Clairwood and would like to move somewhere else. There were not many of these but those that did not want to live in Clairwood anymore had strong feelings about moving. They felt that Clairwood had changed and it was not what it used to be. They were no longer attached to it in its present state; they were attached to what it used to be. They cited problems such as crime and trucking as some of the reasons that make them want to move. They will gladly leave Clairwood. They have probably thought of moving and may have moved anyway without the port expansion. Some feel that the government has made Clairwood uninhabitable by letting crime escalate and by not providing proper housing.

"The trucking and crime rate is terrible here, I would like to move out," (Clairwood, women)

"Clairwood is not as it was in the 60's and 70's," (Clairwood, man)

¹⁵ Momentarily marked pink

¹⁶ Momentarily marked in red

Conclusion

There is a continuum of economic and social relations taking place within the Clairwood community. Port expansion is changing the dynamics of the community which includes the increase in trucking enterprises and their related industrial needs such as logistics, storage, and spare parts to name a few. Not all of these operations are formal and some businesses are running informally. While respondents of the area are not against economic development of their area, some are concerned by the disruption taking place especially in their residentially zoned areas. Highly noted disruptions include the encroachment of illegally run trucking operations and spare parts businesses. Such businesses next to their homes are not being monitored by government officials and are perceived to be bringing degradation to their area. From these industrial movements, the residential space seems to be known as a valuable space for industrial development. However, it is also valuable for the residents themselves, for their historical struggles to maintain their heritage within the fabric of a vibrant and multi-racial community.

Clairwood provides an example of a large community able to remain sustainable with low carbon emissions within the vicinity of an industrial space which provides economic opportunities. The area has allowed for industries such as manufacturing and other formal industries to continue economic development in the municipality and to provide work for various skilled and non-skilled workers. At the same time, economic activity in the area is complemented through informal traders who operate and make a small living providing goods and services to the factory employees. The proximity between commercial and residential zones has also allowed residents of all income levels to walk to work and reduce their paid transport needs. They also enjoy convenient access to social services such as schools and hospitals. Certainly, the possibility for residential zones to be taken over by industrial units will not be taken lightly as the disruption of work, social and political lives of the ordinary Clairwood citizen is high. This status quo or the baseline of economic and social activity should be taken into consideration when costing out the losses or benefits in building the dig-out port expansion.

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