

SCHOOL OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

INVESTIGATING THE EXPERIENCES OF REFUGEES IN ACCESSING PROPER HOUSING IN URBAN AREAS: THE CASE OF ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY (DURBAN CBD), SOUTH AFRICA.

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A MASTERS DEGREE IN TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING.

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I, Nokubonga Philile Mirandah Dlamini, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work (except for where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

Signature:

Date: 31/07/2018

DEDICATION

maPhungula, Sizwe and Melokuhle Landi

I would like to express my modest gratitude to my grandmother, maPhungula, for crafting me to be the woman that I am today and for enforcing the significance of schooling on us at a very tender age, thank you. *Imisebenzi yakho emihle yonke le*. My greatest appreciation goes to my aunt, Hlengiwe, for always supporting me and for always embracing my achievements. Also, my mother for always being there for me. My sincere gratitude to my sister, Amahle, for her support as well.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SCHOOL	OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
	GATING THE EXPERIENCES OF REFUGEES IN ACCESSING PROPER HOUSING IN URBAN AREAS: THE CASE KWINI MUNICIPALITY (DURBAN CBD), SOUTH AFRICA
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DECLAR	ATIONI
DEDICA	ΓΙΟΝΙΙ
ACKNOV	NLEDGEMENTSIII
LIST OF	FIGURESVIII
LIST OF	TABLESIX
LIST OF	МАРЅХ
LIST OF	IMAGESXI
ABBREV	IATIONS / ACRONYMSXII
ABSTRA	стхії
СНАРТЕ	R ONE1
RESEAR	CH INTRODUCTION1
1.1.	INTRODUCTION1
1.2.	PROBLEM STATEMENT
1.3.	BACKGROUND
1.4.	AIM AND OBJECTIVES4
1.5.	RESEARCH QUESTIONS
1.6.	HYPOTHESIS
1.7.	RATIONALE OF THE STUDY
1.8.	CHAPTER OUTLINE6
1.9.	CHAPTER SUMMARY
СНАРТЕ	R TWO9
LITERAT	URE REVIEW9
2.1.	INTRODUCTION9
2.2.	GLOBAL OVERVIEW OF REFUGEES9

2.3.	UNDERSTANDING THE ISSUES OF REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING	. 11
2.4.	FACTORS HINDERING ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING FOR REFUGEES	. 11
2.5.	DEVELOPED REGIONS: REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO HOUSING (AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE CITY)	. 13
2.5.1.	THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA: CITY OF MELBOURNE	. 15
2.5.1.1.	AUSTRALIAN OVERVIEW	. 16
2.5.1.2.	CHALLENGES FACED BY REFUGEES IN ACCESSING HOUSING	. 17
2.5.1.3. REFUGEES	POLICY MEASURES IN PLACE AIMED AT ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF ACCESS TO HOUSING FOR S 19	
2.6.	DEVELOPING REGIONS: REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO HOUSING (UGANDA, KAMPALA CITY).	. 22
2.7.	ISSUE PATTERNS AT LOCAL LEVEL: A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT	. 29
2.8.	CHAPTER SUMMARY	. 35
CHAPTER	THREE	. 36
CONCEPT	UAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	. 36
3.1.	INTRODUCTION	. 36
3.2.	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	. 36
3.2.1.	THE PULL-PUSH THEORY	. 37
3.2.2.	SPATIAL ASSIMILATION THEORY	. 41
3.2.3.	COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING THEORY	. 43
3.3.	CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	. 45
3.3.1.	REFUGEES	. 46
3.3.2.	PROPER HOUSING	. 47
3.3.4.	SOCIAL COHESION	. 49
3.3.5.	XENOPHOBIA	. 50
3.3.6.	MODERNISM	. 50
3.3.7.	MULTICULTURAL CITY	. 52
3.4.	CHAPTER SUMMARY	. 52
CHAPTER	FOUR	. 53
CASE STU	DY AREA: CITY OF DURBAN (ALBERT PARK)	. 53
4.1. INTR	ODUCTION	. 53
4.2.	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY	. 54
4.3.	SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES	. 58
4.3.1.	THE ISSUE OF HOMELESSNESS	. 58

4.3.2.	THE ISSUE OF SAFETY	59
4.3.3.	INFRASTRUCTURE DELIVERY	61
4.3.4.	THE ISSUE OF HOUSING	63
4.3.4.1.	ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY RENTAL HOUSING	64
4.4.	ALBERT PARK (DURBAN CBD): STUDY AREA	65
4.5.	CHAPTER SUMMARY	68
CHAPTER	FIVE	69
RESEARCH	I METHODOLOGY	69
5.1.	INTRODUCTION	69
5.2.	SAMPLING	69
5.3.	DATA SOURCES	71
5.4.	DATA ANALYSIS	74
5.5.	VALIDITY AND RIGOR	74
5.6.	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	75
5.7.	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING FIELDWORK	76
5.8.	POINTERS	76
5.9.	CHAPTER SUMMARY	77
CHAPTER	SIX	79
DATA PRE	SENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION	79
6.1.	INTRODUCTION	79
6.2.	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS	79
6.3.	PROCESSES IN GETTING A PLACE TO STAY	88
6.4.	TYPE OF HOUSING AVAILABLE TO REFUGEES	91
6.5. AREA	CONDITIONS OF HOUSING SPACES OCCUPIED BY THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY IN THE ALBERT PARK 92	
6.6.	REFUGEES' HOUSING AFFORDABILITY CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE CITY	02
6.7.	CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED IN THE PROCESS OF ACCESSING HOUSING1	05
6.8.	POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TOWARDS ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING FROM RESPONDENTS	10
6.9.	POLICY AND PLANNING1	11
CHAPTER	SEVEN1	13
RECOMM	ENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS1	13
7.1.	INTRODUCTION1	13

7.2.	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	113
7.3.	RECOMMENDATIONS	114
7.3.1.	HOUSING POLICY AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING	114
7.3.2.	REFUGEE CAMPS	115
7.3.3.	REINFORCEMENT OF SOCIAL COHESION	115
7.3.4.	TOWN PLANNING AND IMMIGRATION AGENTS	115
7.3.5.	ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY	116
7.3.6.	RENTAL HOUSING	116
7.4.	CONCLUDING REMARKS	117
APPENDIC	ES	123
APPENDI	CE A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER	123
APPENDI	CE B: LETTER OF CONSENT (TEMPLATE)	124
APPENDIC	E C: APPROVED CONSENT LETTER	127
APPENDIC	E D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (KEY INFORMANTS)	128
APPENDIC	E E: QUESTIONAIRE (REFUGEES)	129

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: eThekwini Municipality Population Pyramid	54
Figure 6.2: Age Groups (participants)	80
Figure 6.3: Gender Groups (respondents)	82
Figure 6.4: Marital Status	83
Figure 6.5: Country of Origin	84
Figure 6.6: Level of Education	85
Figure 6.7: Employment Status	86
Figure 6.8: Monthly Income	87
Figure 6.9: Challenges encountered in accessing housing10	06
Figure 6.10: Types of crime experienced by refugees	10

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Factors hindering access to housing to refugees	12
Table 2.2: Programs to assist refugees in Australia	21
Table 2.3: eThekwini Municipality Sub-Housing Markets	.34
Table 4.2.4: Racial Groups of eThekwini Municipality	55
Table 4.2.5: Age Groups in eThekwini Municipality	55
Table 4.2.6: Gender Groups	56
Table 4.2.7: Employment status of eThekwini Municipality	57
Table 4.8: Issues related to homelessness	59
Table 4.9: eThekwini Municipality total crime cases reported over ten years	61
Table 5.10: eThekwini Municipality types of housing	63
Table 6.11: Process of getting a place to stay	88

LIST OF MAPS

Map 2.1: Locality Map (Melbourne City, Australia)	15
Map 2.2: Locality Map of Uganda	24
Map 2.3: Johannesburg, South Africa	29
Map 4.1: eThekwini Municipality Locality Map	53

LIST OF IMAGES

Image 6. 1: Lack of maintenance	
Image 6.2: Poor maintenance	
Image 6. 3: Broken windows	
Image 6.4: Laundry areas	97
Image 6. 5: Kitchen with broken cupboards	
Image 6.6: Room separation	
Image 6. 7: bathroom	99
Image 6. 8: Typical sleeping scene	100
Image 6.9: Cars parking outside the buildings	101

ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS

DoHA: Department of Home Affairs

- DoHS: Department of Human Settlements
- DHC: Denis Hurley Centre
- EU: European Union
- HDA: Housing Development Agency
- IC: International Court
- IDP: Integrated Development Plan
- KZN RSS: KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Social Services
- NDP: National Development Programme
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations
- NPO: Non-Profit Organisation
- PRP: Permanent Residential Permit
- RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme
- SADC: Southern African Development Community
- TRP: Temporary Residential Permit
- UK: United Kingdom
- UN: United Nations
- UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
- UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
- USA: United States of America
- WB: World Bank

ABSTRACT

The provision of proper housing has been an urgent and a thorny issue in South Africa for decades. The country attempted to deal with this challenge through the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) in the post-1994 dispensation. The attempt was not only meant to address housing for the poor, but also to encourage economic growth and make it possible for a large number of people from informal settlements to enter the housing market. Most importantly, RDP was also an attempt to fulfil the requirements of section 26 of the Constitution, which states that *everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing*. One of the main shortcomings of the RDP programme was that one had to be a South African citizen to receive a 'RDP house', which then raises a question on the constitutional imperative of housing for <u>all</u>, making it much more complex. The Constitution also makes it clear that everyone, <u>irrespective of citizenship</u>, has the right to access proper housing.

What then does this mean for refugees, whether poor or not? Do they, in practice, have access to adequate housing? This study thus investigates the experiences of refugees in accessing housing, especially in the urban areas where most refugees are likely to stay for both economic and security reasons. With the vast number of immigrant applications currently being processed by the Department of Home Affairs (DoHA), most refugees are on waiting lists and some are only provided with temporary residence for only a few months. Both the aforementioned challenges make it difficult for them to get occupancy in the rental housing market and also hinders their ability to buy houses; consequently, refugees are pushed into unregulated, overcrowded and dilapidated inner-city buildings. This is where they are exposed to crime, exploitation by landlords and discrimination including xenophobia. The abovementioned experiences which are substantiated by the findings of this study places an onus on the responsible governmental bodies to address the issue of access to proper housing. Further, the current planning and strategic policies do not seem to be utilising housing as an instrument for sustainable development, promoting social cohesion and combating crime to achieve the objectives stated in the National Development Plan (NDP).

CHAPTER ONE

RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Access to proper housing for refugees is one of the most urgent issues faced by countries across the globe. The flow of people from the northern, eastern and central African conflict areas to South Africa increases daily (UNHCR, UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015). In addition, as South Africa continues to be one of the major destinations on the continent for refugees, its asylum system is being overwhelmed. According to the Department of Home Affairs (2015:1), "the large number of applications has created a major backlog, affecting the quality and efficiency of refugee status determination". Without an effective asylum system resulting in pending or expired residence permits, it becomes difficult for refugees to access essential social services. In addition, to accommodate such a huge flow of people in either temporary or permanent housing facilities, the issue becomes a major challenge in view of South Africa's own housing backlog.

Given the greater competition for housing space in urban areas and given the fact that the figures relating to internal rural-urban migration are increasing, South Africa still struggles to provide proper housing to the large number of its homeless and needy permanent citizens. A report published by Statistics SA (2014) asserts that between 1996 and 2001 approximately 5 0541 222 people moved from rural to urban areas countrywide. This was 12% of the country's population at the time. The rates are still increasing and now, with the increasing number of refugees and asylum-seekers, the country's cities are overcrowded given that refugees are more likely to stay in urban areas (Statistics, 2013).

In view of the above, this study aims to investigate the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing, the challenges they face when trying to find accommodation, how they are treated by property owners or landlords in private markets, how they afford to pay for rent, as well as the conditions of the apartments they occupy. The study also aims to determine whether there are any institutions or organisations available to assist refugees in terms of finding suitable accommodation, pay rent and maintain the accommodation. The study further seeks to

investigate whether there are any policies or planning measures in place to cater for the housing needs of refugees – a vulnerable group of the population – in the country.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Worldwide refugees and asylum seekers are protected by an agreement reached at a convention in 1951 to assist people who are forced to leave their home countries due to fearing for their lives and because of their subsequent vulnerability. Since then, the 1951 Convention agreement – and later the 1967 Protocol – have become the principal international legal documents applicable to refugees. The 1951 Convention came about after a proposal for possible solutions to assist displacements (Greyling, 2009). Primarily, the 1951 Convention was limited to protecting only European refugees, but the 1967 Protocol expanded the scope to include other geographical areas as the problem of displacement occurred all over the world. South Africa (SA) signed these documents in 1996.

It is against the above background that the researcher decided to undertake this study and investigate the experiences of refugees, coming to SA, with regard to access housing, which is not just a basic need but also a right granted in terms of the international 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. According to the agreement reached at the 1951 Convention, access to and the provision of housing for refugees is a crucial issue, and the various role-players involved in the provision of housing programmes for refugees should address it as a priority. This is mainly because some refugees are found to be staying in overcrowded buildings and others in dilapidated structures that are not maintained and lacking basic services like water and electricity (Abur, 2012). Moreover, due to their uncertain residential status, lack of experience and knowledge of local languages, most refugees are found to be unemployed, or earn less, which make it difficult to cover all their expenses and needs (Atem, 2008). Because of the above – coupled with the increasing prices of rental accommodation and refugees' exclusion from social housing programmes – difficulty in finding a place to stay is most likely (Bruce, Noring, & Garrelts, 2016).

Also, with many countries under pressure to provide social and affordable housing for their own populations, and in view of the varying national measures and perspectives on how to provide adequate housing, the South African Government's response to the challenge of proper housing for refugees is to a certain degree fragmented (Greenburg & Polzer, 2008). Refugees are therefore vulnerable to homelessness. The issue of accommodation for refugees

is also related to the status application procedure. However, this thesis will not dwell on their legal status *per se*, but focus on the provision of proper housing, which is a major concern, especially for women and refugees with children. The issue of access to housing is also reliant on rental rates in the housing market, affordability, occupation, literacy and level of education, refugee status, as well as family size. There are also barriers such as bad treatment by property owners, xenophobic attacks, and lack of knowledge and language barriers hindering refugees from finding a way to get access to proper housing services, which are the focus of this study.

1.3. BACKGROUND

South Africa has a long history of immigration from neighbouring countries going back to the mid-nineteenth century before the beginning of the Apartheid era. According to Crush & Frayne (2007) the system of migration, though it was mainly labour migration, was most possibly the central factor tying together the various colonies and countries of the sub-continent into a single regional labour market in the twentieth century. However, deep-rooted patterns of migration have undergone a major change in the last two decades; the whole continent is now a region on the move, persuaded by political instabilities, persecution, natural disasters, poverty and hunger. South Africa, having one of the largest economies on the continent and ranked an upper-middle-income economy by the World Bank, followed by Nigeria, (National Treasury, 2016), attracts a lot of refugees especially from neighbouring countries.

Moreover, because of a largely increasing number of African refugees in the country, some even coming in illegally, South Africa has been one of the countries that has been in the spotlight for violence against African foreign nationals since the upsurge of xenophobic attacks in year 2008 (Amisi, Bond N. & Ngwane, 2010). According to Cormsa (2008:6) xenophobic violence and attacks against foreign nationals in South Africa has left most immigrants including refugees and asylum seekers feeling unsafe and unwanted in South Africa. The violence against immigrants has been directed mostly against Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Somalians as these are the three most dominant foreign nationals in most of the South African cities (CDE, 2008). This violence was fuelled by a number of factors including perceived competition with non-nationals for jobs and business opportunities, as well as the anger of South Africans because of the country's worsening economic conditions (CDE, 2008)

According to CoRMSA (2008:7) the failure of government to regularise the large number of refugees coming into South Africa and the absence of a humanitarian programme to integrate

them with the local communities heightens the anti-foreigner sentiments and tensions within the country. CoRMSA (2008) further states that one of the challenges is the seemingly refusal of civil society and state officials to accept refugees as part of society even though they are part of communities. This rejection seems to be rooted in the perceived threats posed by refugees to social cohesion and the host country's prosperity leading to restrictive policies as far as refugees are concerned. Also expressed in the Legal Resource Centre report (2016), South Africa – as opposed to many other countries – does not have refugee camps, nor does the state provide any particular form of social or financial assistance to asylum seekers or refugees, except the assistance they get from private organisations and agencies working with the government. However, asylum seekers and refugees have the right to be here and move freely in the country when they have valid documentation which legalise their presence in South Africa. This is something that is overlooked by local citizens.

Being here legally, refugees are allowed to reside where they wish, to engage in economic activity and to integrate socially and culturally within local communities. The question, however, is whether the systems are accommodating enough to accommodate refugees – Is rental housing affordable? Is the housing market accessible? Are the planning strategies and policies accommodative? These are some of the questions that this study will try to answer in the process of investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing.

1.4. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Aim: To investigate the experiences of refugees in getting access to proper housing in the city of Durban (eThekwini Municipality).

1.4.2. Objectives

The main objective of the study: To determine the challenges faced by refugees in getting access to housing in the city of Durban.

- To assess the conditions of housing that refugees occupy.
- To analyse how refugees pay for their accommodation.
- To evaluate the safety of accommodation occupied by refugees in the study area.
- To assess policy and planning measures around the provision of housing for refugees in EThekwini municipality.

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the conditions that refugees occupy?
- How do refugees afford to pay for accommodation?
- How safe and secure are the accommodation occupied by refugees?
- To what extent does the city's housing policy include refugees?
- What does the city of Durban and the eThekwini Municipality at large plan in meeting the housing needs of refugees?

1.6. HYPOTHESIS

Refugees are encountered with quarrelsome experiences when it comes to accessing proper housing in urban areas.

1.7. RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Access to proper housing is of major significance for anyone arriving in a new country, including refugees and asylum seekers. With large cities, being hubs of economic activity and offering jobs requiring a broad range of education and skills from people mowing there, more and more people prefer staying in cities. Large cities are often responsible for designing and delivering and, in some cases, financing, services that are critical to various groups moving to cities, including refugees; among these are housing, education, workforce development, health care, language courses, public safety, and extracurricular activities like sports or arts.

There should therefore be the necessary means to provide proper accommodation for refugees entering cities, including South African cities. This should also happen in South Africa despite the fact that the country is currently faced with an extensive housing backlog demonstrated by the fact that the country's own residents are complaining about a shortage of proper and affordable housing, as well as a shortage of facilities and the like. It is against this background that the country is currently faced with a large number of refugees who have come to seek asylum and to share the country's services with its citizens. To accommodate these large numbers of refugees requires planning and strategies, as well as systems to welcome them.

The rationale of this study is thus, to look at the seemingly extensive gap that exist between the government's efforts to accommodate refugees and their challenges to find proper accommodation. This study hopes to make suggestions to bridge this gap. Further, this study

also hopes to provide a framework, which will give every role player an understanding of the housing challenges faced by refugees, including an insight into the conditions of the housing spaces occupied by refugees, and how they can be addressed. This study will also suggest interventions, which may lead to the advancement of social cohesion between local citizens and refugee communities within shared spaces. Issues such as discrimination against refugees, lack of access to facilities, overcrowding and crime are some of the issues faced by refugees, which this study will endeavour to discuss in detail. It is believed that the findings of this study would benefit and inform policy formulation on local, provincial and national level.

1.8. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The dissertation is separated into seven chapters and each of the chapters deals with a different theme correlating with the topic. Below is a short summary of the chapters;

Chapter One: Research Introduction

This chapter introduces the study, which concerns the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing. It also provides a brief background to the topic and which other aspects, connected to the experiences of refugees in accessing housing, also play a role. The research aim and objectives are also defined, as well as the research questions that will guide the researcher in carrying out the investigation. This chapter also states the rationale of the study, which attempts to outline the need for the study. Lastly, the chapter outlines the scope for the rest of the dissertation.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter looks at the existing literature, arguments and debates concerning the experiences of foreign migrants in accessing housing. The first part of the chapter will discuss the experiences of refugees in host countries elsewhere in the world by focussing on case studies. The second part will discuss the local experiences of refugees living in South African cities in terms of case studies. The literature used in this chapter was used to get three perspectives: an international, national and local perspective.

Chapter Three: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first one focusses on the conceptual framework. This part explains and discusses the concepts that will be used in the study in relation to the issue being discussed. The second part of this chapter discusses the theories that will be used to shine light on and support the ideas and opinions forming the basis of the study.

Chapter Four: Case Study

This chapter describes the area where the study has been done; it looks at the housing typology of the area, the status quo of the area as well the context of the area within the wider metropolitan area.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology

This chapter focuses on the methods used to gather and collect information. The selected research methodology gives an indication of how the data will be collected and of the number of respondents and key informants that will be part of the study. This chapter also shows the sample size of the study and the instruments that will be used for data collection as well as the adopted strategies. In addition, this chapter explains how the analysis of the findings would be done and how they would be presented.

Chapter Six: Data Presentation and Data Analysis

This chapter presents the data collected. The collected data is analysed and the findings are presented within the conceptual and theoretical framework discussed in Chapter Three if this study. This chapter further incorporates images collected during fieldwork. The views of key informants and the information collected through interviews and questionnaires is presented and analysed critically.

Chapter Seven: Recommendations and Conclusions

The last chapter focusses on the conclusions drawn from the findings and make recommendations for further research and the consideration for interested stakeholders. The conclusions are based on the lessons learnt from investigating the experiences of foreign migrants in accessing housing, the suggested policies and strategic plans the housing and planning departments on all government levels should devise and/or consider providing access to housing for refugees who are being marginalised within the eThekwini Municipality and South African cities at large. In short: this chapter will be used to draw conclusions based on the whole study.

1.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter the researcher has set out the main discussion and arguments of the paper – to investigate the experiences of refugees concerning access to housing – and has provided a brief background to this issue. The chapter also outlined the main aim and objectives of the study, as well as the research questions that were used in attempt to investigate the experiences of refugees with regard to access housing in the Durban CBD.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Referring to the work of scholars and researchers in this field, this chapter gives an overview of the experiences of refugees in accessing housing. Reviewing the literature provides a better insight and understanding of the issues and challenges faced by refugees in different parts of the world. The review will help also help to unpack the issue of access to housing by refugees in relation to how the issue affects their livelihoods, the type of housing available to refugees, and how refugees are affected by the housing market.

It will also shine light on the policy and planning strategies host countries have in place, if any, to address the issue. The first part of this chapter will, with the help of case studies, focus on the issue at international level. The second part of the chapter will analyse the issue at national level and the third part at local level.

2.2. GLOBAL OVERVIEW OF REFUGEES

According to the 2014 official figures of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there were 19.5 million refugees globally (UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015). This equates to a global refugee population of just greater than that of the Netherlands. According to an update by UNHCR, 51% of global refugees are under 18 years old and originate primarily from Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia.

Of all countries globally, Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon host the most refugees with Lebanon hosting 232 refugees per 1 000 of the population (in comparison Sweden hosts 15 per 1 000 of the population) (IFHP, 2015:2). The UNCHR update also shows that 86% of the world's refugees remain in the region of their home country, staying in neighbouring countries. This explains the number of refugees in South Africa coming from neighbouring countries. The image below shows the distribution of refugees around the globe.

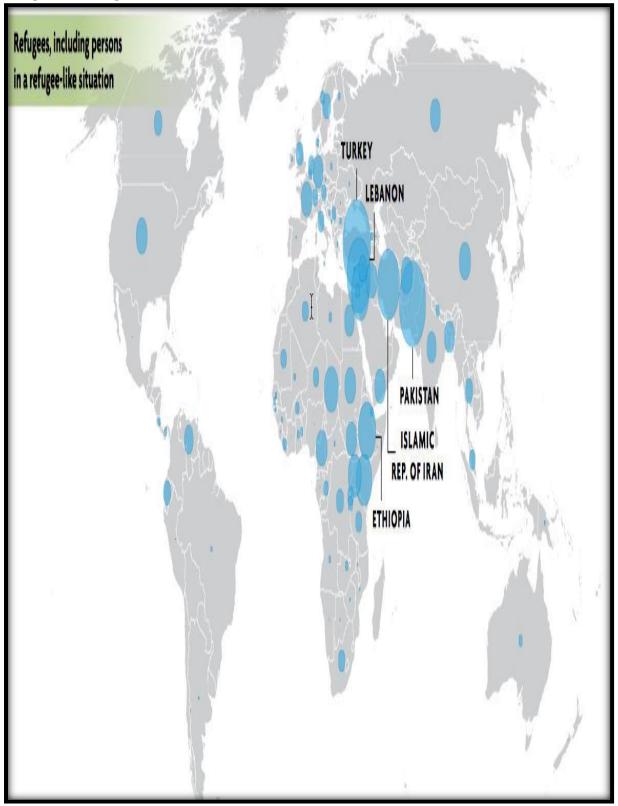


Image 1.1: Refugee Global Overview, UNHCR 2014

Source: IFHP, 2015 (accessed in November 2016)

2.3. UNDERSTANDING THE ISSUES OF REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING

The United Nations (UN) states that everyone has a right to a proper and adequate standard of living and this includes safe and secure housing (shelter) as stated under the International Human Rights Law. However, despite this central (global) human right, it is evident that there are still hundreds of thousands of people in the world housed under life-threatening conditions, overcrowded slums and informal settlements which are conditions that do not uphold the aforementioned human right. Under these is a large number of refugees from various countries, especially those coming from Africa, a continent well known to be economically frazzled (Ramakrishman & Lewis, 2005). The UN recognises that "adequate housing" is not just four walls and a roof – adequate or proper housing is rather a measure of a basic supply of services and facilities, including availability and affordability (Ramakrishman & Lewis, 2005).

In order for housing to be adequate or proper it must include security of tenure so that occupants are not threatened by forced evictions, harassments and other life threats. Proper housing should have facilities, services and adequate infrastructure, which includes safe drinking water, health facilities and/or easy access to public transport (Ramakrishman & Lewis, 2005). Housing is therefore not just a basic need for human survival but also a fundamental building block for strong, safe and healthy neighbourhoods.

In addition, housing is one of the most important aspects of human life, more especially when one is in a foreign country. The issue globally is a concern about access to safer and proper housing for the "People of Concern" (PoC) as the UNHCR Global Appeal Update (2015) refers to refugees in their report. As noted, refugees are indeed "people of concern" as they have fled their home countries due to life threatening situations including fear of persecution, war outbreaks, and poverty making them a vulnerable group (UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015).

2.4. FACTORS HINDERING ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING FOR REFUGEES

It has been established that the problem of housing for refugee populations in developing countries is different from that of refugee populations in developed countries. One of the reasons for this is the lower income of many refugees in the countries of developing regions (Anderson, 2012). It has also been established that refugees in most cases cannot find jobs that are key to enable them to buy property or find appropriate rental property.

Moreover, hindrances to access proper housing are not only economic but there are also noneconomic barriers that hinder refugees from getting access to proper housing, as those who have no political affiliations tend to find it more difficult in comparison with those who have. And in some sections of the housing market, good "connections" are advantageous in getting access to housing, more especially in the case of dealings with private property owners (Anderson, 2012). Below is a table illustrating some of the factors hindering refugees to get access to housing, as well as the causes and proposed solutions.

Factor	Cause(s)	Proposed Solution(s)	
Accessibility	-Housing regulations	-Revised regulations	
	-High rates	-Cost-efficient rates	
	-Family size		
	TT	T	
Affordability	-Unemployment	-Increased job opportunities	
Creditworthiness	-Admission status	-Increased level of income	
	-Lack of financial resources	-Improved opportunities to	
		start businesses	
Political affiliations	-Less political involvement	t -Establishment of good	
	-Lack of knowledge	affiliations	
	-Absence of interest		

 Table 2.1: Factors hindering access to housing to refugees

Source: Anderson, 2012 (accessed in March 2017)

The table above shows the type of factors hindering access to housing for refugees generally, as cited in Anderson's 2012 article. According to Anderson (2012), accessibility, affordability,

credit-worthiness and political affiliations are essential factors for refugees in order to access proper housing.

Referring to the table above, firstly, accessibility (denoting the ability to get access to housing) is dependent on the regulations (practices or governing rules) that control admission to different kinds of housing. The terms of tenure, conditions for lease agreements and requirements for buying a house as well as qualifying criteria for social housing are in some, if not most, cases the controlling practices standing in the way of housing accessibility. What would help is having a personal connection with owners (Anderson, 2012).

Secondly, is the issue of affordability; this is the ability to pay for the housing space including maintenance. Affordability is dependent on the income of households and connected to housing subsidies and regulations. Affordability is also directly linked to unemployment as well as lack of a stable income. Given that most refugees are faced with the problem of temporary and low-income jobs, affordability hinders access to housing. Increased chances of employment are the only viable solutions to this.

Thirdly, there is the issue of credit-worthiness. This is defined as the ability to get access to capital that can be used to invest in housing. According to Anderson (2012), having adequate financial resources is essential for obtaining proper housing. For refugees to obtain the desired housing type is dependent on their level of income and status of employment. This means that getting credit for the type and size of housing desired is linked to creditworthiness, especially for refugees wanting to buy houses. After discussing the above factors and how they influence the chances of refugees to get access to housing, the discussion will now proceed to an analysis of the issue at international, national and local level.

2.5. DEVELOPED REGIONS: REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO HOUSING (AUSTRALIA, MELBOURNE CITY)

African refugees are one of the most disadvantaged refugee groups in developed countries, including countries such as Australia, especially when it comes to settlement issues (Abur, 2012). However, the issue of refugees' access to proper housing is universal. The issue is mainly influenced by a lack of planning and poor policy frameworks informing the issue as well as outdated migrant systems in host countries.

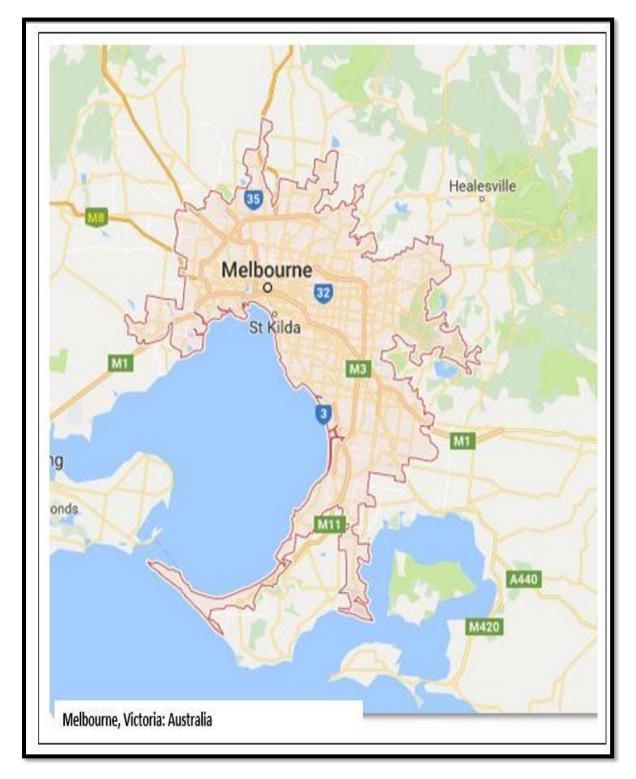
This section of the study explores the issue at international level using a case study in Australia, which is a country that is having challenges with regard to admitting and accommodating a large number of refugees. What will be discussed are the type of housing available to refugees, the challenges faced by refugees hindering access to proper housing, the impact the issue has on their livelihoods and the policies in place trying to address the issue. It is worth noting that the analysis will only focus on the country's most prominent cities.

This is largely because cities are hubs of economic activity (Crush & Williams, 2005), have more opportunities and access to services, and chances for a better life are higher, hence the high rate of rural-urban migration and the higher statistics of refugees staying in the urban areas as compared to any other place in a new country (Painter & Zhou, 2010).

The map inserted below shows the locality of the city of Melbourne, which is one of the largest cities in Australia and the capital of Victoria. The majority of refugees that have settled in this Australian city come from African countries. The country had an intake of approximately 20019 refugee entrants in 2014 if refugees from the Middle East and Asia are included (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014).

Due to the large number of refugees coming to the country, the ability to accommodate them in urban areas remains a significant challenge for policy makers. However, the issue of accommodation remains a global issue, given the scale of the total number of people leaving their home countries due to civil unrest, persecution and natural disasters (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014). According to the UNHCR, Australia is one of the top 22 countries when it comes to resettlement with an annual intake increase of 6.6% (UNHCR, UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015). Based on the above, the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing in Melbourne are unpacked below.

2.5.1. THE CASE OF AUSTRALIA: CITY OF MELBOURNE



Map 2.1: Locality Map (Melbourne City, Australia)

Source: Google Map, 2016

2.5.1.1. AUSTRALIAN OVERVIEW

Australia has an extremely expensive housing market largely influenced by the fast growing number of new arrivals in the country, (Fozdar & Hartely, n.d). The survey done by the two researchers stated that six of Australia's capital cities were ranked among the most unaffordable for home purchasing and Melbourne was ranked third. The lack of affordability had similar trends when it came to the rental markets. However, one thing that stands with Australia is that, upon arrival in Australia, refugees get free accommodation for up to four weeks. But after this period refugees are dependent on the private market for accommodation, (Fozdar & Hartely, n.d). This is the reason why most refugees tend to cluster in areas that are hubs for important services such as education and migrant resource centres because the traditionally inner-city suburbs that used to be common settlement areas for refugees are now unaffordable.

With that said, below are the types of housing available for refugees in Australia, the challenges they face in accessing housing and lastly the policy measures that the country has in place to address the issue of housing access for refugees.

2.5.1.1.1. Types of housing available for refugees

According to Foley & Beer (2003:19), the small housing sector and reliance on markets to meet the housing needs of the nations' citizens escalates the likelihood that refugee arrivals might become homeless or experience housing distress when arriving in Australia. According to reports and the works of academics there are three types of housing that refugees are able to access in Australia. They are:

• Private housing

According to Foley & Beer, 2003, the private housing sector has four popular types of housing available for refugees upon arrival in the country, they are: detached dwellings, flats, boarding houses and motels/hotels. It is argued that the private rental market should be one of the easiest forms of housing that refugees are able to access in Australia. However, refugees are frequently deprived of the opportunity to access the housing market (Australia, 2013:6). This is caused by some service providers who believe that refugees are not entitled to assistance when it comes to the private housing market.

According to the report of the Refugee Council of Australia (Australia, 2013), the support agencies in Victoria have noted that many refugees are denied assistance because of the confusion about whether refugees have an "exit option" when it comes to housing services. This means that when they are not able to secure paid employment they may transfer their rental spaces illegally, which is a major concern and can have negative impacts on the development programmes that the country is offering to refugees.

• Emergency housing

Emergency responses exacerbate land tenure issues and impact on settlement patterns in both urban and rural contexts. Certain activities such as constructing shelters, establishing refugee settlements and organising the return to areas of origin may significantly affect the land tenure of local communities and the livelihoods of refugees and other displaced people (UNHCR, Global Strategy for Resettlement and Shelter: UNHCR Strategy 2014-2018, 2012). Emergency shelter preparedness and response relies on the capacity to develop shelter strategies in a timely way. This must be informed by a projection of needs, surveys of potentially affected areas, an analysis of locally available resources and the demographics of the affected population. Shelter assistance should be tailored around the social and cultural preferences of the affected households to meet their needs, (UNHCR, Global Strategy for Resettlement and Shelter: UNHCR Strategy 2014-2018, 2012).

2.5.1.2. Challenges faced by refugees in accessing housing

The challenges that refugees encounter range from inability to communicate using a common language (English) in the host country to unemployment, housing unaffordability and discrimination. Much emphasis is put on finding a housing space for refugees, because to establish a home, finding employment, accessing education and establishing social connections, are the foundations of proper settlement. This is why the challenges mentioned above poses a great challenge as discussed below.

• Language barrier is one of the common challenges when it comes to navigating the housing sector and in competing for affordable rental properties for refugees in Australia (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014). Refugee groups coming from non-English countries and settling in English speaking countries are usually faced with this communication challenge.

For adults who have a wide range of responsibilities, it is not easy to learn the common language in an easy and quick manner – it takes time to learn and getting used to the system (Abur, 2012). There is a great need for support in terms of addressing this issue because it also has an impact on refugee's chances of employability. In Melbourne, as stated by Abur (2012:7), there is a programme called AMEP that assists newly refugees to learn English.

However, the problem with this support service is that it is only provided within a timeframe of approximately 510 hours, which is 21 days; that is less than a month. As for refugees who are slow to learn and those who are working during the day, the timeframe is just too narrow. Further, according to the NHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015, because of the language barrier, it is difficult for refugees to earn a living.

And as refugees are often faced with this and other significant challenges in securing employment during the early stages of settlement, many consequently have a very limited income. The issue of language further dispossess refugees of important support and advice as they have a limited understanding of rental processes, their rights as tenants, or the expectations of property owners and the local citizens (Australia, 2013). Programmes for refugees to learn the common language upon arrival might be one of the solutions to this challenge.

- Unemployment is another challenge faced by most African refugees. According to Abur (2012), employment is an important part of supporting refugee communities to settle in a new environment. This is so because when people are able to access employment and have a stable income, there is reduced stress associated with the cost of living. However, for refugees in Melbourne a lack of locally required skills and experience leads to less opportunities in securing stable jobs (UNHCR, UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015). What also escalates unemployment for refugees are the competition for jobs in the cities and a lack of business opportunities.
- Housing unaffordability is also a challenge faced by most refugees in Australia. As the Australian Human Rights Commission (Triggs, 2015, p. 09) asserts, "Access to appropriate and affordable housing is very important and is a fundamental human

right". But with the fast growing rate of urbanisation, large cities face pressures regarding affordable housing, making cost-efficient refugee housing more difficult (Abur, 2012).

Being hubs of economic activity, cities tend to be destinations for migration; so as refugees move toward social networks or larger job markets they are faced with the challenge of affordability which affects access to proper housing, more especially for single moms with children because they require larger spaces.

The Australian Government seems to be taking steps in addressing the issue. According to Atem (2008), a lack of adequate resources to build affordable housing for everyone has made it difficult for the Government to address homelessness and housing for refugees. A call on UNHCR to create and adequately fund housing support programmes for countries with the biggest refugee needs is a call that really needs to be given attention.

• **Discrimination**, as well as racism, leading to xenophobia (as is the case with South Africa), is another challenge faced by refugees. Australia as a diverse country embraces multiculturalism as the Government policy states, but according to a report by Abur (2012), discrimination is still an issue faced by newly arriving refugees. Discrimination does not only creates hostile environments for migrant and host families, it also creates barriers for access to employment and social services including housing facilities. Even though the Australian Government does not promote racism or discrimination, responses of refugees who settled in Melbourne, as contained in Abur's 2012 report, mention racial comments in the streets and discrimination in workplaces, making them not feeling safe and welcome in Melbourne.

2.5.1.3. Policy measures in place aimed at addressing the issue of access to housing for refugees

The current policy approach to refugee resettlement has its roots in a major policy rethink about how to deal with refugees and support them to develop the necessary skills to live more independent lives within Australia (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014). As from 1997, the then Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) began to develop a national framework to make use of settlement services for refugee entrants more effective through partnerships with community organisations, and further to improve links between settlement planning activities and service delivery.

In addition, policy questions regarding refugees in Australia have been constantly under the political and media microscope for the past few years (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014:18). This attention was mainly a result of 'irregular maritime arrivals' (IMAs) who arrived in relatively large numbers from 2000 under the rule of the then Labor Government and who are now the target of the new Coalition Government's border protection strategy 'Operation Sovereign Borders' (Fozdar & Hartely, n.d.). According to Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt (2014), "under this new policy, refugee policy and the granting of visas to refugees is the domain of the Australian Government".

However, state and local governments habitually assume varying degrees of 'settlement policy responsibility' because of their control of various government programmes in the areas of education, health and public housing. And since the majority of refugees end up in the private rental market, community-based settlement services, housing and welfare organisations play an active role in helping refugees find, rent and maintain their housing.

Below is an insert taken from Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt (2014:32). The Australian Government provides a suite of services to address the resettlement needs of newly-arrived refugees for up to five years from their arrival. This include a broad mix of social, welfare and housing initiatives and are set out in the insert below.

Further, there are programmes that have been proposed and put in place recently, which allows refugee entrants' access to the programmes throughout the first five years of settlement, for example, the pre-arrival Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) programme listed first in the table below. Available to asylum seekers or IMAs who have exited detention and are holding a bridging visa, but are awaiting a protection visa (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014).

The Settlement Grants Program (SGP) that is available for up to five years from arrival is listed last. Two additional programmes have also been listed, namely the Community Assistance Support (CAS) programme and the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme (ASAS). These programmes have been included to show the entire set of programmes funded by the Commonwealth Government to support the resettlement of refugee entrants, regardless of whether they have been granted permanent residency or not.

Type of program	When and how long it is provided?	Who is eligible?	What direct accommodation support is provided?
Australian Cultural Orientation	-Pre-arrival -Delivered over 5 years	Only refugees who are above the age of five years, planning to settle in Australia	Covers topics about housing and renting as well as household management arrangements
Human Settlement Services	Six to twelve months from arrival	Refugees only	Assistance with finding accommodation and property induction
Complex Case Support Services	Up to five years from arrival	Refugees and eligible migrants	Support to accommodation, financial and legal issues
Adult Migrant English Program	Up to five years from arrival	Refugees and eligible migrants	none
Settlement Grants Program	Up to five years from arrival	Refugees and eligible migrants	Referrals to housing services and advice on tenancy rights
Community Assistance Support	Not stated	Eligible Bridging Visa Holders	Accommodation for six weeks; information regarding longer-term accommodation
Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme	Not stated	Eligible Bridging Visa Holders	Re Referrals to housing services and advice on tenancy rights

Table 2.2: Programs to assist refugees in Australia

Source: Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt (2014:32)

Further, in its quest to facilitate the efficient and effective resettlement of refugees into Australia the, Commonwealth Government established the Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS). The HSS programme commenced in 2011, replacing the former Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS), which commenced in 2005.

The HSS programme is the most comprehensive support programme for refugees funded by the Commonwealth Government. As indicated in the table above, the HSS and Complex Case Support (CCS) are the only two onshore-dedicated refugee-settlement support services and are only open to humanitarian entrants (Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014). While the CCS is only available to humanitarian entrants in exceptional circumstances, the HSS is by far the more universally accessed of the two programmes. The HSS programme generally provides support to refugees for an initial 6 to 12 months stay in Australia. As mentioned, the HSS forms part of a suite of integrated programmes designed to provide refugees with the basic skills to understand and negotiate the key systems, institutions and social practices of Australia. The SGP is a key programme in this suite of services available to humanitarian entrants.

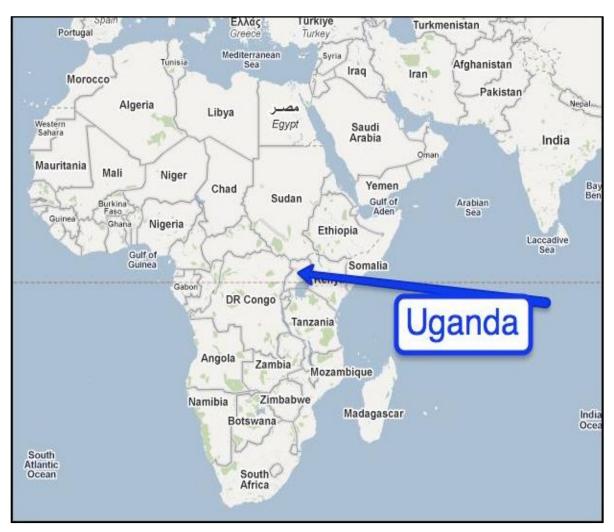
While it is open to eligible migrants and therefore not dedicated to humanitarian entrants alone, the majority of the programme's clients are humanitarian entrants. The programme is available to refugees for up to five years from their arrival in Australia and provides casework and projects of various kinds that assist in the settlement of individual clients and communities. A structured orientation component of the HSS is the Onshore Orientation Program (OOP), which is about developing refugees' core competencies in a number of skills and knowledge areas. As such, this programme is very much outcomes-focussed and its success is measured by the extent to which refugees can exhibit the mastery of certain skills and knowledge (as outlined in the HSS document, as cited in Flatau, Colic-Peisker, Bauskis, Maginn, & Buergelt, 2014).

2.6. DEVELOPING REGIONS: REFUGEES AND ACCESS TO HOUSING (UGANDA, KAMPALA CITY).

Uganda has a longstanding relationship with refugee hosting services since its independence in 1962. Uganda has been the host of an average of 161 000 refugees a year, with most of them coming from neighbouring countries such as the Congo, South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, as well as Somalia, as shown in the map below (Higgins, 2017). Though there have been reports on the crisis of over population of refugees in Uganda, studies show that those that are already in the country seem to be well-integrated within the greater community and are positively contributing to the country's economy. In his report, Hakizimana (2014) states that 60% of refugees in Uganda are self-employed, 39% are employed by others, and only 1% are unemployed.

Further, in the country's capital city, Kampala, 21% of the refugees generate employment through their businesses. What one would like to know, however, is whether there are any housing-related challenges with regard to housing refugees in the country? Among them are questions about the type of housing available to refugees, the challenges they face when trying to access housing, as well as the type of policies informing accommodating refugees in Uganda.

Kampala is home to some 15 000 refugees who have escaped from their home countries. They did it without any assistance from UNHCR (Higgins, 2017). These refugees have chosen an environment in which they can use their skills to achieve self-sufficiency. According to reports, most of the refugees staying in this city have come into the country without having to be accommodated in a refugee camp, refuting the popular traditional notion that refugees are a burden to host countries.



Map 2.2: Locality Map of Uganda

Source: Google Map, 2017

2.6.1. The case of Uganda: Kampala

2.6.1.1. Background

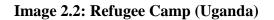
UNHCR's vision is the ability for all refugees to safely satisfy their settlement and shelter needs in a most honourable and justifiable manner irrespective of where they live, whether in urban or in rural areas (UNHCR, 2012). This ensure access to shelters that are able to provide privacy, security, protection as well as a sense of home. However, UNHCR's report states that in countries who previously suffered from instability and life-threatening epidemics (Uganda and South Africa), "…many refugees are not safe where they live, nor do they live in dignity with access to sustainable settlement and shelter possibilities. A timely and effective settlement and shelter response can significantly improve refugees' protection and ability to meet their basic needs as well as to strengthen their resilience to humanitarian crises and the impact of

their displacement". Therefore, as a holistic approach, the agency promotes the provision of a dynamic framework to planning and preparedness in combating the issue of access to housing for refugees. In Kampala, refugees are scattered all over the city's low-income areas, but there are certain neighbourhoods where refugees from the same country of origin are concentrated: for example, Somali refugees in Kisenyi, Congolese refugees in Katwe and Ethiopian refugees in Kabalagala (InterAid, 2009; Commission, 2011). There are three different types of housing available for refugees in Uganda and are presented below as: refugee camps, private accommodation and freehold housing. Unlike some of its neighbours encamping refugees, the Uganda Government promotes the self-reliance of refugees, which promotes minimal humanitarian relief and opens up a space for a development-based approach to refugee assistance (Omata & Kaplan, 2013). Below is a brief discussion of the type of housing refugees have access to in Kampala.

2.6.1.2. Type of housing available for refugees in Uganda

• Refugee Camps

Newly arriving refugees often come without money or any support networks, so their first concern is to find a safe place to sleep at night (Watch, 2012). Some are lucky and find shelter with friends or family, or with one of the two churches who give refugees shelter on church property. However, because Uganda is part of the UNHCR agency, most refugees coming into the country are provided with shelter by the UN refugee agency. As the image below shows, UNHCR provides shelter to refugees best they can. The agency also provides food, sanitary pads and assistance to pregnant women, children and refugees who are disabled (Omata & Kaplan, 2013).





Source: Google Images, 2017

• Land provision

The Government of Uganda allocates land to registered refugees to use for housing and farming for those refugees willing to grow their own food and sell their surplus produce. Compared to camps, this form of settlement creates livelihood opportunities for refugee families to achieve socio-economic security, reducing their dependency on free food parcels and other social and economic assistance. The Government's refugee policy permits freedom of movement as long as refugees who want to live outside settlements can support themselves. The Government and refugee organisations further assist refugees and try to respond to the specific challenges the

urban refugee population faces. UNHCR and its partners continue to implement coordinated protection and livelihood solution strategies adapted to the urban context (UNHCR, 2015).

• Private housing

Once an individual obtains refugee status in Kampala, UNHCR assists a portion of them with a subsistence allowance for accommodation. Many others must rely on charity to meet their needs. One female human rights activist interviewed by a Human Rights Watch researcher explained that she had a place to sleep when she first arrived because a Congolese family took her in. They had since left, but paid the rent for three months in advance so she would have time to find another place. Finding money to pay rent is a daily struggle for refugees in Kampala. Monthly rent for a room is commonly between Ush. 9 000 – 30 000 (US \$5 – \$17). In Kampala, most refugees live in crowded rectangular rooms made out of cement blocks. Human Rights Watch attended a press conference in Kampala where UNHCR made its policy preferences quite clear about private housing. Mr. Saihou Saidy, the UNHCR representative in Kampala, told the press, "It is easier for UNHCR to deal with refugees in the camp setting. At some point, we have to stop paying the rent of refugees are more likely to get assistance from the UNHCR agency if they remain in the camps as compared to when they live in private rental spaces.

2.6.1.3. Challenges faced by refugees when accessing housing in Uganda

2.6.1.3.1. Discrimination:

Refugees' countries of origin are often devastated by armed conflict and often political or military leaders manipulate ethnic identities as a source of power. As a result, refugee groups sometimes experience internal conflicts. Some of these tensions reflect the divisions in the refugees' home countries, and some are new tensions that arise from different refugee communities living together. Human Rights Watch documented both types of conflict in Kampala – discrimination and violence between clans in the Somali community or between the Hutu and Tutsi in the Rwandan community, as well as tensions between, for example, Sudanese and Congolese, or Somali and Ethiopian refugees. Refugees subject to discriminatory treatment are without protective networks within the refugee community to help them when problems arise. In the worst cases, physical violence and even death threats

can occur. For example, according to UNHCR (UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015), there is a case where a refugee in his late twenties who has a mother who is Ethiopian and a Somali father. The refugee, Mohammed, has been living in Uganda without his parents since November 22, 1993, and has been discriminated against for his mixed background.

2.6.1.3.2. Destituteness

Once they arrive in Kampala, asylum seekers and refugees have few places to turn to meet their basic needs. UNHCR is, of course, the main organisation in this field, but the agency could only assist 274 refugees in 2001. Inter-Aid, a Ugandan organisation that serves as UNHCR's main implementing partner, provides intake counselling for asylum seekers and refugees, some medical care, and income-generating initiatives for a small number of refugees. Inter-Aid reported 10 315 "visits" by refugees and asylum seekers during 2001. A few NGOs and faith-based organisations provide assistance only while asylum seekers are waiting for their status to be assessed. Once recognised as refugees, most must sign an agreement verifying that they will be "self-sufficient" in Kampala. Keeping this promise is very difficult for refugees, given that they are living in a city where Ugandan citizens themselves are suffering from unemployment and poverty.

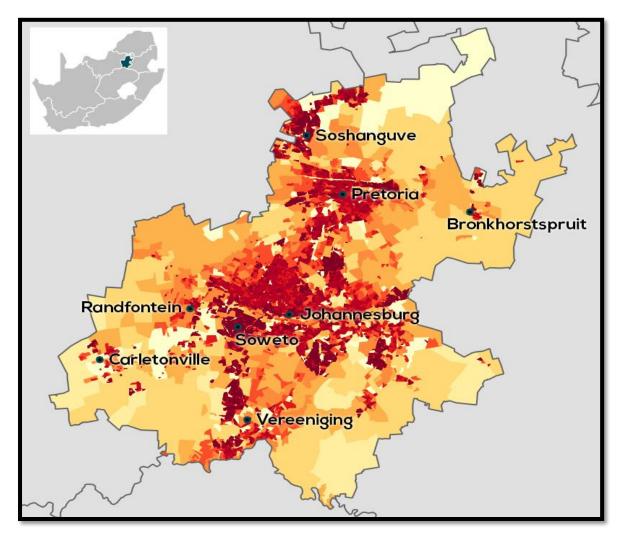
2.6.1.4. Policy measures in place for refugees in accessing housing

Some countries have working policy measures put in place to accommodate the needs of refugees. Uganda is one such country and according to research, the Ugandan Government has since 1999 pursued an approach of local social and economic assimilation of refugees, which is aimed at addressing challenges faced by this vulnerable group of individuals in terms of integration, access to facilities as well as security and safety. According to Kreibaum (2016), refugees in Uganda are legible to receive land; they are also permitted to work and are thus envisioned to become independent of assistance from the Government and humanitarian organisations or institutions. This liberal policy benefits the native population as well, largely because the enhanced economic dynamics in areas in which many refugees live, leads to higher consumption and improved access to public infrastructure for people in neighbouring villages, especially in Kampala. Having the policy in place was a major step taken by the country's Government in having refugees liberated in finding their feet after moving from their country of origin. Issues of safety and security are the main priority and the Government seems to be catering exactly for that given the liberal policy explained above.

2.7. ISSUE PATTERNS AT LOCAL LEVEL: A SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The map below depicts the locality of the city of Johannesburg in South Africa and its surrounding cities. The city of Johannesburg is the most densely populated city in the country as it is the country's largest city with an average of 4.49 million people (StatisticsSA, 2016). The city is one with significant economic activities including the mining of gold and other mineral resources, which makes it the city with the most job opportunities. The city also have one of the largest populations of refugees and other immigrants from surrounding African countries.





Source: City's IDP map, 2016

2.7.1. Access and provision of housing

According to Pretorius, Gibson, & Henderson (2005), South Africa has the most skewed pattern of access to housing and basic services. The service deprivation index that was developed to measure progress in the delivery system of seven basic services in South African cities, including housing, showed a slight increase in service deprivation, more especially with regard to households headed by Black Africans (Pretorious, Gibson, & Henderson, 2005). This has caused an increase in the number of households that are considered deprived of access to basic services, from 5.68 million in 1996 to 7.24 million in 2001; this is a 27% increase (Statistics, 2013). This shows that the growth in population is much higher in the cities as compared to other dwelling places in the country.

Since 1994, South Africa has spent R24.4 billion supporting the building of over 1.5 million houses for poor households countrywide. There are approximately 6 million people who benefited from the Government's housing subsidy and housing credit schemes (Human Settlements, 2005). The most housing units by far, 355 556, were constructed in Gauteng and about 256 542 units in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). However, the causes of an increasing housing backlog is the rapidly growing urban population. According to the city's municipal management, the rate of the housing backlog is about 208 000 units per year countrywide. This can be attributed to rapid urbanisation, unemployment, population growth and lack of administrative capacity. All the above have direct implications for refugees in their quest to get access to proper housing.

2.7.2. Status quo for refugees in accessing housing

Refugees in South Africa struggle to find safe and well-maintained housing. This is a problem fuelled by a shortage of affordable housing, restrictions on public benefits, immigration status, exploitation by landlords, and outright discrimination in renting and buying property (Palmary, 2013). Some refugee populations face added difficulties that complicate the search for affordable housing. The systems that protect people from exploitative and discriminatory property owners and secured loan lenders are not working for refugees. The private market is failing to provide affordable housing, and public housing cannot meet the demand and it is exclusively for South African citizens. The Government is constrained by a lack of funding and a political environment that views it as acceptable to deny some people the right to decent, safe housing.

Housing is not merely having shelter or a roof above one's head but it is also about security, safety and the impact on one's livelihood while trying to adapt to living in the country of arrival, this includes arrival in South African cities. According to Greenburg & Polzer (2008), South African cities, in particular Johannesburg (one of the densely populated cities in the country), face a crises. There is only a small number of shelters and refugee service providers who offer temporary support to refugees in desperate need for accommodation. This means that refugees have to rely on private rental or lease rental space in order to be accommodated. According to Greenburg & Polzer (2008), many refugees face widespread discrimination and xenophobic behaviour by some landlords and estate companies, some of whom are unaware of who constitutes a legal migrant and whether it is legal to rent property to refugees. Such challenges often lead refugees to informally sub-lease or live in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, and in many instances to pay bribes in order to gain access to accommodation.

2.7.3. Impacts on livelihoods

Recent research suggests that refugees in general have the worse housing outcomes compared to other residents in metropolitan areas. Further, there are no policies, strategies or frameworks that seem to agree on the solutions to fix the existing housing gap, as most city plans have not "woken up" to the issue and actually make plans to accommodate refugees in proper housing structures with basic access to facilities and security. Krivo (1995) and Coulson (1999), as cited in Painter & Zhou (2010), suggest that household attributes and the characteristics of the metropolitan areas are responsible for the low home-ownership rates of refugees in most countries. Recent surveys prove that there is a rather significant housing gap in terms of home ownership for refugees. The gap in home ownership is mostly due to factors such as country of origin and skill profiles. According to Painter & Zhou (2010), the unfavourable skill profiles of refugees are the main reason for the large home-ownership gap. Research literature has failed to account for the fact that refugees are more mobile and tend to cluster in refugee gateways or camps (Myers, 1998, Painter and Yu, 2001, as cited in Painter & Zhou, 2010). This is mainly because most refugees struggle to find a decent place to stay and may still be networking and try to make contact with people who can assist them in finding decent accommodation.

2.7.4. Study Area: Durban, South Africa

Cities around the world face challenges related to homelessness (eThekwiniMunicipality, Draft Integrated Development Plan 2017/18, 2017, p. 18). According to the city's current Integrated

Development Plan (IDP), developing relevant programmes and interventions that will bring about change is very important for the contextual understanding of homelessness. While persons living on the street are not a new phenomenon, recent economic changes have seen a rise in the number of people living and working on the street, making this an issue of growing importance. There is a range of people living on the streets and in the shelters of Durban. They have followed different pathways into homelessness, have different experiences of homelessness and require different kinds of support to help them overcome homelessness, (eThekwiniMunicipality, Draft Integrated Development Plan 2017/18, 2017).

Therefore, an effective response to homelessness will require differentiated services, with a mix of general interventions and interventions tailored to the needs of specific sub-groups. Individuals indicated, among others, the following as reasons for moving to the city seeking employment: family trauma (including family conflict and the death of a close family member), and substance abuse and the lack of an alternative place to go. The inability to find reasonable employment in the city was one of the main reasons they have remained homeless. Challenges which homeless people experience include a lack of basic amenities, violence and intimidation, a negative impact on their psychosocial wellbeing and substance abuse.

Below is a list of key issues in order to address homelessness:

- Support in accessing employment opportunities and skills development programmes
- Need to standardise municipalities' approaches to shelter provision and regulation
- Need for a referral centre/helpdesk for homeless people
- Adopt alternative enforcement approaches towards street and shelter living
- Improve public awareness of the nature and extent of homelessness
- Improve access to basic services

2.7.4.1. Current housing situational analysis

The eThekwini Municipality recognises housing as one of the major investor sectors in the built environment (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2016). The municipality had approximately 3.6 million people in 900 000 dwellings in 2007 (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2016) and this is expected to increase to 4 million in 2020. What is most interesting is that 86% of the population resides in the urban areas, which shows a likeliness for the urban periphery to continue to be a

major destination for the urbanising of citizens, unless active steps are taken to promote a different pattern of urban growth.

Further, when looking at the predominant housing supply trend, the formal housing market is not spontaneously providing dwellings in sufficient numbers of adequate quality or in the optimal locations of the poor or affordable markets. The municipality's current IDP (2016:95) states, "The degree to which the formal market fails the low-income sub-market is extreme". This means that the focus of publicly-funded housing should be shifted to the low-income sub-market. The municipality through the current IDP continues to state that all spheres of government recognise the necessity of having housing markets that work for all the segments of the market. This is because there is a great demand for rental stock, and recent research estimates indicate that there are more than 33% of households that live in rented accommodation within the municipality and many of them in inadequate human settlements (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2016). There are some sub-markets that have been listed as applicable and available to various types of citizens as according to income groups in the municipality and they are listed in the table below:

- Low-income housing: which is housing for the poor, and which include traditional, informal, rental and individual owned dwelling units by low-income households. These are households that earn just under R3 500 a month. The municipality also mentions single sex hostels as part of the low-income markets. These can be accessible to vulnerable refugee groups; however, with the xenophobic attacks that are rife in the city it might be difficult for refugees to get places and live peacefully in these settlements.
- Affordable housing: this is rental or individual ownership of tenure over a fully serviced dwelling unit by households with an income from R3 500 to R 15 000 a month. This type of housing is inclusive of the so called "gap market" which are households that earn between R7 500 to R15 000 a month. The term "gap market" was taken from the absence of subsidies for the households due to a shortage of housing stock and the slim availability of finances for housing bonds. Given the low rate of home-ownership of refugees, refugees who qualify for this kind of home-ownership may benefit greatly from this category. However, hindrances in terms of employment, proof of payment, country of origin and other qualifying criteria may prevent refugees from benefiting.

HOUSING SUB-MARKETS IN ETHEKWIN	IMUNICIPALITY
Low-income Housing (also known as Housing for the Poor or Pro-poor Housing)	Informal, traditional, rental or individual ownership of serviced or un-serviced dwelling units by low-income households with incomes under R 3 500 p.m. Single sex hostels are also part of the low-income market.
Affordable Housing	Rental or individual ownership tenure over fully serviced dwelling units by households with incomes from R 3,500 to R 15,000 p.m. It includes the so-called "Gap market", of households who earn from R 7,500 to R 15,000 p.m. The term 'gap' derives from the absence of subsidies for these households, the virtual absence of available housing stock, and the thin availability of bond finance.
Mid-market and Up-market Housing (also known as Upper-middle Income Housing or Upper Income Housing)	Rental or individual ownership tenure over fully serviced dwelling units by households with incomes over R 15,000 p. m.
Social Housing	Subsidised rental tenure over fully serviced dwelling units for households with incomes from R 1,500 to R 7,500 p.m. There are differing views as to whether social housing is a housing program or a housing market. In this document, the term is used for the housing program that addresses the low-income and affordable rental markets.

Table 2.3: eThekwini Municipality Sub-Housing Markets

Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2016

Further, the table above shows;

• **Mid-market and up-market housing**: this is housing for the upper middle-income group of people earning more than R15 000 a month. These are people who are mostly employed in the public sector and the number of dependents may influence affordability; however, affordability of housing is not a big issue for people in this group.

• Social housing: these are subsidised rental tenure over fully serviced dwelling units for households with incomes from R1 500 to R7 500 a month. According to the eThekwini Municipality's IDP document, social housing is a programme that is put in place to provide for the needs of low-income groups and solves affordability issues in the rental markets.

2.8. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discussed applicable literature and the views of authors regarding the issue of refugees' access to housing. It considered international case studies in, for example, Australia and Uganda for a discussion of the matter. The discussion showed that other countries have housing remittances in place and that they acknowledge and accept the refugee population in their countries. This chapter also included a discussion of the experiences of refugees in South Africa (Johannesburg and Durban), and it appeared that refugees did not feel welcome due to the xenophobic attacks. The attitude of accusing refugees of job stealing, increased crime and the use of drugs has refugees fearing for their lives. This has caused most refugees to move out of local townships to the cities. It is evident from the chapter that most refugees are low-income earners and cannot afford to pay rent. Finally, there is also the issue of a lack of policies that might help, if they are put in place, in mitigating the issue of access to housing for refugees in South Africa. The subsequent chapter will discuss the conceptual and theoretical framework used for this study.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the conceptual and theoretical framework that forms the basis upon which the responses to the issue of access to housing and refugees will be investigated. A theory is an organised system of accepted knowledge that applies in a variety of circumstances to explain a specific set of phenomena. This research will be guided by three theoretical perspectives: (1) the pull-push theory, (2) spatial assimilation theory, and (3) communicative planning theory. The theories will assist in promoting an understanding of the experiences of refugees in getting access to proper housing. The three theories are regarded as appropriate for this research as they clearly describe the influence of immigration systems and its dynamics. And also how refugees get to be treated when arriving in host countries, the accessing of essential human necessities including housing, as well as experiences resulting from the way they are treated and whether or not the host country's systems are welcoming enough. This chapter also incorporates a conceptual framework that discusses concepts that are informative and in line with the substance of the study. Both the theoretical and conceptual frameworks will assist the researcher in reaching her findings and justifying further research.

3.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of a conceptual and a theoretical framework in research is to reveal and describe the foundation of the research. According to Grant & Osanloo (2014:2), the theoretical framework forms the outline of a dissertation analysis. This means that it is a significant part of research, which serves as a guide to direct and support the study. The framework also provides the structure that outlines how one will theoretically, epistemologically, systematically and critically approach the critique as a whole. A theoretical framework is therefore one of the vital parts of any research work or dissertation. The theories and concepts that have been selected to guide the study are discussed below. They are believed to better inform the investigations and also provide an inclusive understanding of the issues concerning refugees and their experiences in accessing housing in host countries.

3.2.1. THE PULL-PUSH THEORY

Migration is a global phenomenon propelled not only by economic factors, but also by social, political, cultural, environmental, health, education and transportation factors. Other factors such as wars, natural disasters, poverty, and genocides also play a big role in many African countries resulting in displacement and destitution. The Pull-Push Theory is a renowned theory in studies regarding migration, famous for providing information about the factors driving people away from their homes (push factors) and those factors that attract people to live in specific countries (pull factors). It is therefore obvious why this theory was selected to investigate why refugees came to South Africa (Durban) and their experiences in accessing housing.

3.2.1.1. Background

The Pull-Push Theory was developed by E S Lee in 1966 and it takes into account the socioeconomic imbalances in the area of origin and destination (Gema, 2001). The theory broadly states that migration flows towards areas that are believed to be more attractive and desirable for either economic or non-economic reasons through the interplay of push factors at the places of origin and pull factors at the places of destination (Lee, 1966 in Kebede, 1998). Stats SA's Community Survey (2016) shows that a total of 142 833 temporary residence permits (TRPs) and permanent residence permits (PRPs) were issued to foreign nationals by the Department of Home Affairs in 2012. To be exact, 45.6 percent of the TRPs were issued to nationals from overseas countries, the majority of them coming from India, China, Pakistan and Britain, while 54.4 percent were issued to people from the African continent (mainly Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Lesotho) (Stats SA, 2016). On the other hand, people from overseas countries accounted for 46.8 percent of PRPs while those from the African continent constituted 53.2 percent of the total PRPs issued in 2012 (Stats SA, 2013).

Based on the evidence given above and other available literature on the matter, there seems to be considerable agreement among researchers that economic factors are the main driver of immigration to South Africa. For example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) observes that the majority of refugees who come to South Africa do so simply because conditions in their countries of origin have nosedived to a point below their acceptance verge. A key example is the high number of Zimbabwean refugees who are currently living in South Africa. The organisation further points out that the main forces are the 'pull' of opportunities in the destination country, as well as the 'push' caused by the horrible poverty in their places of origin (Crush & Frayne, 2007).

Adepoju (2000:20) also notes that socio-economic timidity, abject poverty and high unemployment in some rural areas of Africa have transformed what could otherwise have been internal migration to urban centres, into international relocation to neighbouring, more prosperous nations such as South Africa. Nevertheless, in spite of this consensus on economic forces that drive migrants out of their countries of origin, the scope of studies done has not been visible enough in covering the issue of macro-economic factors that attract ('pull') people to South Africa. According to Adepoju (2000:20) this is mainly because the majority of studies that have been conducted so far on South Africa seem to focus mainly on migration trends and migration effects on the labour market. It is thus evident that there is still some knowledge gap regarding the key macro-economic determinants of international migration to South Africa and how these 'pull' factors have affected the foreign migrant inflows into the country in the postapartheid era.

According to Lee (1966), push and pull factors are the key factors that influence people to migrate and are associated with the area of origin, the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors. Migration from both the SADC (Southern African Development Community) and non-SADC countries to South Africa has become the latest trend of population movement in the Southern African region. This trend has been witnessed persistently in many parts of South Africa where as of late there seem to be a number of refugees moving away from their countries to South Africa. These refugees look for asylum in countries that seems to be politically stable and have better economic opportunities. Refugees from African countries are usually coming from states where there are political upheavals, civil unrest and natural disasters. They then end up looking for jobs, citizenship and business opportunities in the destination country, for example South Africa, as it seems to offer business and natural factors. The country.

3.2.1.2. Main principles

The push and pull factors are basically the two sides of the same coin showing how living conditions, human rights, society and many other parts of the variety can influence people's lives. These factors appear on both sides, in the countries of origin and in the countries of destination, as explained above. In both countries, the same factors are relevant, however, the social conditions in the one country (destination) are more favourable than in the other – country of origin (Stanojoska, 2012:2). They are connected through the economic, political and war relations of the countries of origin and destination, while at the same time the root causes of migration (both lawful and unlawful) lie in the unstable political, social, and economic conditions in countries of origin (Stanojoska, 2012). Other crucial elements include rapid growth of the population, high unemployment, abject poverty, internal conflicts resulting in civil disorder and widespread violence, unstable or oppressive political regimes and grave violations of human rights – these are basically the main principles of this theory.

The push factors are a result of the society's changes in the countries of origin, where in the case of this study one would find that people migrate from their countries of origin due to instabilities and unbearable changes to their environment forcing them to move away. These changes could also include the disintegration and falling apart of multicultural countries, religious and ethnic conflicts, natural disasters, economic situations, uncontrolled increasing of the population, wide differences between the economic possibilities of the countries and the number of its inhabitants. While on the other hand the pull factors are positive and tend to attract inhabitants to the defined space. In most instances, as outlined by Stanojoska (2012), the moving into a new country is usually motivated by economic factors more than any other factors. This is another reason why immigrants tend to move to countries that are economically developed as compared to the countries where they come from. Further, concerning South Africa being the most developed country in the SADC region, there is a trend witnessed by researchers where more immigrants, including refugees, are moving to South Africa, as compared to other countries in the same region, due to its economic status in the region.

3.2.1.3. Critics of the theory

The Pull-Push Theory is criticised by some of being bias towards the economic factors in its analysis. They maintain that it is also doubtful whether this theory can be called a theory at all, as it is rather a descriptive model in which the different factors playing a role in migration decisions are enumerated in a relative manner (Haas, 2007:17). The factors in this theory are more problematic as the tendency of push-pull models tend to confuse different scales of

analysis (ranging from individual to global) and do not allow for assigning relative weights to the different factors affecting migration decisions. Neither do they allow for empirical tests on the role and importance of factors that have been included or excluded.

Further, analyses concluding that low wages, high population pressure or environmental degradation as opposed to better conditions at the destination 'cause' migration tend to be so general, more or less stating the obvious. In addition, push-pull models also tend to ignore the heterogeneity and internal stratification of societies, while general contextual factors habitually defined as either push or pull factors are likely to work in a differentiated way on the individual level, and might subsequently encourage some people to leave and others to stay. Another fundamental weakness of this model is that push and pull factors are generally mirrored in each other. For example, the argument that migrants are lured to big cities or to foreign countries because of the high wage 'pull' is explicitly made in relation to an apparent low wage 'push' at the sending end.

It then becomes illogical and open to subjective judgment to establish whether the push or the pull is dominant. Push and pull factors then turn out to be two sides of the same coin: together they provide the perception of difference between "here" and "there", and therefore have limited experiential value ((Wittmann 1975:23), cited in McDowell and De Haan 1997:9). Although the assumption that people tend to move from low to high wage areas might seem logical at first sight, this does not necessarily hold true at the individual level. Whether migration occurs, crucially depends on the skills and knowledge of migrants and conditions in the specific economic sectors where they are likely to find employment both at the origin and destination.

3.2.1.4. Relevance to study

The Pull-Push Theory is nevertheless relevant for this study because it helps with the comprehension of the movement of refugees from their countries of origin to South Africa (especially the cities). It is an undeniable fact that there are factors that are pushing refugees from their countries of origin to South African. And as the theory states, there are obviously opportunities and many more acting as pulling factors in the host country, in this case South Africa. This is evident through the influx of foreign nationals residing and trying to make a living in South African communities. This theory was therefore very useful in understanding the abovementioned dynamics as it pertains to South Africa. The understanding of the

dynamics of this theory provides host countries with a clearer picture with regard to receiving and accommodating refugees.

The theory also assists town planning and housing departments or institutions to get a better understanding of the time refugees might spend in host countries, considering the push factors of which some are long-term, for example economic instability in the country of origin, and some short-term, for example political instability. Interpretation based on such factors will help the relevant institutions in understanding the type of housing needed by refugees, as well as the policies to formulate and implement to best suit the parties involved. Further, this theory provides a clear insight into the type of immigrants that are coming into the country. This assists in shedding light on the type of policies and regulatory strategies that need to be designed to control influx and the spectrum of services that are required in order to best accommodate the various type of immigrants entering the country.

3.2.2. SPATIAL ASSIMILATION THEORY

3.2.2.1. Background

This theory has its roots in the theories of assimilation described by early sociologists such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Emory Bogardus and Milton Gordon (Somerville, 2013:23). Theorists Park and Burgess describe assimilation as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons or groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life". As defined by Park and Burgess, assimilation is a process which takes time and effort.

Park described the assimilation process through a four-step ethnic relations cycle in which individuals or groups encountered each other and then begin to compete. This competition will lend itself to accommodation and finally assimilation (Martin, 2000). Milton Gordon built on Park's theory of assimilation; however, he theorised that there are seven stages of assimilation and that individuals or groups may remain stuck indefinitely in any one of the stages (Martin, 2000). The first two stages of Gordon's assimilation theory are cultural and structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation, as defined by Gordon, is the process of assimilation defined by Park and Burgess above. While on the other hand, structural assimilation is the process by which an individual or group interacts with other individuals or groups in social contexts and

have equal participation in the social institutions without regard to ethnicity (Martin, 2000). Gordon explains that achieving cultural assimilation does not guarantee that an individual or group will be structurally assimilated. As noted above, one theme stemming from theories of assimilation is that the assimilation process takes time and effort to be successful. The amount of time and effort it takes for an individual or group to assimilate another person or group varies, and it is dependent on many factors. Emory Bogardus (1954) explains that many challenges to assimilation arise when a refugee join a host culture, because the refuges will bring with him/her different cultural values, language, religion, government views and standards of living. The greater the differences between the refugee and the host society, the slower the assimilation process will be.

In Robert Park's seminal work *The City* (1915), he notes that the segregation of racial minorities into residential clusters slows down the assimilation of a refugee or refugee group. He says "that where individuals of the same race or vocation live together in segregated groups, neighbourhood sentiment tend to fuse together with racial antagonisms and class interests," which will result in a slower assimilation for that group of individuals because they are less likely to interact with members of other races or vocations (Park, 1915). Doug Massey (1981:320) tested the theories of ethnic segregation and social class and found that as social status increases there is a negative effect on ethnic segregation. This negative effect implies that spatially segregated ethnic groups, as their respective social status rises, the refugee or immigrant group will be assimilated by the host society and over time move freely within the host society, demonstrating spatial assimilation.

3.2.2.2. Main principles

According to housing needs and financial conditions influencing refugees' decisions and choices concerning housing and neighbourhood, research indicates that refugees have a stronger preference for renting (Somerville, 2013). This is due to insecurities about their future and the fact that newly arrived refugees in particular tend to live in refugee-dense and so-called multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. However, the spatial assimilation theory claims that in the course of time refugees will move to other kinds of housing and neighbourhoods, but not necessarily abandon friends, relatives and people coming from the same countries, which is the reason why most are found clustered together in one place. There could be many reasons for clustering including sharing the rent and cohabiting, as well as security and safety. Moreover, given the history of xenophobic attacks in countries like South Africa, many refugees from African

countries feel threatened and hence tend to distance themselves from other ethnic groups dissimilar to them.

3.2.2.3. Relevance to study

The theory of assimilation is about the movement of an individual or a group of refugees into a community dominated by an indigenous majority. Building on the theory of spatial assimilation, refugees tend to be assimilated by locals in order to learn their culture, languages and to advance themselves economically (social mobility). Therefore, this study will try to investigate the experiences and/or challenges refugees in the Durban CBD had in trying to be spatially assimilated with the locals, and also why they have chosen to rather live in clusters in the city and not in the townships and the rural areas of the eThekwini Municipality. This theory also have a lot to say about access to housing and the benefits of staying in a city. This investigation will also try to demonstrate whether the clustering of refugees in the city centre could be ascribed to spatial dissimilation due to unsafety and the "tension" that exists between the locals and refugees. Moreover, also whether the speculation is accurate that refugees' inability to buy land or houses drive them to the city where there are rental spaces and a high chance to acquire accommodation, as most of the property in the city is privately owned.

3.2.3. COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING THEORY

The concept "communication" is not an entirely new concept in town planning and the housing sphere. Formerly, planners communicated their proposals emphasising the importance of the presentation of the plans. The communication was, however, entirely a one-way process: from planner to politician and the public. Attention was not given to communication involving dialogue, debating and negotiation (Archiesta, 2012). Contemporary planning theory, as opposed to armchair planning theory or rational planning theory, thus emphasise public participations. One such planning theory is Communicative Planning Theory, also referred to as Collaborative Planning Theory, which accentuates the need of communication in planning, thus engaging civil society on plans about upcoming development or the provision of services.

3.2.3.1. Background

Urban planning has generally been assumed as essentially an exercise in the physical planning and design of human settlements but new ideas and perspectives have emerged. Planning since earlier times has been driven by a distinct set of values amounting to rational theory. Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, critiques of the rational planning paradigm emerged with the introduction of models like Lindblom's Incrementalism, the Mixed Planning Model and by the late 1960s and 1970s, planners began to look for new approaches and a number of new models emerged which were: Transactive Planning, Advocacy Planning etc. During the 1980s and early 1990s, alternative conceptions of planning purposes and practices were identified and increasingly debated in planning theory. By the early 1990s, a whole new theory of planning came to be articulated around the idea of planning as a process of communication and negotiation. Thus, Sager (1994) spoke of a new 'communicative planning theory' whilst Innes (1995) pointed to an emerging 'paradigm' in planning theory concerned with 'communicative action and interactive practice' (Nigel Taylor, 1995)

Communicative Planning Theory, sometimes called the Collaborative Model, has been drawn largely from the Theory of Communicative Rationality as worked out by Jurgen Habermas. The Communicative Planning Theory has been supported by planners like Forester, Tore Sager, Judith Innes and Patsy Healy. It is, however, not short of criticism as the theory has been criticised heavily for its strong normative tendency and blindness to the role of power. Thinkers like Bengs, Foucault, Fainstein contends many aspects of this theory, while different paradigms have also emerged in reaction to it stimulating new planning theories

3.2.3.2. Critics of the theory

Every theory faces criticism. Communicative Planning Theory is no exception. As much as this theory has been applauded for its widespread importance, it has also been criticised for many effects it produces. Criticism by different theorists and the counter debate in communicative planning contributed to the improvement of planning theory and have shaped the theory to be more pragmatic.

Jeng Tang, a European practicing urban planner, contends that communicative planning has a strong normative tendency and has therefore faced criticisms, one of which is that the theory tends to demonstrate a significant blindness to the role of power (Hillier, 1993:89 cf. Tang). The Communicative Theory focuses more on how planning should be or ought to be done, and what actions are wrong or right for planning, which is a tendency that has been heavily criticised in communicative planning. Largely because the role of a planner in communicative

planning is subjected to that of the mediator. It is not clear as to who holds the power of making the decision. Communicative Planning Theory is not clear on this point.

Bengs (2005b:7) regards Communicative Planning Theory as contrary to public interest. According to him, this mode of planning takes the economic interests of investors and developers as the point of departure, not as one particular issue among others to be modified and balanced against the public interest. Bengs's suggestion here is that as communication is sought in communicative planning, the needs and interests of the public must also be taken into consideration. This would open discussions and openness with regard to the end results of planning and would ensure that discrepancies be minimised. If the communication is not just limited to pre-planning but is part of all the stages, the interest of the public can be accommodated. Bengs (2005a:1) also criticises communicative planning theorists for reducing citizens to mere stakeholders, which should not be the case as the opinions of the citizens should be the driving force of any development or plan of any project.

3.2.3.3. Relevance to study

This theory stimulates communication and collaborative approaches to finding solutions which are lacking in the South African scenario of dealing with the refugee challenge. It is a theory that can be used in finding housing solutions for refugees by all the stakeholders involved, those being government departments, refugee organisations, civil society and other parties with similar interests. Communicative or collaborative planning can be used as an inclusionary strategy that might assist in finding solutions on how cities can improve their planning strategies for refugees and the provision of housing for both short-term and long-term stays. Communicative theory thus has a potential for the creation of inclusive and integrative policies and strategies that will inform housing provision for refugees.

3.3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework will assist in explaining the terms that will be used in this study. Refugees, according to this study, are people who fled or were forcefully removed from their home countries to seek asylum in South Africa. Refugees, as per the investigation of this study, are in need of proper shelter and they are also in desperate need for stable jobs, income and business opportunities. These people fled from poverty, natural disasters and wars. According to this study, most of them are found staying in dilapidated buildings in St Georges Street and Albert Park in the city of Durban, eThekwini Municipality. Below is a brief explanation of the concepts that will be used to assist the researcher in her investigation.

3.3.1. Refugees

The term "refugee" is often confused with that of immigrants. However, UNHCR in its 2015 publication stated that "Refugees are persons who leave their countries of origin for economic reasons and is not in any way related to the definition of immigrants". A refugee is a person fleeing from his or her home country due to fear of persecution or feeling threatened by conflict (UNHCR, UNHCR Global Appeal Update, 2015). According to UNHCR (2015), the situation of refugees is different due to the intolerable circumstances they find themselves in and then decide to cross borders. Refugees are protected under International Law and one of the fundamental principles of International Law is that refugees should not be expelled or returned to situations where their lives and freedom would be threatened (UNHCR, 2012).

According to Greyling (2009:6), for a person to be categorised as a refugee, the person needs to apply for refugee status. The countries that signed the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol do have refugee status determination procedures. These procedures are in place to determine if a person fits the definition of a refugee in accordance with the domestic legal system. Therefore, a person that flees his own country and crosses an international border must apply to be recognised as a refugee. If the person fits the definition of a refugee as set out in the country's legal system, the person will be acknowledged as such and will have access to refugee relief and protection. After a person has left his country of origin and has applied for recognition as a refugee in another country, but is still awaiting a decision on his application, he is known as an asylum seeker (UNHCR, 2012).

Once a person has received refugee status, he or she has certain rights according to international, regional and national legislation. The rights of refugees are spelled out in the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and in Africa the 1969 Convention of the OAU is also applicable, and it includes the rights of refugees in South Africa which rights are explained in Act 30 of 1998 on Refugees (Greyling, 2009). Below is a list of some of the rights that refugees are entitled to, as cited in the 1951 Convention publication:

- Refugees are entitled to non-discrimination according to article 3 of the Convention, which states that there may not be discriminated against them on the grounds of race, religion or country of origin.
- In addition, they are entitled to free access to the courts of law, and article 16 declares that refugees should receive the same treatment as nationals.
- The right to work is described in article 17, stating that the contracting state must give refugees the same treatment as the nationals of a foreign country as regards the right to be employed and earn a wage.
- The right to housing: according to article 21 refugees should receive the most favourable treatment possible if they reside their lawfully, and not less favourable than that accorded to aliens.
- The right to education; article 22 states that refugees should get the same public education as nationals with respect to elementary education. With respect to education other than elementary education, refugees should receive the most favourable treatment and not less favourable than that received by aliens.
- And lastly, the right to public relief and assistance; in article 23 it is stated that refugees should get the same treatment as nationals with regards to public relief and assistance.

3.3.2. Proper Housing

Proper or suitable shelter means more than a roof over one's head. It means adequate space and privacy; it means adequate security of tenure, structural stability and reliability, adequate access to water and electricity including basic infrastructural amenities like sanitation and waste management. This is housing that is accessible close to work, school and health services and available at an affordable cost (UNC, 1996).

The right to adequate or proper housing is one of the important basic human rights as recognised in the International Human Rights Acts (SARC, 2002). Further, section 26 of the Constitution of South Africa (1996) states that everyone has a right to access adequate housing. It is therefore the duty of the Government, housing agencies, NGOs and all other relevant stakeholders to take reasonable legislative measures within its available resources to give effect to this right.

3.3.3. Refugee City

In South Africa, the recent flood of refugees from mainly African nations has provoked an unparalleled level of cultural, traditional and ethnic diversity (Massey, 1985). This inversely influences city planning and the levels of housing to which planners should respond to address the challenges that immigration poses to South African cities. The investigation takes action with regard to the high level of immigration to the country and the challenge of access to housing or accommodation.

In light of immigration's profound impact on South African cities, understanding how to plan for a multicultural society is a practical imperative. As society becomes more diverse, the traditional planning practices are becoming less salient for addressing current and future planning challenges. This means that planners need to develop new sensibilities, tools and policies if they are to meet these challenges. Moreover, given the historical state of South African planning, there is even more work that needs to be done by a planner. To plan for a multicultural city, that is a city with many refugees, demands policy changes and greater efforts to accommodate refugees (Kim, 2010). This definitely applies to South Africa because, as the statistics mentioned earlier shows, there are more refugees coming to South African every year and for longer terms.

What is also interesting about the issue of planning is that South Africans themselves still feel unaccommodated in their own cities due to Apartheid planning. Research shows that the Apartheid planners never catered for previously disadvantaged South Africans and their way of life in the cities. Now, amid all that, there is a huge influx of refugees who are also in great need of accommodation, having their own needs, own traditions, cultural practices in the very same Apartheid cities whose planning policies are still exclusionary of its own citizens.

According to Kim (2010:23) the resurgence of immigration to South African cities in particular, represents not only challenges for planning, but also with regard to opportunities. Now the issue of how to accommodate refugees in receiving cities, forces Government and planners to consider the adequacy of existing planning archetypes, policies and practices. In turn, the influx of refugees can prompt planners to rethink fundamental questions about the limits and potential of planning and to imagine new ways to create more inclusive, diverse and adaptive communities, which will of course be for the betterment of the population as a whole. Immigration is not a new phenomenon or a new issue for planners. However, immigration

today differs from previous waves and therefore presents a new and different set of challenges provoking new methods and policy strategies in terms of accommodation.

3.3.4. Social Cohesion

The concept "social cohesion" can be defined as the degree of social integration and inclusion within communities; it is the extent to which common unity finds expression among individuals and communities (Norton & Arjon, 2013). In terms of this definition, a community or society is cohesive to the extent that inequalities, exclusions and differences based on origin, gender, class, nationality, age, disability or any other distinctions stimulating divisions, mistrust and conflict are reduced or eliminated. In this society, community members and citizens are active participants, working together for the attainment of shared goals, designed and agreed upon to improve the living conditions of all.

In South Africa, the diverse populations, cultures, languages and religions should not be seen as barriers to national unity, given the constitutional equivalence bestowed on all citizens. The challenge of social cohesion is largely related to the issue of immigration, which is faced by a number of developing and developed countries. Governments are responsible for the development of measures and policies that ought to protect and provide for refugees in host communities to avoid xenophobic attacks erupting due to poor integration of incoming and host communities.

This has been the case in South Africa in the past years where hostility between refugees and the local citizens of the country resulted in fatal xenophobic attacks. Social cohesion also affects the attitude of locals towards refugees when trying to find accommodation, assistance in local clinics, hospitals and other important and basic social services that should be available to every individual in the country. It is, however, self-evident that large-scale migration of people has consequences for the host communities (Somerville, 2013). Moreover, this is mainly because we live in a world that is experiencing growing populations who that are largely affected by natural disasters, civil wars and poverty.

Conversely, one of the most significant things about this world is that is it increasingly interconnected. According to Somerville (2013:2) most research and analyses indicate that the majority of countries in the world face an increasing movement of people for short or long durations and for a range of reasons. That is why it is largely expected of governments to

contend with the consequences of immigration, provide for refugees and have policies in place that will assist to integrate refugees and host communities.

The concept of social cohesion and the immigration process, including outcomes, are therefore more affected by the broad currents of public policy (Somerville, 2013). One cannot but strongly agree with this view as it includes the active labour-market, policy interventions, the state of the economy, economic drivers, public spending towards deprived areas, and education policies – these are all significant issues for refugees in a host country.

Therefore, providing targeted resources (especially to deal with short-term influxes) and ensuring leadership opportunities for all within a system that has to manage diversity and has strong non-discrimination norms, offers the best chance of increasing social cohesion in the face of immigration.

3.3.5. Xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as the dislike of or intolerance against people from other countries (Hakizimana, 2014). There have been occurrences of xenophobic attacks in South African cities, townships and informal settlements in the past. The attacks were mainly against African foreign nationals who were rumoured to be lessening employment opportunities, illegally selling drugs, and taking over small businesses from South African citizens (Hadland, 2009).

The violence of May 2008 in South Africa, as was mentioned earlier, occurred mainly in informal housing settlements. These are places that are characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and housing shortages (Hadland, 2009:14). In a country where more than 50% of the population lives below the poverty line, the competition for resources among the poor is intense, and leads to a number of negative effects and practices (Hadland, 2009). This competition occurs and is perceived to occur with regard to access to jobs, commodities, housing, and contributes towards crime (HSRC, 2010). In addition, against the backdrop of a global increase in food and energy prices, the poor are globally experiencing increased levels of economic insecurity thus leading to more discrimination against vulnerable groups.

3.3.6. Modernism

Urban planning, as a process of guiding and controlling land use and environmental management, aims to facilitate the provision of a quality living environment. Towards this end, urban planners seek to ensure that a city's physical, social, economic and environmental

developments are both favourable and sustainable. Since the end of the Second World War, Hong Kong has undergone rapid urbanisation and has seen a large increase in refugee population (Triggs, 2015). This rapid population growth has put pressure on Hong Kong's resources, particularly in terms of the demand for land and facilities. In response, government authorities have been obliged to implement an increasing number of urban planning projects (for example, land reclamation, new towns, urban renewal, and metro plans) to fulfil development needs.

Modernist approaches and rational planning have been consequently privileged throughout these developments, with the latter deemed to be the 'best method, or process, of doing planning' (Taylor, 1998:66), and an approach that can 'transform an unwanted present by means of an imagined future' (Holston, 1998:40). In other parts of the world, rational planning is being replaced by a more user-oriented planning approach, but urban planning in Hong Kong has not kept abreast of the times. Many of these criticisms are related to unsatisfactory planning policies, a shortage of public and open spaces and facilities, and see urban areas as overly systematic, formal, restrictive and repetitive.

Today, as a result of functional segregation in modernist urban planning and the use of rational design alone, human factors have arguably been neglected in many major cities. Many modern cities have become rational mechanisms that are used to routinise and programme everyday life. A number of public spaces no longer belong to the public for everyday enjoyment. Many streets have been transformed into car parks or efficient transportation hubs to meet the demands of heavy circulation. All of these changes have tended to deprive everyday life of authenticity, and continue to be characterised by alienated behaviour (Lefebvre, 1984; Kwok, 1998; Siu, 2007a).

Many urban planners, researchers and sociologists criticise modernist planning on the grounds that cities and societies have become inhuman and alienated as a result: they argue that everyday life in a modern society has become rationally organised and neatly subdivided and programmed to fit a controlled timetable (Sennett, 1970, 1990; Lefebvre, 1991; Hsia, 1994; Kwok, 1998; Siu, 2001, 2007b). These social issues have triggered a desire to rethink and reassess the modernist urban planning approach (Siu, 2005). Alternative perspectives have been presented that provide insights into the responses and reactions of users that are seldom considered by policymakers and governments.

3.3.7. Multicultural City

The role of immigration is redefining urban planning and for these past decades, people outside the planning field, for example sociologists, anthropologists and urban policy makers and analysts, are now paying far more attention to immigration than those within it (Vitiello, 2009 cited in Kim, 2010:15). However, over the past two decades, planning scholars and practitioners have produced a small but mushrooming literature on immigration and refugee communities (e.g., Sandercock, Harwood, Talen, Qadeer, Vitiello, Burayidi).

There are trends that prompted planners to acknowledge immigration as an increasingly important economic and social factor in urban development; and there is a new spatial order and also globalisation to reckon with. These are affecting both the physical form and social composition of cities. Additionally, from a demographic perspective, planners could not shine over the impact of the restoration of large-scale immigration on total population and housing markets (Myers & Pitkin, 2009). That is how the term multicultural planning was born, and now with the issues pertaining to refugees and host communities it is of importance to acknowledge such concepts. They are the same concepts that assists in carrying out the task of incorporating refugees and the greater communities with the world becoming a global village; it is of greater significance to welcome multicultural planning techniques that will accommodate aspects of various and distinct cultures in the cities.

3.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

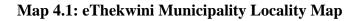
In this chapter the theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding the study were discussed. This included three significant theories that explains the movement of people from one place to another, what attracts people to go to certain areas or countries, including the manner in which planning as a tool affects access to housing. Refugees face obstacles and difficulties, which include access to housing. The concepts that have a direct impact on the matter of how refugees get access to proper housing were also discussed. These concepts shone some light on the future of refugees and on how policy and legislative frameworks could be used for the successful assimilation of refugees into host communities.

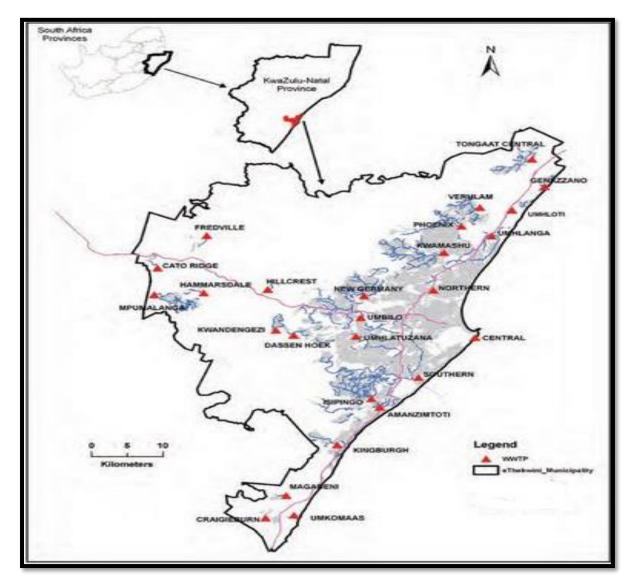
CHAPTER FOUR

CASE STUDY AREA: CITY OF DURBAN (ALBERT PARK)

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality is located on the east coast of South Africa in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). According to 2016 figures, this metropolitan municipality is home to 3.7 million people and consists of a diverse society challenged by various economic, social, governance and environmental ills.





Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2013 (accessed in June 2017)

4.2.SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY

There are moves that points to addressing the challenges, which were mentioned above, faced by this municipality. These are efforts trying to meet the needs of an ever-increasing population (eThekwini Municipality, 2015). The population of this metro, with reference to Census 2011, was 3 442 361. The population has grown by 1,08 % from 2001 to 2011 as against 2,34% from 1996 to 2001 (Stats SA, 2016).

The eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality is home to predominantly black Africans (74%) (Stats SA: 2016). The dominant home language is IsiZulu spoken by about 62 % of the population followed by English at 26% (Statistics, 2011). In 2001, 29,2% of the population had matric; that has increased to 36,7% in 2011. While the percentage of matriculates are increasing, students in at Higher Education Institutions have dropped from 9,6% to 6,7% within the last decade. The table below shows the different racial groups within the municipality.

• Population

In 2001 the population of the eThekwini Municipality stood at 3,09 million and has since then grown at an average annual percentage of 1,13% per annum reaching 3.44 million in 2011 (Statistics, 2013). Below is a short-term demographic forecast following a Community Survey by SSA, which estimated the eThekwini population to be 3,7 million in the year 2016.

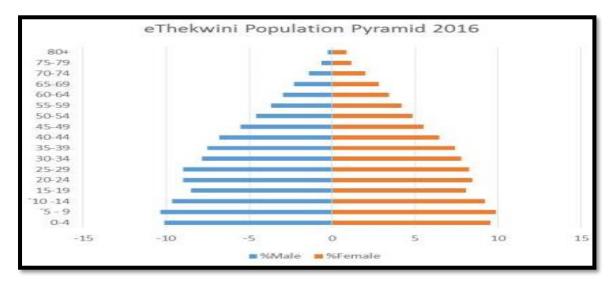


Figure 4.1: eThekwini Municipality Population Pyramid

Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2016

Racial group	Population figures	Percentage
African	2 540 441	73.80%
Indian	573 334	16.66%
White	228 406	6.64%
Coloured	85 908	2.50%
Other	1 427	0.41%
Total population	3 442 361	100%

Table 4.2.4: Racial Groups of eThekwini Municipality

Source: Community Survey, 2016

According to the table above, the African group is by far more dominant with a total of 2 540 441 (73.80%) members of the population as compared to other racial groups. This is no surprise considering that the eThekwini Municipality is located in KZN, which is predominantly an African-populated province. The next group is the Indian population with a total of 573 334 (16.66%) members. Whites total 228 406 (6.64%) of the population, followed by Coloureds accounting for 85 908 (2.50%) members. The table above also shows a total of 1 472 (0.41%) for "other" (racial groups) as asserted by Stats SA (2011). The following table shows the different age categories and percentages of males and females in the eThekwini Municipality.

Table 4.2.5: Age	Groups in	eThekwini	Municipality
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Age	Male	Female
0-9	8.7%	8.6%
10-19	8.5%	8.6%

20-29	11.9%	11.5%
30-39	8.1%	7.7%
40-49	5.4%	5.9%
50-59	3.5%	4.2%
60-69	2.0%	1.9%
70+	1.1%	1.8%
Total	49.4%	50.6%

Source: Community Survey, 2016

One of the interesting features about the eThekwini Municipality is that there are more females (51%) than males (49%). As far as the age groups are concerned, the dominant age group is between 10-29 years of age which represents approximately 45% of the total population of the municipality. This is followed by the 30-59 age group, which represents approximately 33% of the total population. The dependent age group, which is between 0-9, and the old age group between 60-69 and 70+ stands at 18% and 7% respectively with regard to the entire population of the eThekwini Municipality.

Table 4.2.6:	Gender	Groups

Gender	Population	Percentage %
Female	1 759 955	51.13%
Male	1 682 406	48.87%

Total population	3 442 361	100%

Source: Community Survey, 2016

The table above shows that the municipality has a bigger female than male population. The table shows that there are currently 1 759 955 (51.13%) female residents in the municipality as compared to 1 682 406 (48.87%) male residents.

Table 4.2.7: Employment status of eThekwini Municipality

Employment Status	Population
Employed	1 342 521
Unemployed	791 743
Discouraged work seekers	113 598
Not economically active	1 194 499
Total population	3 442 361

Source: Community survey, 2016

There is an increased concern nationally about employment opportunities given the scarcity of jobs in both the private and public sector. This fact also applies to the bigger municipalities in the country, however, due to the hubs and each municipalities' resources and minerals, the rate of employment and the availability of opportunities varies. Table 4 above shows the current employment status of people living in the eThekwini Municipality – out of the total population of 3 442 361, those that are employed account for 1 342 521 (39%).

Even though this is the biggest number when comparing it to other figures in the employment status table, it is of great concern that the next figure of 1 194 499 (34.7%) is that of economically inactive people. As the table with age groups above depicts, the municipality has quite a large group between the ages of 0-10 years. This indicates a high birth rate in imbalances in the economic system in the near future.

4.3. Social Development Challenges

The eThekwini Municipality is facing a number of social development challenges, which are listed and discussed below, as they are relevant to this study.

4.3.1. The Issue of Homelessness

Cities around the world are faced with challenges that are related to homelessness (eThekwini Municipality, 2016). The city of Durban supports the fact that an understanding of homelessness is essential to developing the relevant programmes and interventions that will bring about change (eThekwini Municipality, 2016). However, the city is more concerned about people who are staying on the street than those staying in dilapidated buildings.

The city is of the opinion that an effective response will require differentiated services that will mix general interventions tailored to the needs of specific sub-groups, though there is no mention of refugees or asylum seekers. The city conducted a survey to determine the reasons why individuals move to the city leading them to staying on the street. Individuals who were part of the survey indicated that they came to look for jobs, or run away from family conflicts, and for some it was due to a lack of an alternative place to go (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2016).

Inability to find proper employment was among one of the leading reasons why some people were homeless. The city further states that these people experience further challenges besides being homeless – they lack basic services, and are prone to violence and intimidation as well as substance abuse. These conditions are intensified by a lack of income, vulnerability and

stress. The city of Durban in their IDP has identified some key intervention measures relating to homelessness. Below is a table showing the approach the city wishes to use to tackle the issue of homelessness.

Issue		Suggested intervention strategy	
i.	Homelessness	 Standardise municipalities approaches to shelter provision and regulation Create a referral centre/helpdesk for the homeless Adoption of alternative enforcement approaches towards street and shelter living 	
ii.	Lack of employment	Creation of support for accessing employment opportunities and skills development programmes	
iii.	Lack of access to basic services	• Improve access to basic services	
iv.	Lack of knowledge	• Improve public awareness of the nature and extent of homelessness	

 Table 4.8: Issues related to homelessness

Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2016

4.3.2. The Issue of Safety

According to the city (eThekwini Municipality, 2016:49) the Safer Cities Unit of the municipality has a responsibility to promote safety in the city through research, facilitation, urban management and coordination of crime prevention as well as safety and social development initiatives.

The unit has developed approaches to ensure safety within the city and among the approaches is the units' development of an operative relationship with Metro Police and the SAPS, safety forums, School Safety Committees, the Urban Improvement Precinct and Local Drug Action Committees (eThekwiniMunicipality, Draft IDP 2017/18, 2016). Because of the successful implementation of the Safer Cities programme, the eThekwini mayor was appointed Chair of the African Forum on Urban Safety, extending the responsibility of the Safer Cities Unit into becoming a regional and global player in the execution of safer cities programmes. This also provides this programme with an opportunity to become a repository of crime prevention, urban safety strategies and best practices to be shared with other African countries.

The unit has undertaken a number of projects to improve safety in the city of Durban. Some were undertaken in partnership with community structures. The municipality is committed to ensuring the safety of residents. However, there are crimes that are reported to the SAPS on a daily basis. Among the various types of crimes occurring, the city's focus is on contact crimes, which are crimes against persons such as property-related crimes and robbery.

The graph below shows crime reported within the municipality over a period of ten years (2006/7 to 2015/16). Crime showed signs of being under control in 2007/8 with 158 311 cases but steadily increased after that until it reached 167 303 in 2012/13 and its highest point (almost 189 000 cases) in 2012/13 – the highest level in a ten-year period. Since then there was a downward trend for three consecutive years to 160 122 cases in 2015/16. In the assessed period of ten years, the lowest crime recorded was 158 311 cases in 2007/8. Below is the table showing the number of crime cases reported per year for a period of ten years, cited from the eThekwini draft (2017/18 IDP, pg. 6):

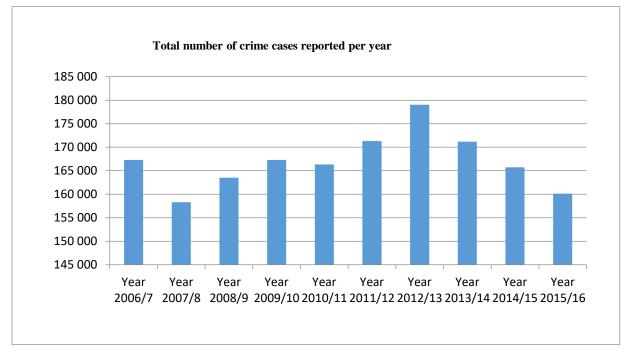


 Table 4.9: eThekwini Municipality total crime cases reported over ten years

Source: eThekwini Municipality IDP, 2016

4.3.3. Infrastructure Delivery

The eThekwini Municipality put significant resources and effort into infrastructure delivery in order to eradicate existing backlogs (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2016). There are however challenges affecting service delivery within the municipality as reflected in the table below.

Issue	Challenge	
1. Limited access to services	• There is limited access to basic household services especially in informal settlements	
2. Shortage of funds	• Limited funding available to deal with backlogs	
3. Lack of payments	• Inability of households to pay for basic services due to high levels of poverty and unemployment	

4. Theft	• Illegal water and electricity connections
5. Governance	• Dual governance system in the municipality affects delivery of services

Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2016

The table above shows the challenges affecting service delivery in the municipality. The first one being lack of access to basic services, especially in informal settlements. There is also limited funding to service infrastructure backlogs. This is partly caused by a lack of payments for these services, as the municipality states that one of the challenges leading to backlogs is that households are failing to pay their water and electricity bills due to high levels of poverty and unemployment.

Theft is also one of the challenges faced by the municipality due to illegal electricity and water connections. Lastly, the municipality points out that their dual governance system affects service delivery. However, the provision of adequate shelter remains a priority for the municipality. The table below shows the number of type of dwellings within the municipal area. There are 524 582 formal dwellings, encompassing 414 357 houses 110 225 flats.

There are 317 613 dwellings, including 265 546 shacks, 48 975 backyard dwellings and 3 096 formal informal (formal dwellings in informal areas) dwellings. Lastly there are 103 715 rural units, encompassing 70 317 cluster ("Umuzi), 26 949 single dwellings and 6 449 formal informal dwellings (in rural areas).

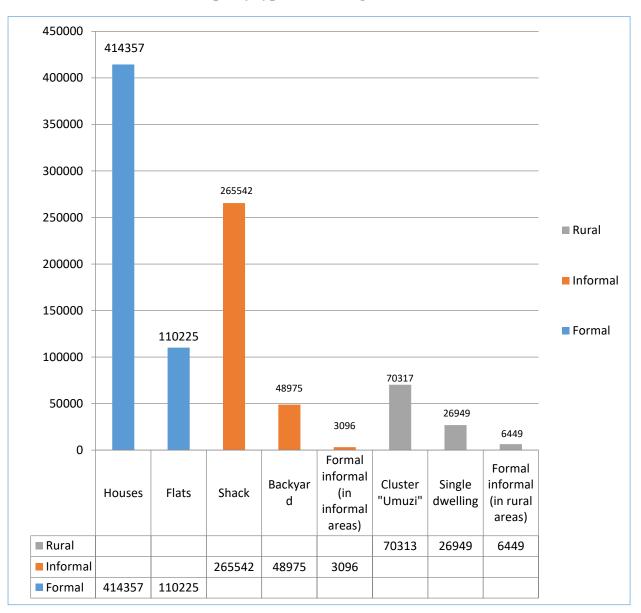


Table 5.10: eThekwini Municipality types of housing

Source: eThekwini Municipality, 2016

4.3.4. The Issue of Housing

At the end of 2016, the municipality had a housing backlog of 387 000 and had to build between 4 000-6 000 units a year over a 40-80 years period to address the backlog based on current funding levels. According to the eThekwini Municipality (2016:83), it has delivered approximately 186 000 homes and is currently in the process of delivering houses in rural areas, as well as 25 000 units as part of the Connubial development. Further, 2 460 community residential units have been delivered as part of a hostel upgrading project and 22 200 rental units were transferred to tenants. The city estimates that it needs an amount of R51 billion to R85 billion to clear the current backlog. The city further states that the Council is forging ahead with a plan aimed at improving ways to provide housing that is better suited for the needs of inhabitants. Innovative new housing forms and urban design solutions are being implemented with the objective of promoting densification, social cohesion, and a more sustainable urban form.

Overall, the municipality has identified the following key issues relating to housing: high backlogs with limited funding, lack of well-located land, projects stalled due to delays in land acquisition, invasion of land and houses, and delays in the housing accreditation process. These challenges have, however, been taken into in their current IDP.

4.3.4.1. ETHEKWINI MUNICIPALITY RENTAL HOUSING

The eThekwini Municipality is a key metro centre that provides overall infrastructure, employment opportunities as well as social amenities necessary for the development of sustainable rentals. In this study there was a specific focus on the rental housing market due to the fact that the refuges that were interviewed were found to be part of this market. As it will be shown in the next chapter, on average most refugees earn below the minimum income wage and therefore do not qualify for subsidised housing.

According to the municipality, the monthly household income data collected in the first quarter of 2016/17 shows that 51% of eThekwini households earn less than R3 200 per month (eThekwini Municipality, 2016). A total of 24% is accommodated in rental units and most households live in formal dwellings. Moreover, 29% of eThekwini households earning between R3 200 and R6 400 are inadequately housed and do not qualify for subsidised housing (eThekwini Municipality, 2017). However, the propensity to rent is highest in lower income segments of the market; this is inclusive of refugees and other immigrants occupying the CBD.

4.4. ALBERT PARK (DURBAN CBD): STUDY AREA

The Bat Centre **Albert Park** Google Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©2018 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, Google South A

Image 3.4: Albert Park

Source: Google maps, 2018 (accessed: July, 2018)

This study was done in the city of Durban, Province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa in the inner city area known as Albert Park, which is a mixed-used area segment of the Durban CBD. The area is named after the adjacent public park. It is primarily a residential area characterised by medium and high-rise flats with small formal and informal businesses operating at pavement level. It is a space that continues to capture the imagination of the people of Durban. On one side, Albert Park is bordered by the Durban

harbour, Africa's busiest harbour based on the thousands of import and export activities. While urban decay forms part of the public commentary on Albert park, it is how this rapidly transforming city space has experienced issues pertaining to 'legitimacy' of residency that make it a fascinating and complex space (Mohamed & Naidoo, 2000).

In many ways, it is a cosmopolitan example of how the issues of race, nationality and identity are playing out in post-Apartheid South Africa, offering a hopeful glance at the success of integrated spaces, as well as a stern warning as to how problematic these identities can become when used to mobilise particular agendas. According to Maharaj (The Integrated Community Apartheid Could Not Destroy: the Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban, 1999), Apartheid city planning of the Durban CBD in many ways still presents structural obstacles dictating who lives and works in the CBD. The Apartheid system of separate land-use meant the business hub was never designed to accommodate the huge influx of people.

This influx of people in post-apartheid South Africa reshaped the CBD (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994); at times changing the face of the city such as turning the CBD into a hub for small entrepreneurial business replacing the old financial and legal houses found before 1994. However, the new influx of people experiences the same design constraints as the previous 'white' population (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994). For example, the CBD still has a substantial student population, which make statistics on income levels in the city hard to interpret.

Perhaps one of the most striking characteristics of the Durban CBD today is how quickly things change from one street to the next, also from building to building. For example, Diakonia Avenue in Albert Park can on a good day look like a postcard of Miami with its high-rise flats and Wide Avenue lined with palm trees. Yet within a minute's walk, one finds St. Georges Street with garbage bags rather than palm trees lining the street. The street houses both residential units and small formal and informal businesses.

Up until the late 1970s, Albert Park, the largest residential area in the CBD, was considered a prestigious 'white' city location, and the park was seen as a leisure and entertainment destination (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994). By the 1980s, a number of economic and social factors drove the rapid transformation of Albert Park into one of the first integrated city spaces. Most of these new residents belonged to an emerging professional class of black, Indian and Coloured families for whom the reasonable rentals in Albert Park and close proximity to the CBD brought numerous conveniences. However, this transformation was also driven by a lack of housing in designated non-white areas and an abundance of empty flats for rent in Albert Park (Maharaj & Mpungose, The 'Greying' of Albert Park in Durban in Geoforum, 1994).

The late 1980s was also the time when the then Department of Development and Planning put pressure on flat owners that if any 'disqualified' peoples were found leasing their flats they faced prosecution under the Group Areas Act and risked losing their properties. Many Indian, Coloured and black tenants received eviction notices (Mohamed & Naidoo, 2000). These discriminatory evictions made Albert Park the centre of debate about the injustices of the Group Areas Act in the city of Durban.

Many Albert Park residents of all races took action against these evictions (*Daily Sun*, 2002). Residents formed support networks for families threatened with eviction and joined civil action groups. Flat owners faced a rapidly dwindling 'white' rental demand for their properties in the area and began securing rental through tenants categorised under the Group Areas Act as 'disqualified' from living in white areas, often fronted by a white person signing the lease agreement.

This transformation in large appeared to happen without any initial conflict between residents because of racial integration. By 2001 the Albert Park area was largely occupied by black students and young professionals, as stated in Mohamed & Naidoo (2000). This heterogeneous urban space has also seen a new influx of people, both 'legal' and 'illegal', from diverse African countries. Coupled with this was an increase in crime and urban decay of many of the high-rise flats, as well as an increase in bars and drinking holes in the area. Albert Park's crime-ridden reputation and large number of refugees has had the unfortunate effect of creating new discrimination and protectionism about what kinds of people the levy paying tenants and owners will tolerate in the area.

A telling sign of this tension was the ward councillor's statement at the time when he stated that his priority challenge for 2006 was to "curb crime in Albert Park and deal with the influx of foreigners" (eZasegagagsiniMetro, 2006). These tensions, coupled with the urban design constraints, meant that black families – as they earned more money – migrated to the suburbs in search of more spacious and safer environments in which to raise their families; following a similar pattern to that seen in 1994 when many white families moved out. One estate agent stated that her Zulu tenants no longer wanted to live in Albert Park as it was seen as a 'place for foreigners'.

The ease in which older discourses of exclusion and otherness have been reworked to justify violent and everyday discriminatory practices against people perceived as 'foreign' at first glance appears bizarre considering the history of this community and the country as a whole (Cooper, 2005). In many ways 'race' thinking and difference still serve to mediate which tenants are seen as being legitimately accepted in the area.

It is important to note that not all interactions between people in Albert Park are based on this axis of difference. A recent study of small businesses in Albert Park suggest that many business owners recognise the value, to themselves and their businesses, that people from other countries have in terms of business and technological knowledge (Cooper, 2005).

4.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has briefly introduced the study area and had has provided an image which shows the boundary of the study area as well as the location which is the edge of the Durban CBD. This chapter has further provided the socio-economic status of the eThekwini Municipality as well as the development challenges which also contributes to the well-being of the municipality's citizens including refugees. Amongst the development challenges the municipality is facing, there is are issues of homelessness, infrastructure delivery, safety, as well housing issues which many contribute a lot into the assimilation of refugees and their experiences mostly when it comes to accessing proper housing within the municipality. The following chapter will give a research methodology assisted by the information provided in the chapters above.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This study used a qualitative research approach / method in its data collection and analysis. A qualitative approach is an approach characterised by a descriptive analysis, which is a non-statistical method, rather than a numeric analysis of data (Mason, 2002). A descriptive analysis applies reasoning and uses words, expressions and experiences in its investigation. This is mainly because a qualitative research method is aimed at deciphering meaning, gauging feelings and describes a situation. It is an exploratory approach that allows a researcher to investigate the "why" and "how" of decision-making (Hancock, Ockleford, & Windridge, 2009). Qualitative research focuses on description, which in this study involves in gaging and describing the feelings and experiences of refugees in their efforts to access housing in South African cities (Hancock, Ockleford, & Windridge, 2009). This study will also involve interpretation, which may lead to the development of new concepts and theories within the study. Qualitative research also includes the evaluation of organisational processes (Mason, 2002).

This study targeted a group of registered refugees carrying residential permits as defined by the South African Government and issued by the Department of Home Affairs (DoHA, 2014). Data collected for this study assisted the researcher to conduct interviews and discussions with sampled individuals representative of refugees currently occupying an area in the Durban CBD. The data was generated from two main sources, namely primary and secondary sources discussed below.

5.2. SAMPLING

There are more than 10 000 refugees residing in the Durban CBD who come from various regions in Africa, including countries from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Central Africa, West Africa and North Africa. According to the Statistics SA Community Survey (2014:36), most refugees come from the following countries who are among the top ten: Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso, Bangladesh and Angola. In line with the above survey, the sampled refugees approached for this study are from Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, and Libya.

This study used two types of sampling as a method to select participants. They are purposive and snowball sampling which are explained below.

5.2.1. Snowball Sampling

This study used snowball sampling for the selection of participants for the subsequent interviews, administration of questionnaires and discussions. Snowball sampling is defined as a non-probability method of survey sample selection that is mainly used to locate populations that are not easy to access, as is the case in this study (Katz, 2006). This method of sampling provides the researcher with means of accessing vulnerable social groupings that are almost impenetrable, for example refugees, hence the use of a referral method.

Although the study precinct had quite a number of refugees, as they mainly gathered in this area after the xenophobic attacks, many of them were reluctant to speak or associate with South Africans (locals), including the researcher. This resulted in the researcher using the snowball-sampling method, which is a referral method. The selected sample group were people the researcher became acquainted with through the refugee centres and NGOs who were part of this study, people as referred to by other refugees, and people observed to have an interest in this kind of study.

Two refugee centres in the CBD assisted the researcher in selecting the participants for this study. They are: the KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Social Services which is a non-profit organisation (NPO) working with the United Nations, and the Denis Hurley Centre which is a service provider that provides and manage clinic services, feeding schemes, occupational training, educational and community support, and pastoral outreach to poor South Africans and refugees in the Durban area.

In total the study sample comprised 30 individuals – 15 males and 15 females over the age of 18 years, and it only included refugees with long-term (1 to 3 years) and short-term (6 to 12 months) renewable permits. The selected refugees were classified under the following categories: temporal or permanent; employed, self-employed or unemployed; married or single; and those who have their own businesses and those who do not have their own businesses. These are categories of refugees who are affected by the issue of access to accommodation / housing. The sample obtained is regarded to be justly representative and the researcher is of the opinion that it allows for valid generalisations with regard to the study population. Another type of sampling, which is also used in a qualitative research, was used by the researcher.

5.2.2. Purposive Sampling

This is the most common sample strategy used in qualitative research. In this type of sampling, participants are nominated based on pre-selected benchmarks following from the research question/s. For example, with regard to this study, the participants were selected based on the information needed following the question whether any housing assistance is provided by NGOs to refugees in the city of Durban. This type of sampling is mostly useful in cases where information is somewhat sensitive, as is

the case with refugees; thus, for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to the research topic, this type of sampling is quite helpful in terms of assisting the researcher to identify centres of helpful information (Palinkas, et al., 2016). Therefore, with regard to this research, the two centres of information mentioned in the paragraph 2.2.1 were very helpful.

5.3. DATA SOURCES

For this research, two major sources of data were selected. The first one is the primary data source, which is mainly data collected by the researcher. This is raw information collected from the study area (actual/physical area) through various methods (Johnson, 2014). The second source of data is secondary data, which is data collected previously and published by either researchers, government institutions or in census or organisational records (Johnson, 2014:620). Both sources will be explained below, as well as how they have been used in the unfolding of the research topic.

5.3.1. Primary Data

Primary data is unprocessed information derived straight from the study area (Johnson, 2014:623). Primary data for this study came from 30 interviews and from images or photographs. A total of 30 questionnaires were distributed and recordings made of the interviews. The information obtained came from the study area in the Durban CBD (St Georges and the Albert Park area) in the eThekwini Municipality. This area is a low- to medium income area and has a number of old and dilapidated buildings. Refugees – who were found to be street vendors and small business owners (mainly salons, tuck-shops) – now dominate the area. Information for this study was also obtained from key informants, that is people and organisations who have a close working relationship with the refugees and knowledge of the challenges they face on almost a daily basis. It included, among others, a number of expects from the local universities who have been working on topics relating to refugees for the past 10 years, and a as well as some representatives from the Denis Hurley Centre for refugees. Primary data was also obtained from two officials from the KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Centre, which is a UN affiliated association that attends to social issues including shelter for refugees residing in Durban and the Province of KZN at large. An official from the eThekwini Municipality and ward counsellor for the Albert Park area was also one of the key informants. Unfortunately, officials from the Department of Home Affairs were not included as they had other commitments on both of the two days that were set aside for the interviews. Data was collected using three key techniques, namely, interviews, questionnaires and mapping that are briefly discussed briefly.

5.3.1.1. Interviews

To gather information on the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing within the city of Durban this research used individual interviews – 30 interviews were conducted. There are generally four different types of interviews, namely informal conversational interviews, the interview guide approach, open-ended interviews and closed quantitative interviews as classified by Patton (1990); however, for the purpose of this research, the researcher used structured open-ended interviews to gather information. According to Patton (1990), in a structured open-ended interview, the conversation is controlled by the interviewer and the questions structured and standardised. This type of interview allows for a series of open-ended questions and open responses from an interviewee; this means that there are no limitations to the responses given. It is believed that open-ended questions are best at showing or expressing feelings and a person's own thinking. The interviews were conducted as one-on-one sessions with individual respondents as selected by means of the snowballing sample method. The sample selected for the individual interviews required respondents to answer a variety of questions, among others, questions about the following:

- experiences in accessing housing,
- employment status,
- current housing conditions,
- affordability status,
- process of accessing housing,
- safety and security factors,
- treatment attitude by landlords, and
- involvement of the municipality on the issues of housing.

The concept key informants is discussed below.

5.3.1.2. Key Informants

Key informants are people – given their positions, work expertise and their projects in working with refugees – are advantageously placed to provide insightful information about refugees and access to housing in Durban. The key informants of this study were: a lecturer from the University of KwaZulu-Natal who is a specialist in dealing with refugee issues and their location within South African cities; a lecturer from the University of Zululand, a refugee himself and a prominent author and project coordinator of many issues related to refugees, including access to basic facilities in South Africa, for including housing. There was also two members of prominent organisations within the city of Durban – the KwaZulu-Natal Refugee Centre located in Diakonia Avenue, and the Denis Hurley Centre. These

people and organisations work closely with refugees on a daily basis in association with refugee camps. Below is a list of some of the core issues discussed with them:

- Understanding the issue of access to proper housing for refugees,
- Action taken by affiliated organisations to encourage refugees' access to housing,
- Suggested housing and allocation policies that can assist in allowing access to housing and homeownership for refugees, as well as
- Recommendations or suggestions for the consideration of government departments in addressing the issue

5.3.1.3. Questionnaires

Questionnaires can be defined as a set of printed or written questions with a choice of answers, devised for the purposes of a survey or statistical study (Mathers, Fox, & Hunn, 2007). Questionnaires are a very convenient way of collecting useful comparable data from a large number of individuals. However, questionnaires can only produce valid and meaningful results if the questions are clear, precise and the same for all respondents (Mathers, Fox, & Hunn, 2007). As stated above, questionnaires were used during the survey and administered to 30 respondents in addition to the interviews. Below are some of the issues covered in the attached questionnaire and the interviews conducted:

- Country of origin
- Number of years living in SA
- Employment status
- The process of acquiring a place to stay
- Rental or home ownership
- The requirements of landlords in the private housing sector
- Opinions on safety and crimes
- View or opinions on the housing policy framework concerning refugees

5.3.1.4. Maps

Maps were used to identify / locate the study area in the context of the wider South Africa and the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. The maps were produced using data from the Android Geographical Positioning System (GPS). It was used to locate some of the buildings where refugees reside, and to locate some of the NGOs where the researcher had to go for interviews. The coordinates collected using GPS were then exported to a software programme called ArcGIS to generate the maps. The study also used secondary data sources to provide information on the objectives of the study and. This type of data source is discussed below.

5.3.2. Secondary Data Sources

This study used secondary data sources, which refers to information that has already been documented, for example in journals, books, newspaper articles and/or magazines (Johnson, 2014, p. 621). Secondary data sources assisted this investigation in providing a perspective on both historical and current information with regard to the experiences of refugees in accessing housing, both internationally and locally. In addition, secondary data sources contributed to the study by revealing case studies concerning similar issues faced in South Africa. Besides the aforementioned secondary data sources, including case studies, the following were also used: reports, census reports, immigration statistics and many other published documents such as government reports and previous academic studies in this field. Secondary data sources play a significant role that cannot be underestimated in qualitative research, as it can – in many instances – prove and support the arguments and/or findings of the study or investigation.

5.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The study assumed a descriptive method for analysing data; this is a written account or report of data obtained from the 30 questionnaires, the interviews and recordings of the interviews. This study also used a method of classification of the data to assist the researcher in interpreting and making sense of the data collected through the interviews, map and 30 questionnaires administered. Classification allows for an interpretative analysis where one seeks to fully understand the data generated. Interviewees were classified according to age, gender, marital status, country of origin, number of years spent in South Africa, employment status as well as family structure. The researcher used transcribing (typing out what was said) and annotation (taking notes during interviews) to secure accurate data, as well as other secondary data sources, for example documentaries and videos from valid sources. The typed (written) data was then analysed.

5.5. VALIDITY AND RIGOR

There is a large number of refugees from surrounding African countries coming to South Africa for a number of reasons. This study was interested in those who have the required documents and are living in South African cities for an extended period. All these refugees are in need of safe and secure yet affordable housing. Due to a lack of monitoring the process how refugees get access to housing, there is limited information as to how migrants get access to housing. It seems as if they have to rely only on private accommodation, which is not monitored or controlled by Government. This has implications with regard to the pricing, safety and maintenance of the accommodation.

The national Department of Housing and most SA municipalities are unclear in their plans and policies on accommodating refugees in South Africa, even though it is clear that we are experiencing an increase in refugees coming to South Africa every year. This calls for actions and interventions, especially in the housing sector.

This study will assist in adding to the limited available research literature on foreign migrants living in South African cities and their challenge to get access to housing. This study optimises a model for change that the national Department of Housing, together with the relevant municipal departments, can use in order to benefit from the findings and recommendations of the research. The findings of this study will go a long way in answering a number of questions with regard to the fate of refugees in South Africa, and also whether or not the South African Government provides access to housing.

5.6. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The chief limitation of the study was the inadequacy of information about the quest of refugees to access housing in South Africa and the city of Durban as a study area. Currently, there is a minimal number of researchers tackling this thorny issue although it is of major importance for refugees in South Africa and across the globe. Furthermore, the South African Government policies on housing are clear that the programme is only for South African citizens. This state of affairs puts refugees in a situation where they have to rely on privately rented housing which in many cases are self-regulated. This phenomenon makes the already disadvantaged refugees even more vulnerable in terms of exclusion from access to quality services, including housing.

Private accommodation is difficult to control and monitor in terms of safety and security, and whether water, electricity and sanitation services are provided adequately. The issue of pricing is also difficult to monitor. Although there are city upgrading and regeneration schemes taking place in most South African cities, including the city of Durban, one is unsure whether plans to accommodate or improve access to housing for refugees will be part of this.

Additionally, xenophobia was another limitation regarding the study, largely because it became difficult for refugees to trust South Africans after the severe attacks in KZN in 2014/15. These attacks were not the first as they followed the 2008 attacks that left refugees feeling threatened and unsafe in South African communities. These attacks seem to be the foundation of the reluctance of refugees to participate in the study, as most refugees felt that their safety could not be guaranteed if they participate in the investigation. This attitude forced the researcher to source research assistants who could win their trust and were conversant in the languages the refugees spoke to interpret what was said.

5.7. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING FIELDWORK

Some of the major problems encountered during fieldwork were the lack (scarcity) of research participants, refusal of respondents to participate and communication as some of refugees come from francophone countries.

• Scarcity of research participants

The scarcity of research participants was mainly due to the fact that most of the refugees were not comfortable around South Africans because of the severe xenophobic attacks in the Durban area in the recent past. In order to overcome the challenge, the researcher had to request the assistance of workers at the refugee centres to accompany her for the interviews and the distribution of questionnaires in the city on their non-busy days.

• Outright refusal of respondents to participate in the study

The outright refusal of respondents to participate in the investigation was because of time constraints, and the fact that they, in their opinion, were not going to benefit anything from it. Time constraints was the reason of potential respondents who were working in the tuck shops, salons and those looking after their children.

• Communication barrier: language

Another challenge faced by the researcher in the field was the failure to communicate with respondents due to language challenges. Refugees from countries whose mother language was French and not English was difficult to interview and for them to complete the questionnaires. They included, for example, refugees from Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso and Burundi. The researcher used assistants from the refugee centres; however, refugee participants who could not understand any English were eliminated from responding to questionnaires to avoid vague responses.

5.8. POINTERS

Pointers were used to investigate and assess the various aspects of refugees finding accommodation in the city. The pointers below were taken from the writings of immigration experts who have been working on addressing housing and housing-related issues when it comes to refugees. Four key pointers were identified;

5.8.1. Availability of housing: The availability of housing was one of the major tools or pointers that were used in investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing housing. There is a high demand for housing in the city forcing tenants to occupy old and dilapidated buildings. Thus, besides affordability, scarcity of accommodation also poses a challenge to

refugees. Ninety-four percent of those surveyed were tenants, and close to half of them either lived in very basic but affordable apartments or were sharing it with spouses, friends or their kids.

- **5.8.2. Affordability of rent:** Rent affordability was used as a pointer in investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing housing as this is also one of the major challenges faced by refugees residing in the city of Durban. Nearly one-fourth of all newcomer tenants face severe housing stress, paying more than half of the family income on rent and having savings totalling less than three months' rent (Mendez, Hiebert and Wyly 2006:100). In brief, what was witnessed was diverging housing classes featuring homeowners at one extreme and financially vulnerable tenants at the other. The divergent housing experiences of refugees and national groups stem from factors such as social and economic status, cultural norms, household size, and social networks.
- **5.8.3.** Condition of refugee accommodation spaces: The general condition of refugee accommodation is aggravated by overcrowding, where refugees share spaces in order to split the rent. Also, in order to pay less on rent, refugees tend to occupy dilapidated buildings which are not maintained or serviced. Thus, the condition of housing spaces occupied by refugees became one of the pointers for this study because of the above reasons.
- **5.8.4.** Safety and security: Safety and security were used as one of the pointers in the investigation of experiences in accessing housing. This is so because safety is one of the drivers for refugees to settle in cities, because these are areas that have safety and security services in close proximity. Most of the cities have their buildings safeguarded by security companies, which is unlike staying in the townships where safety is not guaranteed making people a pray for criminals and isolate them from safety and security services.

5.9. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the method that this study adopted in conducting the investigation on the experiences of refugees in accessing housing, namely the qualitative research method. Refugee respondents were not easy to find, as they were usually not willing to discussing their challenges with South Africans due to the hostility that exists between refugees and locals. The historic xenophobic attacks are the reason for this phenomenon.

The researcher had to use assistants working for the refugee centres to convince most of the refugees to participate in the study. The use of snowball sampling and purposive sampling was also of great assistance in obtaining the desired sample for the research. This chapter also outlined the data sources that were used to collect data. This chapter further outlined the validity and rigor of the study giving justification for its relevance and need. Finally, this chapter focussed on the issues that the researcher came across during fieldwork and how the issues were conquered.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

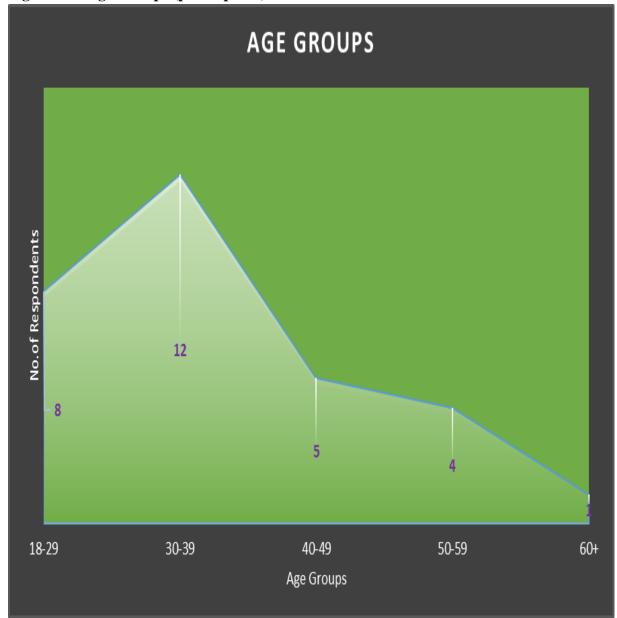
This chapter presents the analyses and discusses the data that was collected using interviews and questionnaires. Firstly, data was collected from 30 respondents residing in apartments located in Albert Park (St Georges and Park Street) through face-to-face interviews and questionnaires. Secondly, data was also collected during face-to-face interviews with five key informants. These were the ward councillor of the area, a researcher who works closely with refugees, a respondent from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, a respondent from the University of Zululand and three representatives from NGOs (the KZN Refugee Social Services and the Denis Hurley Centre) working very closely with refugees in the CBD. The data is combined and presented in a manner that shows its relation with the objectives of the study as well as comparisons between the responses of the respondents. This chapter is thus divided into sections that relate to the objectives and research questions pertaining to this dissertation.

6.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS

This part of the study presents data about the identity of the refugees who were interviewed. The data contained here includes data about age, gender status, marital status, country of origin, the period before refugee status was granted, level of education, years spent in Durban, status of employment, monthly income, number of children, the number of people with whom they share a dwelling, and the reasons for staying in the city centre. Analysing the socio-economic status of the respondents seeks to understand their background and the type of people they are.

A variety of age groups were selected and interviewed for this study, even though the study was specific in selecting only participants from 18 years and above. As indicated in the table below, Group 1 - a total of 17 (57%) respondents of the total sample of 30 are refugees between the ages of 18 and 34, which is the official "youth" category in South Africa. This is an economically active category or group that possesses the potential to boost the country's GDP when given the opportunity to participate in economic activities. Group 2, respondents between

the ages of 36 and 64, totals 10 (33%) of the total sample. These are adults who are working men and women to support their children and families. The respondents in this group of refugees are small business owners in the city and vendors on the street. The Group 3 refugees are elderly persons who are 65 and above – they account for 3 (10%) of the sample. The age group categories mentioned above and reflected in the table below is an important tool for analysis because it gives an idea of the kind of refugees living in Durban, the types of jobs they may seek an the kind of services they may need.





Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

There is a greater demand for access to housing by women as women have special needs compared to their male counterparts. Women are more vulnerable to crime, rape and murder and can be pregnant or have to look after children. The increasing number of female refugees in the city of Durban also implies that there is a need for increased safety and security in living areas.

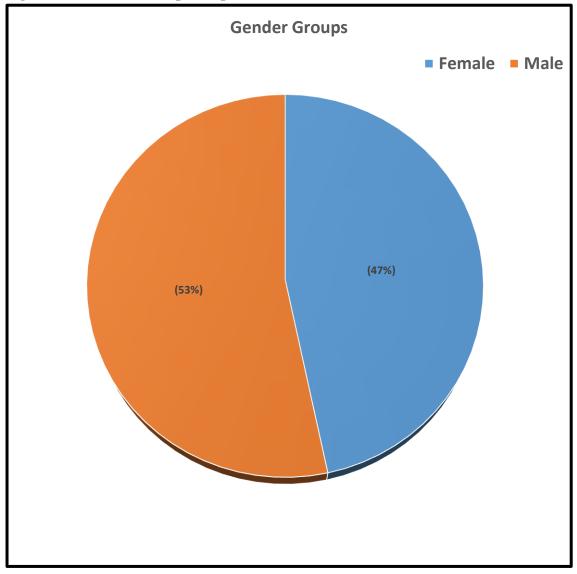
It was found that the apartments in which the participants, who were part of the study, were living were in a dilapidating stage and many have been abandoned which increases the risks of crime. The rent in the area (Albert Park) was also low as it was low-standard apartments and appeared to be badly maintained.

Because of the high number of women refugees in the community, access to housing should be readily available and easier, as security and safety are of paramount importance due to the fact that they are mainly family bearers and many have children to take care of. According to Kawar (2008:73-74) many refugee women lack the ability to obtain important and relevant information about the host country before they leave their home countries; this makes them vulnerable to homelessness, crime and unemployment.

This was the case with most women that were interviewed during this study. They honestly stated that they knew nothing about Durban, but were just hoping that circumstances were better as compared to their home countries, as they were running away from political wars, environmental disasters and poverty. Therefore, for the above reasons, it becomes somewhat difficult for women to get access to housing, which is why, as stated in the literature review, refugees are usually found living in crowded inhumane places, which are mostly unsafe.

As per the table below, out of the 30 refugees interviewed for this study, there were 16 (53%) male respondents as compared to 14 (47%) female respondents. These figures seem to contradict the figures provided in the previous chapter, where it was shown that in Durban there is a larger female population as compared to the male population. However, when it comes to refugees, the male population group tends to be slightly larger than the female population group for a possible number of reasons.

Figure 6.3: Gender Groups (respondents)



Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

Among some of them could be the fact that men are more vulnerable to persecution and threat and therefore turn to be the ones, more than women, to flee their home countries. Men are at threat due to their refusal to participate in war and tend to run away to save themselves from persecution. While women on the other hand usually have a family responsibility to look after kids, so even though they might be at risk and want to run away to seek asylum in other countries, having to run away with kids and leaving home poses a challenge, thus the reason why there are more male refugees as compared to women.

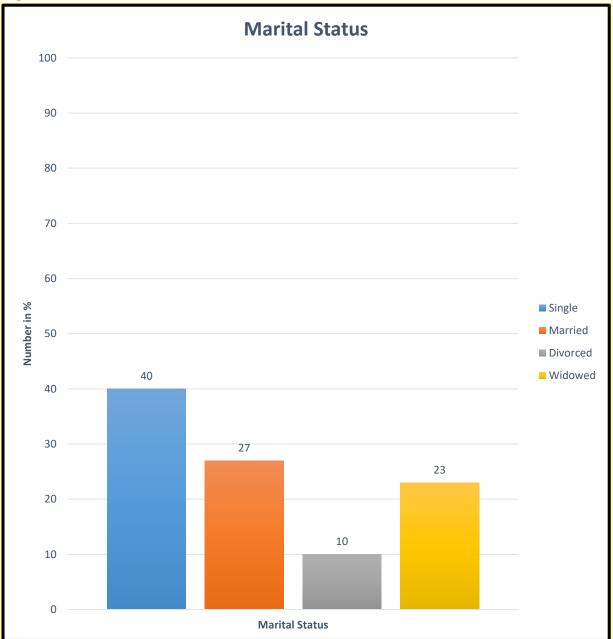
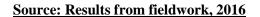


Figure 6.4: Marital Status



The figure above shows the marital status of the respondents: single, married, divorced and widowed. Twelve (12) (40%) were single, a higher percentage than any of the other categories of interviewees. This could be ascribed to the fact that refugees come from a number of different countries. It is therefore difficult to form relationships, hence there are more refugees who are single. There was 8 (27%) married respondents, which was the second largest figure of the respondent population. This shows an element of family orientation, further requiring proper housing. Families tend to include children, which means that the need for proper

housing or accommodation is essential; small, shared apartments are not conducive for family life. Divorced respondents numbered 3 (10%) and widowed respondents 7 (23%). Marital status is important and a helping factor to get access to housing. However, whether single, married, divorced or widowed, all citizens deserves proper housing.

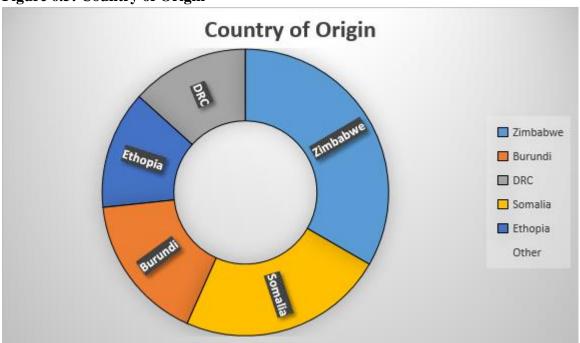
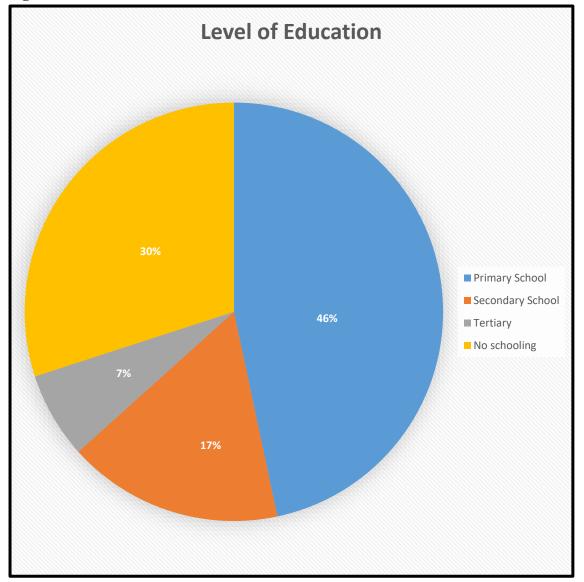


Figure 6.5: Country of Origin

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

The figure above shows the countries of origin of the respondents. The refugees interviewed were from Zimbabwe 33% (10), Burundi 17% (5), Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) 13% (4), Somalia 24% (7), and Ethiopia 13% (4). It is clear that quite a significant number of refugees come from Zimbabwe as compared to the other countries. Though the information produced in this thesis is not representative of the whole refugee community in the eThekwini Municipality, it is supported by cited studies done by other researchers. It has shown that most of the refugees living in South African cities are originally from Zimbabwe; this fact shows that this study is not too far off from what other researchers have discovered.

The area where this study has been conducted is also referred to by South Africans as "Nigeria". The reason for this is the fact that this part of the city has the most dilapidated buildings and is largely occupied by refugees. It is generally believed that Durban has more Zimbabweans than any other foreign population groups because Zimbabwe is not only closer to South Africa but also one of the most impoverished countries on the continent. According to the South African National Statistics Board census in 2011, of all the refugees in the country, 88,5% are documented Zimbabweans between the ages of 15-64 followed by 78,9% Nigerians between the ages of 15-64. It is a known fact that civil wars, natural disasters, poverty, political instability and fear of persecution in other African countries are among some of the reasons why South Africa is one of the top refugee destination countries in the region.





The figure above shows the levels of education, which proves that in general most refugees did receive some kind of basic education. Fourteen (14) (46%) of the refugees did attend primary school. The number decreases for the higher levels of education. Nine (9) (30%) stated that

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

they never went to school at all. When asked for a reason, some said they never had the opportunity to attend school because they had to work to look after their families and siblings. Others stated that they had to look after their family's livestock as well as assisting with family farming activities. Some also said they had to flee from country to country in fear of their lives because of civil unrest in their home countries and so they could not finish school. Those with secondary education totalled 5 (17%) and those who enrolled for tertiary education totalled 2 (7%). They, however, stated that they did not complete their studies due to financial constraints. The above shows that most of the refugees who were part of the study only received primary school education. This poses a challenge for refugees when seeking employment in the city, and in the country at large. With such a low level of education, the only available job opportunities are low paying jobs, which make it difficult to cover monthly expenses, especially in the city.

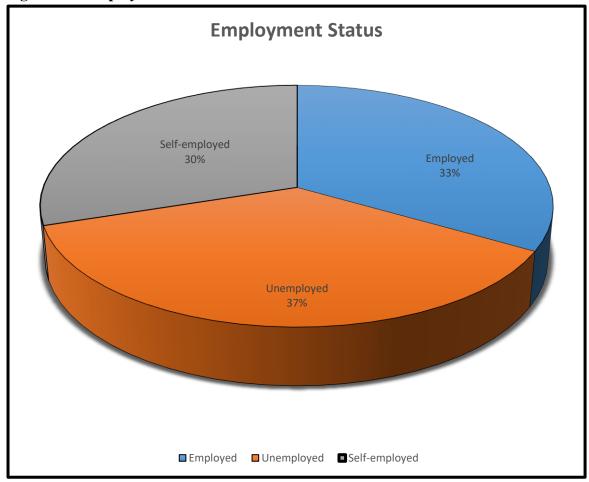


Figure 6.7: Employment Status

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

As can be seen from the above figures, the majority (63%) of refugees do have some form of income following from being employed (33%) and self-employment (30%) respectively. A high percentage – more than one third (37%) – are, however, unemployed. This is certainly one of the reasons for the high crime rate in the area. Thus, these people do not only need housing, but also jobs to provide for themselves and their families.

The monthly income of those who do have work is reflected in Figure 6 below.

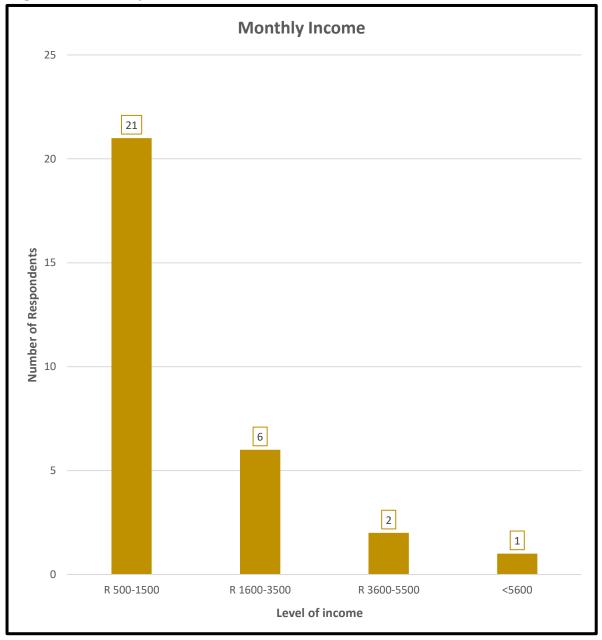


Figure 6.8: Monthly Income

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

According to the above figure, about 70% of the participants earn a monthly income between R500 and R1 500. About 20% earn between R1 600 and R3 500 a month, 7% earn between R3 600 and R5 500 a month and only 3% of the respondents earn more than R5 600 a month. The R3 500 per month earned by 70% of the 30 respondents equals the country's latest minimum income average, falling under the low-income group. It is therefore clear that affording rent and housing maintenance pose a challenge for refugees and sharing seems to be the only solution to afford housing in the city, as most of the interviewees agreed.

6.3. PROCESSES IN GETTING A PLACE TO STAY

This study's primary objective was to discover the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing and in addressing this objective, this research surveyed the methods that refugees have been using in acquiring a place to stay within the city. From the survey it is clear that housing facilities in the city are owned by different entities, some by the municipality, others are privately owned and some are owned by both of them. Although housing proprietorship is not the core focus of this sub-section, it is worth noting that housing tariffs, tenure agreements and buildings standards vary according to proprietorship.

According to most, if not all refugees participating in this study, the process of accessing a place to stay is not easy. However, the experiences vary. Some of the refugees had relatives who were in the country before they came, others made friends on the way and others had spouses who came to their rescue when they were looking for a place to stay. The table below shows how refugees participating in this study were able to get access to accommodation.

	Female	Male
Applied for a place to stay	1	2
Referred by a friend	9	6

Table 6.11: Process of getting a place to stay

Door to Door	4	5
Newspapers	1	0
Social media	2	0
Total	17	13
Sample total (N)	30	

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

The table above shows that 17 of the respondents were female, which equates to 57% of the sample population that responded to this sub-section while there were 13 male respondents equating to 43% of the sample. The results from the responses shows that most female refugees were able to get access to a place to stay through a friend -9 (53%) out of 17. In the case of the male respondents, there was a similar trend -6 (46%) out 13 male respondents were able to find a place to stay through a friend. The figure also shows that using newspapers, social media and /or to apply for housing were less successful. Only about 6% (4 out of 17) of the females were successful. What is common with regard to both male and female refugees is the success they achieved with the "door-to-door" method of searching for a place to stay. When asked why this is the case, one of the respondents said:

"Is it easier for us when we go door-to-door because we can see how big the flat space is, if it's going to be big enough and the type of people staying there." (Interview with Refugee #1, Albert Park, 25 August 2017) This seems to be a viable method when one takes into consideration that there are some extremely dilapidated buildings in the CBD, which might not be suitable for family-oriented households and not good value for money in terms of the money stipulated for rent. Moreover, due to xenophobic attacks and better opportunities in the cities, more than in the suburbs / townships, refugees felt that even though they may struggle to find a proper place to live in the city, they feel much safer living between fellow foreigners in one place than in the townships.

Refugees are also aware that competition for space in cities is high because rural-urban migration is high, as numerous metropolitan areas are experiencing high influx rates (Zuma, 2013:9). The main reason for rural-urban migration in South Africa is the same as in most parts of the world – job opportunities. Cities have consistently outpaced the rest of the country in terms of economic employment growth; this is because they tend to be more productive in terms of the value of the goods and services they generate and the efficiency with which they are produced.

The experiences of refugees and the responses they got with regard to some of the methods they used to get access to housing are discussed below:

• Applied for a place to stay: One can apply online for accommodation in some buildings in the Albert Park area. The following is needed for this: personal details, ID document, proof of salary, and sometimes proof of the previous residence as a reference for determining good behaviour. The researcher asked one of the building supervisors the reason why this system was put in place. His response was:

"We had tenants who lost their jobs and could not pay their rental fees. They had no other place to go. Some were foreigners. Therefore, they would occupy the flats illegally. Others were evicted from previous flats because of misconduct and they would come here and cause trouble. Some were students, and we don't want students here, only working people." (Interview with Refugee #5, Albert Park, 25 August 2017)

The response and reaction of the building supervisor is justified based on the incidents he quoted. However, his statement raises an alarm with regard to refugees as most of them are not officially or permanently employed, and can therefore not produce a proof of salary. In addition, without a good rental history, the chances of being accepted as a tenant in buildings with these restrictions are slim.

One individual (out of the 30 respondents) did, however, obtain access to accommodation through this process because he works for a NGO; one therefore finds the aforementioned application system extremely discriminative.

• Referred by a friend

Some of the refugees stated that they found a place to stay through a referral by acquaintances. They said they made friends with people they met in, among others, refugee and NGO offices and also through mutual friends. These friends assisted them in getting accommodation. They had more success with this method than applying or looking for a place using the internet. This seems to be the reason for the strong ties between refugees living in Albert Park, even though they come from different countries. The community in Albert Park is socially cohesive and seems to have a strong sense of community.

Newspapers

Refugees who sought accommodation through adverts in newspaper were misled. Most of the time what was advertised in the newspaper did not correspond with reality. They stated that sometimes a nice picture of the apartment was published only for them to find out that it was in a dilapidated stage when they got there, and also not safe and secure. These refugees said they would not recommend the use of newspaper adverts to find a place to stay.

In conclusion, some refugees remarked that the requirements of some of the agencies in the housing market were harshly exclusive as they seem to be designed for the working local citizens. That is one of the reasons why some of refugees have chosen squatting when they cannot find a place.

6.4. TYPE OF HOUSING AVAILABLE TO REFUGEES

The city has a number of housing types. It also has a number of affordable housing programmes for citizens such as hostels and other subsidised housing programmes. Refugees predominantly relies on rental accommodation. According to the provincial Department of Human Settlements, the province is guided by national legislation to provide rental housing and has not developed its own provincial legislation for this sector, nor is it required. There is thus no provincial policy that underpins the key aspects of government engagement in rental housing, except for the policy on 'Transitional and Special Needs Housing' linked to the allocation of institutional subsidies. A government official was interviewed about whether there are any programmes in place to cater for refugees. The response was:

"The issue of housing provision is very broad because even the private rental apartments that people might think are not regulated are regulated by the municipality. But going back to your question, we cannot provide housing to refugees when our own citizens are still homeless. NGOs and other institutions may provide housing to foreigners, but we are not obligated, even by policy, to provide housing to foreigners." (Interview with Refugee #6, Albert Park, 25 August 2017)

The response from the government official is clear – there are no programmes or policies in place that instructs the municipality to cater for the housing needs of refugees. There is, however, a national white paper and a social housing policy, underpinned by strict regulations, in place. Provincial government departments and municipalities can, and should, use these documents and/or guidelines to guide their housing allocation.

6.5. CONDITIONS OF HOUSING SPACES OCCUPIED BY THE REFUGEE COMMUNITY IN THE ALBERT PARK AREA

During the data collection process, it was discovered that the buildings occupied by refugees who formed part of this study were old and dilapidated. The researcher visited four buildings in the Albert Park area (St Georges Street and Park Street) occupied by a community of refugees. This can be seen from the images in this subsection.

The researcher's assessment from mere observation was that the conditions of the buildings do not match the rental amounts the tenants are being charged. Most rental amounts was above R3 500, which is the current minimum wage in South Africa. It is believed that the wage is not enough to ensure the minimum living standard of an average household in the country (Naki, 2017).





Image 6.1 above shows the exterior painting off the walls. This shows a lack of maintenance of the building by management and the building supervisors, although the monthly rental and maintenance fees have been paid.

Image 6.2: Lack of maintenance



The above picture (Image 6.2) was taken while visiting one of the four buildings occupied by the refugee community in Albert Park. The image shows a rusty steel frame of an old bed that is no longer used.

This deserted steel bed is near a laundry line that is used by a whole floor including children. One of the respondents commented as follows about the above image:

"There is no proper maintenance in this building, there is no bin collection service and this bed should have been thrown away months ago as it has been lying here for more than six months now. And it poses a danger to the kids who play in this area. My neighbour's child was cut by a rusted spring and had to be operated one." (Interview with Refugee #20, Albert

Park, 28 August 2017)

From the above assertion it is clear that a lack of maintenance not only poses a health hazard but can also create dangerous situations which are a threat to children.



Image 6.1: Poor maintenance

As can be seen from the image above, two of the four buildings being occupied by refugees interviewed for this study have water seeping through the walls, making the floors very slippery when it is raining and thus hazardous for tenants.

It is clear that the rental agency / property owner has no intention to fix the problem of water dripping from the walls and coming down the passages.



Image 6. 2: Broken windows

The image above shows a broken window and an old frame, which are obvious signs of poor maintenance. The respective buildings visited in the two streets in the Albert Park area depict a sign of urban decay. Briefly, urban decay can be defined as the deterioration of the inner city

into an increasing dysfunctional area, yielding negative returns and the amplification of disease, as explained by JDA (2001).

Urban decay is caused by a number of factors which include the overcrowding of buildings, the lack of maintenance of buildings occupied by tenants, the high rate of crime in neighbourhoods as well as a growing number of abandoned buildings (JDA, 2001). Other signs of a lack of maintenance and consequent dilapidation are portrayed in the pictures below.



Image 6.3: Laundry areas

The images presented above shows how tenants have resorted to creating their own laundry lines by use balcony borders. A woman explained this phenomenon as follows:

"Ever since I started staying here two years ago, I found people hanging their laundry in their windows, and then someone started with this new fashion of making their own laundry lines, and we all start doing it." (Interview with Refugee #24, Albert Park, 28 August 2017) Apparently, there is no area in this particular building designated for laundry. One of the tenants told the researcher that when they asked the building supervisor about this, they were told to take their laundry to the laundromat. Most of the refugees cannot afford this service.

The disadvantage of this design of the laundry lines, as is clear from the above images, is that the passage is open at the top which means the laundry gets wet when it rains. Participants stated that the only good thing about this kind of laundry line was that chances of their laundry being stolen are very less because each floor has its own lines.

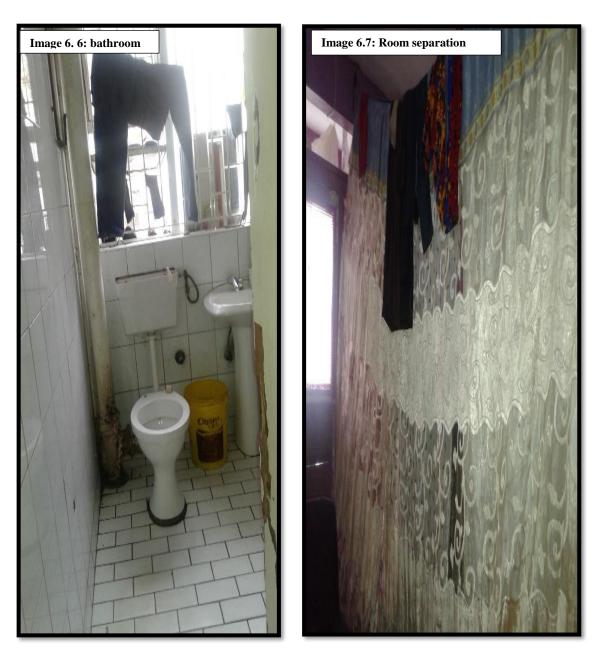
Further, below are images from different apartments showing the different conditions faced by refugees in their accommodation spaces.



Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

The images above and below are demonstrations of poor maintenance of apartments that are part of two buildings occupied by refugees in Albert Park. The above image shows the kitchen area with its broken cupboards and run-down paint.

Respondents stated that the owners hardly come to inspect the units for maintenance purposes. A refugee tenant who had been in the apartment for more than a year said that they had to fix their own shelves when they were broken because no maintenance were ever done.



Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016



According to one of the respondents, who stays in the building together with her three kids, she shares this apartment with two adult friends, as can be seen from Image 6.8 below.

Source: Results from fieldwork (image taken in August 2016)

According to the ward counsellor, urban decay in Albert Park is also witnessed in the case of vacant buildings that are occupied by street kids who turns these buildings into crime spots. Areas with these buildings has a high crime rate and break-ins at the nearby businesses and residential flats are reported on a daily basis.

Furthermore, because of this, the buildings are in many cases occupied by squatters (people staying there illegally), and because of illegal conversions, overcrowding and poorly serviced, maintained and managed public areas, the Albert Park area is indeed plagued by urban decay. One of the respondents also said that

"we share our rooms with big cockroaches and rats, there is no pest control done" (Interview with Refugee #30, Albert Park, 25 August 2017)

This is very worrying and unfair that tenants are subjected to such conditions as they pay their rent on a monthly basis. These conditions also pose a threat to their health. And with reference to the image of the bathroom image above, it is risky to have pipes tied together with plastic and having old pipe connections that are rusty and leaking, especially if there are children in the house.



Image 6.6: Cars parking outside the buildings

Source: Result from fieldwork, 2016

In summary: As observed above, the refugees have to cope with shared laundry lines and "dumping corners" which need regular cleaning and clearing, which do not happen as – according to the tenants – no cleaning services are provided. Also, two of the flats visited had stinking passageways, which were a sign of a lack of rubbish bin clearing. The images above are clear signs of poor building maintenance; the occupants (refugees) of these facilities are subject to risk and health threatening conditions on a daily basis.

6.6. REFUGEES' HOUSING AFFORDABILITY CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE CITY

Finding affordable rental housing in South Africa, more especially in the bigger cities (Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban) is a huge challenge (Crush & Williams, 2005:12. They further assert that given the fact that the cities are becoming highly urbanised, a rapid growth in city population results in a high competition for space with regard to both private and rental housing. While refugees and asylum seekers face other challenges, housing affordability and availability affect a large proportion of refugees in general and the problem of getting access to proper housing might be a problem for many years after arrival in urban areas (Crush & Frayne, 2007). The lack of adequate and affordable rental housing stock to accommodate an increasing number of refugees puts a strain on the capacity of cities, which makes the issue not only a problem for refugees but also municipalities and the government at large. The challenge of proper, affordable housing space is the main reason why many of the respondents taking part in this study have been living in unhygienic housing conditions, some affected by pest infestations, fungus and inadequate ventilation. One respondent said that:

"...we are renting an apartment that is plagued by cockroaches and the place has never ever been fumigated since we arrived here in 2015. If you leave your food outside the fridge you find them feasting on your dish within minutes. This small room does not have any ventilation as you can see. The window is blocked by the wardrobe as there is no other space to put it, it is very hot in here and sometimes we sleep in the passage to escape the heat in the bedroom because we cannot afford a bigger room." (Interview with Refugee #12, Albert Park, 28

August 2017)

The above response is a general one among the refugee community participating in this study, as most of them were found to live in overcrowded apartments in unsatisfactory housing conditions. The reason? The rent is much cheaper in such buildings. Some respondents highlighted the fact that in most parts of the greater Durban CBD, rent has increased dramatically, hence the shortage of proper and affordable rental housing. One respondent stated that most property owners had recently increased rental fees and that drove them to unsuitable rental units. Many refugees shared sentiments of exclusion as they did not meet the requirements required by most private property-owners for lease agreements. The lack of contacts to co-sign a lease agreement in order to share rent where they cannot afford the rent

individually aggravates the situation. One of the respondent who currently does not have a place to stay stated that:

"I am staying with my friend in her flat because I am still looking for a proper job. The owners of the flat I got said that they need a South African identity document and a pay slip and I don't have all those things because I am a refugee and I am working in salon, which is not regarded as formal employment." (Interview with Refugee #11, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

Such cases are very common with regard to the refugees interviewed. Consequently, the failure to secure spaces have led to the overcrowding of apartments and in some cases to homelessness. Furthermore, two respondents in a similar family setting interviewed about housing affordability stated that:

"The rental fees are too high for me and my husband because we have piece jobs and have two kids who go to school. We live with one other family in order to afford to pay the rent so we share the rent fees every month." (Interview with Refugee #10, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

The above response once again emphasises the truth that refugees are "forced" to share apartments with either their friends, extended families and sometimes with total strangers in order to pay rental fees. It is therefore no surprise that the issue of housing affordability has emerged as one of the major problems faced by refugee groups living in the Durban CBD. What is extremely discouraging, according to them, is the fact that they do not qualify for the social housing programmes, no matter their circumstances, if they don't qualify for citizenship. This lack of affordable housing has led to overcrowding in the apartments occupied by underprivileged refugees.

As stated earlier in this thesis, most refugees who were part of this study stated that they earn approximately between R500 to R 1500 a month. The rent of between R3 000 up to R 7000 per month for a single bedroom, as stated in the eThekwini Municipality 2017/18 draft IDP, is quite expensive which means that the private housing market is failing the low-income submarket at an extremely high rate.

An analysis done by OCR, which stands for Organisation of Civic Rights and previously known as the Durban Central Residents' Association, played a leading role during the 1908s and 1990s fighting apartheid evictions and co-ordinating national campaigns. The high profile activities and legal actions pressured President De Klerk and the Police to "freeze" group areas

evictions and actions against so-called mixed couples (OCR, 1999). The organisation's findings stated that on average tenants are required to pay close to 40% of their monthly income just for rent and electricity. Respondents were interviewed about how they pay for rent. Some of the responses were:

Respondent A: "Most of the time we go to the refugee centre in Diakonia, we explain our problems to them, and sometimes they give us money for rent, sometimes we do not get any, so we borrow from friends and relatives."

Respondent B: "I have to do multiple jobs in order to contribute for rent, I have three children and I pay more because we use a bigger space and use most electricity." (Interview with Refugee #29, Albert Park, 25 August 2017)

The lack of affordability as stated above is thus caused by a number of issues and according to



RCOA (2013), refugees often face significant challenges in securing employment during the early stages of settlement and may consequently have very limited income. This is true as most refuges confirmed this, saying that a lack of employment is major а contributing factor as no income or low levels of income result in rental unaffordability. Respondents further stated that they were forced to split the rent and share apartments.

Source: Result from fieldwork, (2016)

One of the respondents produced a proof of a rental payment of R5 000 she had made for a single bedroom apartment, excluding electricity and water payments, which she shares. The respondents staying in this one bedroom apartment comprising a bedroom, lounge, kitchen and bathroom had to make changes to the apartment to accommodate both the families – the lounge was converted into a bedroom for one of the families. As stated above, the monthly rent is R5 000. If one add the cost of electricity (R300) and water (R250), the total cost for housing amounts to R5 550. The majority of respondents confirmed that this is the average amount they had to pay in order to secure a housing space every month.

Many refugees interviewed added that they had to send part of their income to family members back home. This means that for some refugees, the task of meeting private rental costs is extremely challenging and can exacerbate poverty, and subject refugees to living in appalling apartments. Some end up homeless, which means further hardship, more especially for children.

6.7. CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED IN THE PROCESS OF ACCESSING HOUSING

Besides the challenges caused by lack of affordability of proper housing spaces, refugees face a number of challenges when trying to access housing and among these are the issues of household size, scarcity of suitable housing spaces, large portion of income spent on housing, discrimination as well as a lack of safety and security.

This sub-section will briefly outline the challenges faced by refugees in the process of accessing housing and below is a figure showing challenges in proportions as per the responses of respondents.

Further, the figure below shows the challenges faced by refugees when trying to get access to housing within the Durban CBD. As per the figure below, household size was one of the biggest challenges faced by refugees, as per the outcomes from the questionnaires administered there were 9 (30%) out of 30 respondents who experienced this challenge. Following is scarcity of suitable housing space where 4 (13%) respondents said to have encountered this challenge. Further, the figure above also shows that there were 6 (20%) respondents faced with the issue of having a large portion of their income spent on housing. In addition, there was a total number of 5 (17%) respondents who said to be faced with the challenge of discrimination as shown in the figure below.

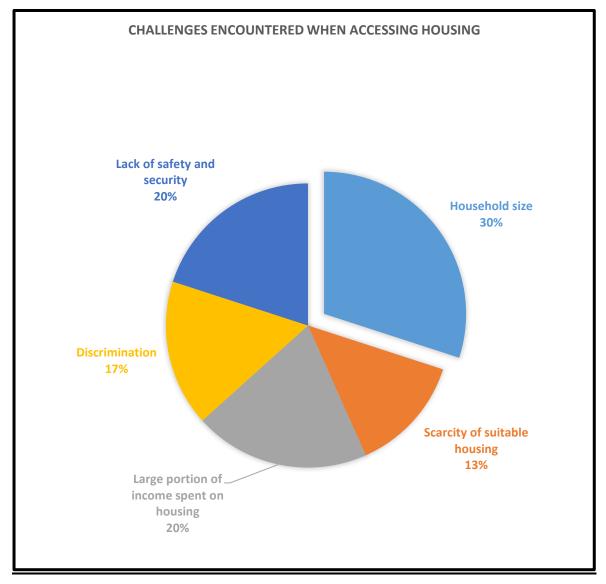


Figure 6.9: Challenges encountered in accessing housing

Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

Lastly, there was 6 (20%) respondents who pointed out that they were faced with the issue of lack of safety and security as one of the challenges hindering access to proper housing. Below is a further discussion and responses of people who were interviewed with regard to the challenges that respondents face contributing to their experiences in accessing housing in the CBD. Firstly,

6.7.1. Household size

Most refugees seem to have large families, which make finding suitable rental accommodation difficult. Property owners discriminate against large families and therefore some refugees are forced to lie about the size of their families. One participant stated:

"Lying about the size of my family was a survival method that we used in order to get housing space from building owners. They don't want big families – they say it will increase littering and noise in the building. So we hide the extended family members and they are allowed in only after the supervisor has gone home." (Interview with Refugee #18, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

The issue of having large families is a problem for refugees when they want to rent private spaces because most property owners rent out their apartments per bedroom. This means that larger families have to pay for more than one flat, which most refugees cannot afford and they are then forced to move in with other family members to avoid paying large rental sums. This has been one method of survival for many years, as stated by most respondents. However, it has not been easy for them because some have stated that they have had to pay heavy fines when caught cheating the system.

6.7.2. Scarcity of suitable accommodation/housing

A shortage of low-cost housing suitable for refugees is a major challenge leading to housing stress among refugee citizens. The eThekwini Municipality has a number of projects that cater for low-income citizens, including the recently completed Cornubia Integrated Human Settlement, (eThekwiniMunicipality, 2017). For refugees to benefit from and qualify for such housing developments they need be citizens and permanently employed. This is not the case as most of them are casual employees without permanent employment, as stated by an official from the Department of Human Settlements who was interviewed. The official further stated that:

"There are, however, other housing facilities available, for example hostels, but due to fear resulting from the recent xenophobic attacks in the city, refugees and other immigrants prefer

to stay in dilapidated buildings rather than hostels, as they regard these places as dangerous." (Interview with Refugee #24, Albert Park, 28 August 2017) The above is true as confirmed by most refugees that were interviewed. However, there are not many opportunities available to refugees to acquire proper rental spaces within the city. As the responses of the refugees indicated, large refugee families face challenges in securing accommodation that is both affordable and appropriately sized. According to RCOA (2013:20) some families are even forced to stay in more than one property due to their failure to secure a single property suited for their needs. Large enough apartments are therefore not only a concern for larger families, but also for the city.

6.7.3. Large portion of income spent on housing

Many refugees indicated that they spent a large part of their income on rent in relation to their income levels. For many, rent consumes most of their monthly income, leaving families with very little money for food and other necessities. As indicated in the responses on affordability and in other sub-sections above, respondents who earn salaries of approximate R3 500 a month occupy space which costs more than R5 000 a month and has to dedicate more than 70% of their income to rent when sharing the apartment.

The balance, which is seldom enough, is used for groceries, school fees and other bills including water and electricity. Refugees would benefit greatly from access to subsidised housing as some have stated. However, only South African citizens qualify for the country's social housing package. Refugees may have to wait for up to ten years for permanent citizenship before they qualify. There are not many of them, and there are long waiting lists. In addition, there is a general lack of subsidised housing options available in the eThekwini Municipality area, even for citizens.

6.7.4. Discrimination

There are reports of racism and discrimination against refugees by citizens and some property owners, who are unwilling to rent their properties to refugees. There are also reports from respondents about an increase in the number of proprietors trying to evict tenants; the reasons are not always legitimate and/or proper notice is almost never given. More often than not, most refugee clients have to go to court to resolve tenancy disputes. A respondents who was affected by the above assertion stated that:

"The supervisor wanted to put her friends in my space and created false stories of me having illegal occupants in my place and selling goods inside the apartment, so the landlord kicked me out." (Interview with Refugee #19, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

Another respondent stated that:

"I am still involving in a court case because I signed a lease for 6 months and now they want me and my family to go and we have not done anything wrong, it is just because we are makwerekwere." (Interview with Refugee #21, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

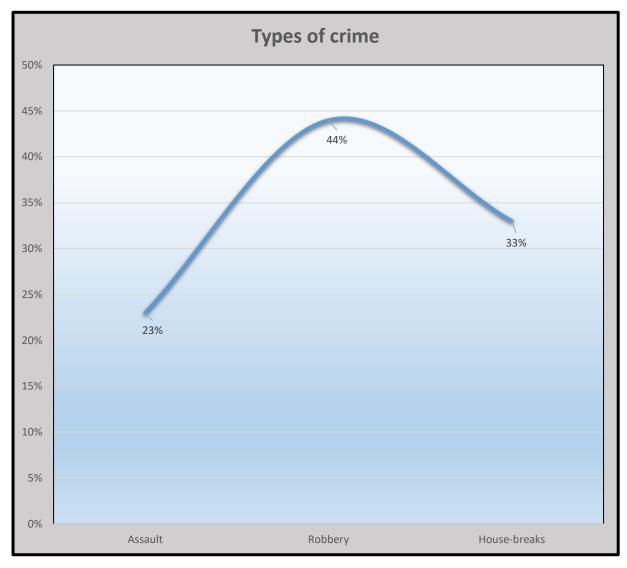
Such sentiments were shared by the respondents with great sadness as they had to make great sacrifices when being forced to leave their home countries only to experience more hardship and discrimination at the hands of fellow Africans. The worse experiences of discrimination came from the private housing sector. This also contributed to refugees resorting to co-habiting and sharing apartments with friends and relatives rather than looking for individual apartments and being treated badly or being discriminated against.

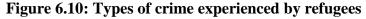
6.7.4.1. Lack of safety and security

Albert Park has recently been renamed to "*whoonga Park*" because it is host to a number of homeless people who uses the drug *whoonga*. This makes the park a high crime area in the CBD and therefore an unsafe area. Refugee respondents are therefore concerned about their safety. In addition, even though there is a police station right across the apartments, police officers are seldom seen patrolling the area. One of the respondents mentioned that his neighbour's apartment was once burgled, the criminals were caught, and the police were called but never came to the scene. The respondent said that they had to let the criminals go after recovering their stolen goods.

Refugees say that they have to use a local person to call the police station on their behalf when they require the services of the police because they hardly or never react to a call from foreigners. There are a number of crimes that respondents have asserted to have experienced in the Albert Park Area and in many other parts of the CBD. These types of crimes, illustrated in the table below, are perceived to be the most occurring or rife in the area.

The table below shows that 7 (23%) of the refugees have experienced several assaults since they moved into the neighbourhood, while 13 (43%) of the respondents have experienced burglaries that are apparently very rife in the Albert Park area. Lastly, the figure below also shows that 10 (34%) respondents have been on the receiving end of a robbery in this neighbourhood. Over the years, the area has also become host to street kids and this increased the crime rate in the area with regard to the crimes mentioned above: assault, robbery and housebreaking.





Source: Results from fieldwork, 2016

6.8. POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TOWARDS ACCESS TO PROPER HOUSING FROM RESPONDENTS

The respondents suggested possible solutions to address the problems they are experiencing. Creating a safe and secure living area was one of the suggestions. Another was that the municipality should take the initiative to renovate the existing dilapidated housing spaces, vacant office space and industrial facilities to provide temporary housing. One respondent continued to say that:

"Such spaces can either be sold to private proprietors, NGOs or controlled by the municipality, where refugees can be accommodated". (Interview with Refugee #22, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

This is possible because according to the ward councillor, who was also interviewed for this study, stated that there were many dilapidated buildings that could be renovated and used to provide accommodation in Durban. However, housing infrastructure is just one part of the equation as social considerations such as proximity to family, employment opportunities, schools and community interaction are essential elements when establishing permanent refugee housing to be not just a place to live but also a home.

Respondents also suggested that the municipality should create adequate refugee centres where they could stay until they have sorted themselves while trying to settle-in and where they can stay when they have problems. A respondent from the Denis Hurley Centre assisted with the research stated that:

"When refugees arrive in Durban some come to us (the centre) looking for shelter. We refer them to the private shelter in Albert Part where they have to pay R20 per night – our organisation does not provide housing services."

It is against the above background that some of the refugee respondents suggested that the municipality should provide refugee shelters as temporal housing facilities, at least for a given period while they are still trying to settle-in.

6.9. POLICY AND PLANNING

To obtain a perspective on policy and planning regarding the matter, the researcher interviewed an official from the Human Settlements Unit within the municipality. According to the official, there is no policy or strategy in place on the provision of housing to refugees. The municipality do, however, provides housing to vulnerable groups. The official said:

"The process of providing housing that is suitable or specifically developed for this group is a process that requires linkage with national planning documents, including the Provincial Growth and Development Strategy, the Provincial Spatial Development Framework and the Provincial Housing Strategy." (Interview with Refugee #24, Albert Park, 28 August 2017)

Despite the large numbers of refugees in the Durban area according to the statistics of the Department of Home Affairs, and more refugees entering the country, it is a disappointment that – despite the xenophobic attacks since 2008 – there is currently no policies and strategies in place for refugees in terms of access to housing, especially in view of the increased safety and security issues facing this group

6.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter presented, analysed and discussed the issue of refugees and access to proper housing within the city of Durban. The chapter highlighted the experiences of refugees in accessing accommodation and the methods they use. The socio-economic status of the study area was also discussed. It also addressed the question of affordability with regard to housing and the challenges refugees face in finding a place to stay. The conditions of the housing spaces occupied by refugees as well as the types of housing available to this group were also discussed. Lastly, government officials were interviewed to find out whether there were any policy and programmes in place to address the issue. The following chapter contains the findings and recommendations, including those of the refugees, and a conclusion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

To conclude this thesis on investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing, this final chapter is divided into three parts: (1) summary of findings, which is a brief discussion of the results of the fieldwork, (2) recommendations for consideration by researchers and parties concerned, and lastly (3) conclusions following from the findings of this study.

7.2. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In the previous chapter, the challenges with regard to the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing within the city of Durban were examined and it was ascertained that there are various hindrances leading to limited access to housing or accommodation for refugees. Among some of the issues highlighted in that chapter was the issue of affordability. Refugees revealed that rental charges were too high as most of them were unemployed and some temporally employed. The income from their small business and vending in the street was not enough to maintain the accommodation.

This study also highlighted the challenges with regard to safety and security due to a lack of affordability and limited apartments. Because of this, refugees founded themselves staying in buildings with low levels of security. It also became clear that they did not have the assistance and support of the police because of their ethnicity. There were cases where the refugees reported crimes without the police reacting to the calls.

The study also revealed cases of discrimination and prejudice experienced by refugees while navigating the housing market. This was a common response given by refugees when asked about the attitude of property owners towards refugee tenants. Most refugees highlighted the fact that, in their opinion, the entire private housing system was discriminatory because real estate agents and housing providers were not prepared to accommodate refugees coming from francophone countries. Their lack of not being fluent in the English language made this discrimination easier. The discrimination heightens the risk of exploitation of people agreeing to leasing arrangements that are unfair or illegal.

It also transpired that the eThekwini Municipality does not have any plans to provide for the housing needs of refugee groups, meaning that this group has to rely on the private housing market. The Human Settlement policies and frameworks do not have sections on housing for refugees but only for vulnerable groups who are permanent citizens. Therefore, vulnerable refugee groups do not benefit from any of the government's housing scheme or programmes as all the measures instituted do not apply to refugees because the general qualification criterion for the National Housing Subsidy Scheme is that

beneficiaries must either be South African citizens or have permanent resident permits. This despite the fact that the right to adequate housing is one of the most important of all basic human rights and is recognised in a number of international human rights instruments and treaties.

Refugees also disclosed attitudes of dislike and exclusion they had to face from locals. This is proof of poor integration between the locals and the refugee groups in the city, as expressed by refugees. This indicates the gap that exists between the two communities further showing signs of deficiency in spatial assimilation.

All the above facts and/or findings were derived from information about the actions of property owners, building supervisors and the responses of refugee community members and government officials.

7.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this study was to investigate the experiences of refuges in the urban areas, specifically Durban, by identifying and address the challenges they encounter in their attempt to get access to permanent and adequate housing. From both housing and planning perspectives, unbiased and politically detached views are essential to render recommendations that match the realities of the current refugee-housing crisis. For a city to be inclusive there is a need to make sure that all people have access to housing and social and economic amenities as a house is not just walls and a roof but incorporates other necessary services.

7.3.1. Housing Policy and Affordable Housing

A housing policy should inform changes that would allow the less fortunate to have access to housing even if it means subsidising rental fees. The housing space must offer an element of habitually, which is an offer of safety and security, protection against life threatening conditions and structural hazards. The UN has set standards that assist decision makers in guiding housing systems for destitute people who move to other countries. Although this will never be an easy problem to solve, something should be done in South Africa. Housing policies should at least have a section that addresses the issue of housing provision for refugees.

There are countries, for example in Europe, that have adopted a housing market approach based on home ownership as well as various other housing approaches catering for low-income refugee groups. South Africa with a high influx of refugees must consider and adopt similar approaches in meeting the housing needs of refugees. Based on the responses obtained from the fieldwork, there is definitely a need for strategic planning approaches and policies to ensure access to affordable housing for refugees in the country. Based on the feedback received from refugees, the researcher believes that it is crucial to work against all forms of discrimination, including the kinds of discrimination that worsen the housing situation of refugee claimants and refugees with large families.

Also, broader measures should be taken in which affordable housing supply needs and investments should be made in the rehabilitation of the older rental housing stock in the inner city which are deteriorating, including programmes that would benefit low- and modest-income households in general.

7.3.2. Refugee Camps

It is one of the findings of this study that the eThekwini Municipality does not have enough refugee centres or camps available to house refugees temporarily on arrival. A lack or shortage of such facilities may exacerbate the rate of homelessness and destitution while creating havoc in terms of congested spaces rented out by refugees. It is thus a recommendation that wherever there are refugee groups there should be refugee camps available for those that are still in the process of registering or waiting for their status approvals. This will also help with illegal entrance and assists refugees with shelter when they cannot find a place to stay, lose their jobs or have been forcefully removed. The researcher witnessed some refuges lying on the floor of the building of one of the organisations that was part of this study because they had nowhere else to go after being forcefully removed from their apartment, hence the recommendation for refugee camps.

7.3.3. Reinforcement of Social Cohesion

The unequal treatment and differential access to economic, social, political and cultural rewards and activities in the larger society results from a lack of assimilation of refugees into the greater society, which is the reason why there are barriers in the process of accessing necessities for refugees such as housing. According to Hulchanski (1997), assimilation can be measured by deviations from equal access to the basic resources available within a given society. This points to the need for welcoming settlement programmes for refugees in terms of social integration so that they can familiarise themselves with the new environment and be able to adapt easily. The need for programmes that will assist refugees coming into the country, assist them finding jobs and learning the local languages are essential, which is why this study recommends integration programmes to create socially cohesive societies.

7.3.4. Town Planning and Immigration Agents

Immigration and displacement has the potential to prompt planners into rethinking fundamental questions on limits as well as impending planning schemes and structures that are more accommodative of the realities experienced by the modern occupants of our cities and the whole immigration movement. Planners should envision and create new ways to create more inclusive, diverse and adaptive communities for the betterment of the population as a whole. Currently, there are no city planning

policies or programmes that seek solutions regarding access to housing for refugees. This is why it is recommended that when planning cities, urban governance needs to move beyond the ordinary understanding of cities as homogenous with static boundaries to one that see cities as a hybrid and flexible to multiculturalism. Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) need to include plans for housing permanent and temporary migrants opposed to having plans that only cater for local citizens.

7.3.5. EThekwini Municipality

The municipal housing department should start planning for refugees and regulate rental charges. The department should be involved in the control of rent prices charged by property owners; refugees find the charges too steep when one takes their limited income and the scarcity of job opportunities in the country into consideration. The government should provide some form of compensation when it comes to housing for refugees; these are people who also contribute to the economy through the payment of tax. Further, the availability of public sector housing will provide government with a controllable policy instrument, which can be used to mediate housing supply and demand that can also include other groups like refugees. What the city can also do is to centralise the role of property owners in order to improve access to housing for refugees. In addition, the municipality can focus on the renewal of residential districts where refugee communities are concentrated.

The eThekwini Municipality needs to come up with a cohesive approach to ensure access to proper housing for refugees. This is mainly because the specific needs of refugees are not adequately reflected, if at all, in their housing policy documents, meaning that this is a community that still needs to be assessed and studied in order to be well understood in terms of their needs. There are refugees with bigger families who need larger accommodation spaces and lack of such result into overcrowding. There are many reasons for the provision of housing for larger families, especially in the African family context, and housing policies should therefore take this into consideration and include the need for a local assessment of refugees within the municipality to inform housing strategies. In addition, the increased number of homeless and overcrowded refugees proves the failure of integration strategies.

7.3.6. Rental Housing

The Department of Human Settlements adopted an Act that specifically deals with rental housing. This Act is part of national legislation that regulates the relationship between property owners and tenants in all types of rental housing. Further, section 2 of the Act asserts that it is the government's responsibility to promote a stable and growing market that meets the latest demand for affordable rental housing. And according to the Rental Housing Act, section 7 provides for the establishment of Rental Housing Tribunals to resolve disputes between landlords and tenants concerning "unfair practices" (Tissington, 2011). This study therefore recommends that the municipality implement and the monitor the housing spaces occupied by refugees to ensure that landlords adhere to current legislation.

7.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, this dissertation was guided by the aim, objectives and questions stated in Chapter 1. The research succeeded in achieving the aim and objectives of the study and answered the questions as can be seen from the content of this study.

The hypothesis that refugees encounter adverse experiences when it comes to accessing proper housing in urban areas was proved correct through the responses and analysis of the obtained data. All the findings contained in this thesis further supported the hypothesis.

The research identified the type of housing spaces occupied by refugees and the conditions of the buildings occupied. Further, the study was able to identify the challenges encountered by refugees when trying to find accommodation in the city.

The recommended solutions, based on what the study discovered, will assist authorities in addressing the various challenges that were revealed by the study. They are, however, subject to further studying and investigation.

This study was driven by the fact that refugees are given less attention, if any at all, when it comes to access to proper housing. Unfortunately, some of the key role players and NGOs working with refugees have been found to be very hesitant in discussing such a complex and sensitive matter and it seems as if there are very few institutions that are really concerned about the plight of refugees. Whatever the case may be, one thing is for sure: there is an absolute need for interventions, not only by the city of Durban and its town planners but also by the government at large, to find ways to provide proper accommodation for refugees.

The terms of current policy and planning strategies are exclusionary when it comes to the issue of accommodating refugees. This does not only lead to refugees staying in horrid housing space but also creates overcrowding of apartments and unnecessary disorder in the city. Policies and strategies will have to be put in place to also provide decent access to housing for refugees. Based on the large number of refugees in South Africa, there should be a more concerted effort to address this contentious matter in order to avoid situations like that in Canada and also in some parts of South Africa where refugees are living in awful conditions.

The negative stereotypes, prejudice and ethnocentrism need to be overcome because it leads to the unfavourable differential treatment that many immigrants and refugees are facing. Questions of how refugees can be properly accommodated in receiving countries and cities, forces one to consider the adequacy of existing planning paradigms, policies and practices. Housing being one of the key areas where conflict between refugees and their host societies emerge, makes it every government's concern when granting asylum to low-income, poor, jobless and distraught refugees in their countries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICE A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF M KWAZULU-NATAL
26 July 2016
Ms Nokubonga Philile M Dlamini 211500554 School of Built Environment and Development Studies Howar College Campus
Dear Ms Dlamini
Protocol reference number: HSS/0997/016M Project title: Investigating the experiences of foreign migrants in access housing: The case of EThekwini Municipality (Durban CBD).
Expedited Approval In response to your application dated 07 July 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted FULL APPROVAL.
Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.
The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.
I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.
Yours faithfully

APPENDICE B: LETTER OF CONSENT (TEMPLATE)

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date of Interview:

Greeting Sir/Madam

My name is Nokubonga Dlamini from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, School of Built Environment and Development Studies, doing a research under the Master of Town and Regional Planning programme.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research on Investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing with the Durban CBD, eThekwini Municipality). The aim and purpose of this research is to gain responses from opinions regarding the issue of housing for refugees and if it has ever affected you in any level. The study is expected to enroll a total of 30 participants, which will consist of 15 males and 15 females. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be less than 30 minutes.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts (interrogation, personal experiences and opinion on the municipality and the services provided). We hope that the study will raise awareness on the issue being discussed; though the study will provide no direct benefits to participants.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (**approval number HSS/0322/016M**).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (provide contact details) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: <u>HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za</u>

Participants may withdraw participation at any point, an in the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation the participants will not incur penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled.

There are no costs that might be incurred by participants as a result of participation in this study; there are no incentives or reimbursements for participation in this study'

To protect confidentiality of personal information, the researcher will not use names of participants, nor any personal information that might come from participating in this study. Information or data recorded will be given to the supervisor, kept safely and will be destroyed at a later stage.

PARTICIPANT'S CONSENT

I (<u>NAME OF RESPONDENT</u>) have been informed about the study entitled (provide details) by (provide name of researcher/fieldworker).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate).

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (provide details).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001 Durban 4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609 Email: <u>HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za</u> Additional consent, where applicable I hereby provide consent to: Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO Video-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Signature of Participant	Date	
Signature of Witness (Where applicable)	Date	
Signature of Translator (Where applicable)	Date	

APPENDICE C: APPROVED CONSENT LETTER



18 July 2016

To whom it may concern,

Nokubonga Philile Mirandah Dlamini, a Master in Town and Regional Planning student in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies formally requests permission to interview staff in your institution/department and use the data collected or produced by your institution on a research topic regarding the experiences of migrants in accessing housing in the city of Durban. She would like to use this data for her Masters/PhD dissertation entitled: *Investigating the Experiences of Foreign Migrants in Accessing Housing: The case of eThekwini Municipality (Durban CBD).* The dissertation will acknowledge the KwaZulu Natal Refugee Social Services and the will be shared with the KwaZulu Natal Refugee Social Services if requested.

Thank you.

Kind regards

Name: Dr Hope Magidimisha Supervisor School of Built Environment and Development Studies Email: MAGIDIMISHAH@ukzn.ac.za Tel number: 031 260 1759

Permission to use data Granted by:

Name: Signature 0-07-9016. Date:

REFUGEE NPO: 062 971 10 Diskonia Avenue, Durban, 4001 Tel: 031 310 3578 Fax: 086 602 1590 EMAIL: admin@refugeescialservices.co.or

Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, Durban 4041

APPENDICE D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (KEY INFORMANTS)

No.....

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

nterviewee	
Date	
`ime	
⁷ enue	
Company/ Institution name	

- 1. What is your involvement regarding refugees?
- 2. Do you think there is an issue concerning refugees and access to housing?
- 3. If yes, kindly expand and explain what you think are the sources of the issue?
- 4. What is your understanding of proper housing?
- 5. Are there plans that your institution have in assisting refugees get access to proper housing?
- 6. Has there been a role that your institution has played or playing in assisting refugees to get access to secure accommodation?
- 7. Would you agree that both the country and the municipal policy and planning measures are inclusive of refugee issues especially housing issues?
- 8. What would be the solutions that you or your institution can suggest or offer in assisting refugees to gain access to proper housing?

APPENDICE E: QUESTIONAIRE (REFUGEES)

Questionnaire (Refugees)

No:.....

Questionnaire on Investigating the experiences of refugees in accessing proper housing in urban areas: the case of eThekwini Municipality (Durban CBD), South Africa.

Questionnaire survey conducted by: Miss NPM Dlamini (University of Kwa-Zulu Natal: Town and Regional Planning Masters Student)

*Respondents will participate in this project by answering questions relating to the research project and overarching research questions.

*a participant is by all means entitled to withdraw from the participating from this study should there be any sentiments of uncertainty, unsafety or discomfort.

*Information obtained from this questionnaire will be kept by the supervisor and will be later destroyed.

SECTION A: SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

1. What is your age?

18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+

2. What is your gender?

Female	
Male	

3. What is your marital status?

Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Other

4. What is your country of origin?

Zimbabwe	Burundi	Democratic	Somalia	Ethiopia	Other
		Republic of			
		Congo			

5. How long did you have to wait for your refugee status?

6. What is your level of education?

Primary School	Secondary School	Tertiary School	No schooling

7. How many years have you send in Durban?

< 12 months	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-20 years	25+

8. What is your status of employment?

Employed	Unemployed	Job Seeking	Contract worker	Self-
				employed

9. What is your monthly income?

R0-R1500	R1600-R3500	R3600-R5500	R5600-R7500	>7R600

10. Do you have children?

г

Yes	
No	

- 11. How many people are you staying with?
- 12. What are your reasons for staying in this area?

SECTION B: INVESTIGATION OF EXPERIENCES TOWARDS REFUGEES' ACCESS TO HOUSING.

1. When you first arrived in the country, where did you stay?

2. Why did you choose to come to Durban?

3. What is the type of housing space you are staying n?

1			
Rental	Own house	Refugee Shelter	Other

4. Why did you choose this type of housing space?

5. Choose the type of resident you are

Tenant	Dependant	"Squatter"	Owner	Other

6. How did you hear about the place you are staying in?

er
-

7. Was there someone helping you look for a place to stay?

- 8. What were the requirements you needed to secure your place of residence?
- 9. What are the challenges you encountered in securing your place?

10. What impact do the challenges have on your living?



11. Why did you choose to stay here?

12. How safe is your place of residence?

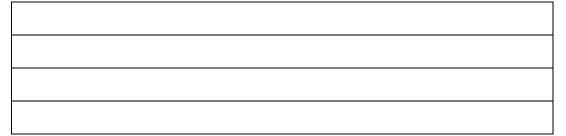
13. Do you feel welcome in your neighbourhood?

- F	

14. Can you describe the rate of crime in this area?

15. How does crime affect you?

16. Do you think you should be entitled to government housing?



17. What you ever felt discriminated against in your process of accessing housing?

18. Is there any financial assistance you receive as a refugee? If yes, from who?

Yes	
No	

19. Do you feel protected by the government?

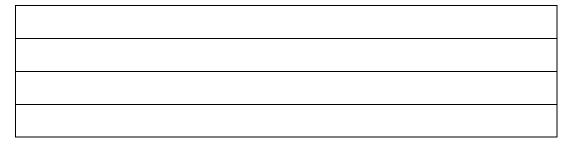
1	

SECTION C: OPINIONS ON SOLUTIONS AND PROPOSED RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ISSUE OF HOUSING?

1. Do you think refugees have issues accessing housing?

2. Who do you think is responsible for the issue?

3. What do you think should be done?



4. What do you think would hinder successful access to housing for refugees?