AN EXAMINATION OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN
KHAYELITSHA

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**KEY-WORDS**

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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Based Organisations</td>
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<td>HWP</td>
<td>Housing White Paper</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Integrated Development Programme</td>
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<td>KCBDC</td>
<td>Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company</td>
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<td>National Home Builders Registration Council</td>
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<td>PHPs</td>
<td>Peoples Housing Processes</td>
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<td>RDP</td>
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ABSTRACT

AN EXAMINATION OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN KHAYELITSHA

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MPA research report, Department of School of Government, University of the Western Cape.

In this research report, housing development and the participation of communities are examined. Although houses have been built in certain areas of Khayelitsha, there is slow delivery and there is a lack of public involvement in housing programme to decide about the future of the community.

The eight principles of Batho Pele serve as a guideline to promote moral dimensions of both participation and cooperation in the housing development. In order for any development to be sustainable it must be driven by the affected people with a sense of ownership being engendered to them. This holistic approach for housing development is in line up with the current government policy on the matter. Both the Reconstruction Development Programme document, Housing White Paper and the Development Facilitation Act state that “Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active participation and growing empowerment.”
The research report examines housing development for all in the Western Cape. The research report critique of government policy is organized around the developmental management process which emphasizes planning, participation, consultation, access, openness and transparency including accountability. The research report is concluded with the recommendations for community participation towards effective delivery.

May 2006
DECLARATION

I declare that An Examination of Housing Development in Khayelitsha at the Western Cape Province (1984-2005) is my own work that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Thanduxolo Felix Zonke May 2006

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN KHAYELITSHA

1. Introduction

The issue of housing development in the Western Cape has been a central problem that has affected most historically disadvantaged people, especially those residing in what are called informal settlements. The strategy of distribution employed by the Provincial Housing Department and local municipalities, whereby people have to contribute large sums of money in order to qualify for subsidies, has been very controversial and has resulted in slow delivery in the Western Cape. Public Involvement Programs (PIPs) that accommodate all the role players in development are not fully understood and have contributed to the increase in the backlog for houses, especially in the historically disadvantaged areas like Khayelitsha. This study recognizes the fact that there are other areas in the Western Cape that lack housing development, but this report will concentrate on Khayelitsha, from the time of the democratic elections of 1994 until 2005. The study will give a history of the area and the problems that lead to a lack of housing development. It will also examine the role of provincial local government and national government policies on housing. These will be highlighted by the case study of Site-C in Khayelitsha.

1.2 A Brief History of Khayelitsha

It is important to know a bit about the history of Khayelitsha in order to understand why it was created and the reasons that have led to the lack of cooperation between the stakeholders in developing a more holistic approach to housing development in the area.
It should be born in mind that the government of the day did not create Khayelitsha; it
was created by the discriminatory policies of the former National Party government.
Khayelitsha encompasses a number of areas (see appendix one). Site-C in Khayelitsha,
the case study area to be discussed in this research report, is divided into Thembokwezi
and Mxolisi Phethani which encompass sections A, A and B, C and D. Appendix 1
provides a map of Khayelitsha that shows how different areas and sections are
dermacated. Readers are advised not to be confused in the manner in which these sections
are named as one will find sections named A, C and D within the area known as Site-C,
but there are sections A, C and D in the Khaya-Eyethu area (and other areas) as well. The
areas on the map where there spaces with no infrastructure have largely been occupied
through land grabbing and people have built shacks. Some of these areas were not
intended to accommodate people in terms of planning by the City Council of Cape
Town. Within Khayelitsha is the Khayelitsha municipal district office is responsible for
the implementation of local government policies (formulated by the CCT) in the area.
This municipal district office is accountable to (Uni)City of Cape Town (CCT) which in
turn is responsible to provincial local government.

The housing challenge in Khayelitsha dates back to 1983 and continues up to the present
day. The proliferation of squatting around Crossroads resulted in the establishment of
Site-C transit camp in 1983 – 1984. “It is almost 20 years since 42

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1 The City of Cape Town (CCT) now encompasses the previous municipal administrative structures e.g. Blaauberg, Cape Town,
Helderberg, Tygerberg, South Peninsula, Oosterberg. The combined municipal areas are also referred to as Cape Metropolitan
Administration. “In 1996 transition Cape Town was demarcated into these above sub-structures. Then in 2000 all these municipalities
were integrated into one municipality called Unicity of Cape Town. Khayelitsha which belonged to the Tygerberg Municipality now
belongs to the Unicity of Cape Town” (Interview, Eric Nontshiza, May, 2006).
families, who originally came from Old Crossroads, moved to the serviced land in the area with 3160 plots in Site-C.” (Mdewu, 2004: 6). Then, two families often shared a plot with water pumps, bucket toilets and blue tents interspersed with gravel roads. This sharing of a plot by two families was referred to as the double plotting system. Life became very precarious for the Site-C residents because of the cold winter rains and escalating cases of crime. Up until 1992, no proper houses were built to accommodate these families. A few shop owners and community developers did decide to build their own houses without being given title deeds by the municipality. The fact that this seemed to be allowed raised suspicions among the residents who were waiting for the approval of their title deeds and many lost their trust in the municipal authorities (Interview, community member, January 2004). Families remained in temporary houses even after the project for the relocation of families from double plots was implemented (Interview, Leon Myburgh, June 2005).

From 1984 – 1985 another area was created in Khayelitsha with small houses and better infra-structural development than Site C. It included the following sections: A; B; C; D; E; F; G; H; I and J. According to Mdewu “…(these small houses) stood empty because people from Old Crossroads, encouraged by warlords, refused to move to the houses, saying they were too small for their families and transport was an inconvenience” (Cape Argus, 2002: 6). Civic organizations also mobilized and formed campaigns such as “We are not going to Khayelitsha” (Interview, Old Crossroads community member, September, 2003). Violence linked to the housing development erupted in Old Crossroads and people who were interested in moving to the new area were killed or
injured by a small group of people who were working as vigilantes underground. In the same year people residing in backyards in Langa, Gugulethu, and Nyanga then occupied these houses (Mdewu, 2002: 6).

In the period between 1985 until the early 1990s, shacks were also built in places like Site B, Green Point, Macassar, Town Two and Harare and were established as areas by the Cape Municipal Council of the Western Cape (Khayelitsha Development Programme, 2002, p.3). Subsidy houses created adjacent to A, E and J Section were called Ilitha Park, Phakamisa, Ekuphumleni and Graceland. Another area where subsidy houses were built was at Makhaya, which is surrounded by Town Two, Harare and Macassar. From 1999 to 2001 Kuyasa was created, with small houses that were introduced under the Contractor Built Housing project by the ANC government. Other places like DM; Lindelani Park; K; YAB; Town Two – SST, Endlovini; Siyahlala; YB; Nkanini and TR Section were created through land grabbing of privately owned and state land belonging to the municipality. Names like Endlovini, Siyahlala and Nkanini have meanings like “we are staying by forceful means”. All the mentioned areas were integrated and known as Khayelitsha and sub-divided into different wards with different ward councillors. The area known as Khayelitsha became exclusive to Africans only.

In the period between 1985 and 1990, the creation of Khayelitsha was not only contested by Civic Organizations but also by political organizations such as the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Azanian People’s Organization (AZAPO) and the African National Congress (ANC). Their common argument was based on the fact that the
apartheid government was continuing with its policies of racial segregation. As mentioned by Khan, “The policy of racial segregation led to the formation of illegitimate local government structures for the various race groups which failed to embark on effective programs geared towards the delivery of services in general and housing in particular (1998: 1).” The formation and implementation of different local government structures was a strategy for achieving the ultimate goals of apartheid policy. As Waker (1994) observed, “the previous government housing policy was not directed at meeting housing needs of the poor, but merely to enforce segregation.” According to Williams (2000: 167) “this explicit, racial-motivated, planning framework has been systematically enforced by the administrative functionaries of the apartheid state catering mostly for the needs of its “white” citizens. It is the cumulative impact of these racially-contrived planning frameworks that has resulted in “Islands of Spatial Affluence” in a “Sea of Geographical Misery” at the end of 20th century South Africa”.

The Ministry of Housing, Mahanyele (1997) has verified the above statements by giving an estimated backlog of between two to three million houses that was left as a legacy by the apartheid regime. These segregatory policies were not envisaged only in the Western Cape but throughout the country. According to Bond (2000: 231), “the early 1990s were exceptionally confusing when it came to resolving South Africa’s housing question. There was a clear rising (of activists); there were extremely active participants, including formidable community activities; and housing continued its 1980s function as lightning-rod”. The shacks that are evident in the Western Cape are a clear illustration of the past government’s failure to redress housing needs to the most vulnerable, the poorest of the
poor. The past government’s discriminatory policies, lack of cooperation and lack of effective planning has largely contributed to the problems in places like Site B, Site C and Town Two in Khayelitsha. This lack of planning is also evident in places like Maccassar and Harare where there are large and small plots and a lack of criteria in their distribution. The new government has not been able to address this problem in the sections that were planned badly by the past government. As a result there has been an outcry from the community because of the unequal distribution of plots, especially in Site-C. In Site-B and Town Two some of the householders who are participating in the People’s Housing Projects have been forced to build double storey dwellings because of lack of space. Those who are participating in the Contractor Built Houses find it difficult to make alternative arrangements and have had to accept the smaller plots. Generally speaking, the past government’s housing policies have been very unsatisfactory to all concerned. Since 1994, Local Government’s approach of not responding to the land grabbings, has also detrimentally affected Integrated Development Planning in Khayelitsha.

1.3 Factors that inhibit community participation in housing policies

There are several factors that prevent communities from participating in housing provision. These include inaccessible language, lack of information, and a lack of understanding of the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders in local governance. Those community representative interviewed felt that the top-down centrally organized strategies of addressing issues of housing has led to the poor planning and implementation. “Moreover the apparent inaccessibility and lack of visibility on the part of the officials in the community has meant that the needs of the vast majority of
people have largely gone unaddressed” (Khan, 1998: 11). Municipalities tend to forget to use the media as an instrument to engage people in constructive debate. Factors inhibiting community participation include:

- An absence of regular feedback from meetings with representatives of community groups, demonstrates an unwillingness on the part of officials to share their decision-making powers;

- Meetings and workshops convened during working hours instead of being held after hours and closer to the community, and

- Circulating documents with a lot of technical jargon as well as in a language which is least spoken by the majority of people. A key requirement would be the need for municipalities to build the capacity of community representatives, so that they have both the skills required and the understanding to effectively represent the needs of their communities (Smith, 2003/04: 4).

Generally speaking, community organizations and councillors have not developed strong relationships based on clearly defined roles. Participatory decision making is hampered by tensions between them about who should represent community interests and keep the community informed. They also have different ideas about the form that community participation should take in decision making. The establishment of ward committees has created an opportunity for them to develop healthy working relationships in the interest of community development and accountable local government. However, according to Margot Muller, who is responsible for spatial planning in Khayelitsha, “CBOs and many
local councillors do not attend meetings even if they are advertised in the community newspapers” (Interview, June 2005). Instead of the ward committees promoting a positive environment, they often cause frustration, which is not a good recipe for implementing change in local governance.

In Khayelitsha, local authorities and developmental organizations are deeply politicized. “Councillors very often display accountability only to their political parties and fail to guard the interests of all citizens” (Fairshare, 2001: 4). This is clearly revealed when tasks are not performed or postponed and the excuse given is that they will be done after the elections. In 2004, the year of national elections, councillors were slow to participate in the development of their communities. The problem of informal settlements was not addressed by local councillors because of a fear of losing votes. For example, people in places like Endlovini, Siyahlala and Nkanini had promised not to vote for the councillors if they were evicted. Councillors are also not working effectively to address the needs of their communities for fear of losing membership of their political organizations. Communities and political parties alike must keep councillors accountable when it comes to housing development of their areas. Failure to do so undermines democracy.

“Without people actively participating in their own democracy, creating it, fostering it, and defending it, fundamental priority will not be fulfilled” (Rights Now, June 2000).

1.4. Lack of capacity in housing development– Provincial and Municipal.

Local councillors lack capacity which leads to a failure to deliver on their promises. Ward committees as a mechanism to interface and communicate with communities are not effective. This lack of effectiveness could largely be caused by the fact that ward committees are not employed, they are elected as volunteers. The councillors’ code of
conduct is also not implemented or effective and there is duplication of functions between different spheres of government, especially provincial and local. As from 1994, the local government authorities seem incapable of dealing with administrative and management strategies for housing delivery. Khan states that the “… Projects Department (which was involved in all housing projects in 1994 until 1998 in the Tygerberg Eastern Metropole) is currently run by one person” (Khan, 1998: 41). In an interview with Gavin Wiseman, Director of Housing Development in the Tygerberg Eastern Metropole, he reported that they have only two people to manage the area they are servicing. He also emphasized that the Cape Town Unicity is in the process of employing more staff. Wiseman admits that government is slow to look at the issue of staff shortages (Interview, Gavin Wiseman, April, 2003).

Another report from Smith, who is coordinating the Peoples Housing Project (PHPs) in the Western Cape Housing Department, is that “at the provincial level certain key posts are not filled, leading to an increased burden on other staff that are unable to attend to their own tasks effectively. Certain key functions do not have dedicated staff assigned to them, resulting in stop-gap, cursory attention being given to these tasks (e.g. planning expenditure, monitoring and reporting). The PHP concept has grown exponentially and the component dealing with this intensive task (substantial monitoring facilitation, admin and community liaison) are hopelessly understaffed” (Smith, 2003, p.3). At the municipal level, Smith mentions certain critical skills that are lacking in dealing with project management, planning and the ability to implement the overly complicated and incomplete new procurement policy. Once these problems have been identified, it will be
easy for the Provincial Housing Department, local government and other stakeholders involved to formulate a provincial housing policy. Access to accurate, reliable and up to date information is a key prerequisite for effectively carrying out most of the policy stages for housing development in the Western Cape. The study below gives a critical analysis of the housing policy in the Western Cape.

1.5 Housing Policy in the Western Cape

In a report by Smith issued on the 21st October 2003, he refers to a confusion of policy in the provincial administration of the Department of Housing in the Western Cape. “Since the implementation of the new procurement regime in April 2002 there has been a definite slow down in the approval of projects”(Smith, 2003, p.5) The main items leading to delays are as follows:

**NHBRC approval:**

- “It has taken 15 months to get the first two projects enrolled with the NHBRC (in principle enrolment only). This means no contractor-built projects have been approved yet and even on these two projects final approval has not been granted.
- A delay of 18 months on the approval of Greenfield’s projects will certainly have an impact on delivery. This year (2003), all the projects approved prior to April 2002 are coming to an end.
- The stringent NHBRC requirements and necessity for beneficiary contribution on contractor-built projects has driven municipalities away from traditional projects, which historically have produced a far greater number of houses at a faster rate of delivery”.

10
The R2, 479 Contribution and Collection Strategy

• “There is still no clear collection policy set out by National department of Housing Department (NDOH).

• Beneficiaries need at least 6-12 months to save the R2, 479 and this matter needs to be clarified urgently.

PHPs versus Contractors to implement housing projects

• Municipalities have been struggling with how best to implement projects and the decision on which delivery method to use has caused confusion amongst councillors, officials and beneficiaries and has resulted in delays.

• The exact procedures when approving a project split into serviced sites (contractor) and top structures (PHP) have not been clearly defined.” (Smith.2003. p.6)

Generally speaking, the lack of a clear housing policy for the Western Province has contributed to the confusion amongst the local authorities, business people and councillors who need clear participatory guidelines in order to develop Khayelitsha. A clear Provincial Housing Policy will determine the choices that can be made by the people of the Western Province and particularly in Khayelitsha. Policy in this context “refers to a purposive course of action based on currently acceptable societal values, followed in dealing with a problem or matter of concern, and predicting the state of affairs which would prevail when the purpose has been achieved”. (Centre for
Development and Enterprise, 1995:14). According to No. 6 of 1999 for the Western Cape Housing Development Act, Section 4(1) (c) the Provincial Minister must approve a policy to coordinate housing development in the province to ensure the effective execution thereof. Section (2) (a) moves further to state that, the provincial minister may for the purpose of regulating any matter pertaining to housing development which cannot be regulated effectively at local government level, issue policy directives or take actions that are deemed expedient and (b) establish norms, standards, frameworks and provincial policies in order to deal effectively with any matter pertaining to housing development that requires to be dealt with uniformly across the province. The White Paper (1995, p.35) for a new housing policy and strategy for South Africa 5.2.2 stipulates that, the role of Provincial Government is to determine provincial housing policy (within broad national guidelines, so far as it relates to):

- Minimum housing norms and standards in the province.
- Land identification and planning within the province, including performance criteria.

It is clear that the formulation of an effective provincial policy will accelerate the delivery of houses in Khayelitsha. The Provincial Housing Policy must have a systematic way of solving fundamental housing problems. “It is about the direction in which the Local Government wants to steer the province” states Williams (2003: 14). Lack of policy formulation may prove detrimental to local authorities and people working for the Department of Housing and will also contribute to the escalating housing backlog. Myrtle Stuurman in the Department of Housing has stated that, “The housing backlog in 2004 is
Because there has been confusion in the formulation of a housing policy in the Western Cape, the Provincial Housing Department has decided to split the housing development project to try and overcome the existing backlog. The project will be divided into site services and house structure. With a consensus between the Housing Department and the municipalities, the site services will be provided first and these will include basic services. The house structure will be built after beneficiaries have contributed the R2479 to meet the Housing Construction Act and NHBRC standards. The question which still remains is what about people who find it difficult to contribute the R2479? According to Dunn (1994: 138) “successful problem solving requires finding the right solution to the right problem. We fail more often because we solve the wrong problem than because we get the wrong solution to the right problem.” The decision of creating only the infrastructure without building the top structure made by the Department of Housing and the Unicity of Cape Town will adversely affect people living in Khayelitsha. As a matter of fact, it can be hypothesized that the local government authorities and the Housing Department lack vision as to the role they have to play in developing Khayelitsha. CBOs, NGOs and the public were not consulted when decisions were taken. These decisions deviated from policy, that is, that housing development is a people driven project. Thus the provincial government is indirectly contributing to the creation of shacks. They should also recognize that Khayelitsha is an area with a high rate of crime and one of the contributing factors is the proliferation of shacks.
“If the appropriate information is lacking or unreliable, this will compromise the ability of policy makers to effectively understand the policy context, to diagnose the key policy issues and problems, to identify and evaluate different policy options, to make rational decisions based on the available evidence and to monitor and evaluate effectively” (Bardill, 2004: 11). Williams (2003: 35) states further that, “. . . . there are at least six questions that policy analysts must pose in approaching problems of recommendation. They revolve around issues of objectives, costs, constraints, externalities, time and risk/uncertainty.” Also there should be policy acceptance and implementation in addressing the issue of housing delivery. The establishment of transparent and consultative decision making structures and processes should be implemented as they will give stakeholders an opportunity to offer their comments and recommendations. However, at present, due to the lack of a clear Provincial Housing Policy, housing strategy is chaotic in the Western Cape.

1.6 Lack of sufficient planning of Housing at Provincial and Municipal Level

The process of transformation necessitates the reprioritization of planning issues in terms of employing and developing human skills and expertise, with the view to solving problems and eliminating red tape. The lack of sufficient planning has led to unclear guidelines on how to practically implement programmes. Smith (2003:5) has cited that, “. . . once municipalities have made their decision on a delivery method for a project, the actual steps to follow to implement the project in practice are unclear”. From 2000, there has been no planning for future housing developments by all stakeholders and
projects have been approved ad-hoc. No effort has been made to prioritize areas of
greatest need by the department. Smith (2003:6) states that from 2001 the guidelines set
out by the Provincial Housing Plan were implemented by municipalities and funds were
allocated according to need but it is clear that municipalities are only doing very limited
forward planning and officials need assistance in this regard. Proper planning and
settling of expenditure targets is the basis for improved delivery. Without proper
planning, delivery targets have very little chance of being met.

In an interview with Leon Myburgh and Pieter Terreblanche who are the professional
planners for Khayelitsha Local Government, they agreed that when they are planning,
community involvement is limited, but that the community should be encouraged to
comment during presentations (Myburgh and Terreblanche, Interview, June 2004). This
comment also shows that the CBOs and local councillors are not involved in the initial
stages of planning. According to Zwelinzima Ludaka who is the Programme Manager for
the Khayelitsha Development Forum, “… this lack of community involvement has
resulted in a Market Place that was built … in Kuyasa not to be in operation and…
vandalized” (Zwelinzima Ludaka, Interview, June 2005). After a meeting with CBOs the
Kuyasa Market Place had to be demolished and a new design had to be implemented.
Government expenditure was wasted because of a lack of participation by all
stakeholders. Margot Muller, who is involved in spatial planning at Khayelitsha
comments that, “… the CBOs and the local councillors do not attend meetings for
planning even if they are invited through the community newspapers” (Interview, June
2005). Hitle Mdoda who is the Sub Council Chairperson for ward 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, and
99 states that he is “…not involved in meetings for planning for housing and local economic development” (Interview, June 2005). If a sub council chairperson is not involved in planning, how can he meet the expectations of the community.

1.7 The need for community participation

The constitution of South Africa, as well as other legislations such as the Municipal System Act of 2000 and the Municipal Structures Act (1998), clearly states the importance of community participation in the affairs of local government. It is unfortunate that the majority of municipalities do not implement legislation adequately. “This was made clear when several municipalities did not involve communities in the development of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) in a meaningful way” (Fairshare, November 2002: 4). In Khayelitsha this is also troubled by a lack of information among councillors and ward developers. The process of community participation in local government is complex and must be addressed at several levels. Access to quality houses should not be understood as a privilege to be enjoyed by a few. The eight principles advocated by Batho Pele, “of consultation, service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness and transparency, redress and value for money, (is what is expected from Khayelitsha municipal district office)” (Fourth Conference. 2000: 12).

Community participation should be used as a means of empowering communities and it requires political will by elected leaders.

The main objectives of people centered development for housing should be ownership and sustainability. The Department of Housing and the City of Cape Town, in signing an
agreement separating building sites and top structure, reveal an extreme lack of understanding of the problem. “Community involvement should be understood as to benefit communities not only through the development itself but by establishing a relationship with the community which will ensure sustainable growth or business and jobs” (Callaghan, 1997: 2). “For the effective implementation of projects it is essential not only to identify the needs, fears and aspirations of the stakeholders surrounding a development, but to ensure that these requirements are accommodated in the best possible way” (Roeloff Crowther of Intersite, May 2004). Public Involvement Programs are ultimately a support function to planning that takes the needs of communities into account at various levels and stages in the project process.

1.8 Statement of problem

The Department of Housing in the Western Cape, the City of Cape Town, and Khayelitsha municipal district office are presently under pressure to conform to norms of democratic participation and communication. The 1995/6 local government elections and Act 108 of 1996 for the promotion of the democratic system of governance requires elected representatives to act in an answerable and transparent manner and to promote the involvement of citizens and community groups in the design and delivery of municipal programmes. To this end, local government and the Western Cape Housing Department must encourage consultation, public report back, transparency, accessibility and accountability as well as inclusiveness. It should be realized that the Local Government Transition Act (Republic of South Africa, 1993) establishes the development of a new local governmental system which is committed to working with citizens, groups and
communities to create sustainable human settlements which provide for a decent quality of life and meet the social, economic and material needs of communities in a holistic way. Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights of Act 108 of 1996, Section 26 (1) and (2) pertaining to housing states that “everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing (and) the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right”. To achieve this goal it is imperative for the Western Cape Housing Department and local government to co-operate with one another in mutual trust and good faith by fostering friendly relations and assisting and supporting one another.

Buso (2002: 5) argues that, “local sphere of government is an arena where citizens can participate in decision-making to shape their own living environment and exercise and extend their democratic (social, economic and political) rights”. This kind of local government, since it involves public involvement, is often seen as critical in enhancing participative democracy because citizens may have a far greater incentive to participate at the local level. Through communication programmes, it seems to be strikingly obvious that commitment will only be gained if people understand what they are expected to be committed to. At this juncture, the Western Cape Housing Department and the local government often neglect the use of different and complementary channels of communication such as newsletters and radio. The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998) states that, “the promotion of local democracy should be seen as a central role for any municipal government. It is given this particular role because the scale and complexity of metropolitan areas require specific mechanisms to
promote local participation and democracy”. By promoting debates on current issues through the media both the local government authorities and the community will be able to see the problems that are facing them at local level.

Councillors should encourage a feeling of ownership within the community in regard to housing development. “This concept of ‘ownership’ extends to participating in decisions on new developments and changes in development practices which affect the individuals concerned. They should be involved in making those decisions and feel that their ideas have been listened to, and that they have contributed to the outcome” (Armstrong, 1992: 103). They will then be more likely to accept the decision or change because it is owned by them, rather than being imposed by local authorities and Western Cape Housing Department officials. Risks are minimized by obtaining community support for the project before implementation and by identifying and solving conflicts during the process of consultation resulting in a sense of ownership, thereby reducing the risk of vandalism and avoiding costly maintenance. The programmes of local authorities should adopt inclusive approaches to fostering community participation, including strategies aimed at removing obstacles and to the active participation of all stakeholders, including the marginalized groups in Khayelitsha.

A key focus of this study is to examine the level of democratic participation and communication and whether it has been achieved by the local authorities, community members and other stakeholders in regard to housing provision. Thus the substance of this study consists of formal discussions with councillors, ward developers, coordinators
of housing projects, non governmental organizational developers and informal discussions with the community of Khayelitsha.

This research also examines the lack of housing development in Site C from 1995 to 2005, with the knowledge that it was the first area to be created in Khayelitsha. It also attempts to ascertain the level of dissatisfaction expressed by the community and the reason behind their lack of involvement in housing development projects and in local government matters.

1.9 Aims and objectives of the study

- The study aims to analyse Housing Policy in Western Cape especially Khayelitsha with a view to pinpointing its strengths and weaknesses
- The study aims to examine the participation of the Khayelitsha community in housing strategies, to see to what extent participation leads to better policy outcomes.

1.10 Research design

Research methodology

In examining housing development in Khayelitsha, a variety of research methods, both quantitative and qualitative, have been used. Qualitative information from books, reports, policy documents, newspapers and various meetings is complemented by open ended interviews and informal discussions with representatives from Western Cape Housing Department, the local authorities and the community members in Khayelitsha.
1.11 **Significance of the study**

The study is intended to highlight the significance of stakeholders’ participation in housing delivery processes. The study also highlights limitations and shortcomings encountered in policy transformation and housing delivery processes.

1.12 **Structure of the study**

Chapter 1 will introduce the research topic and provides an overview of the area of research. It describes the analytical and research methodology used in this report and discusses the various forms of literature reviewed to arrive at the analyses. A background of Khayelitsha is given to serve as a way of giving a picture of the area and to pinpoint issues that lead to slow housing delivery in the area.

Chapter 2 conceptualizes and reviews housing development by focusing on policy frameworks drawn up by the government and how they have been taken on board. It also explains how housing relates to these policy documents, in particular the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and the White Paper on Housing. This chapter also reviews what is written by other researchers pertaining to this subject. Furthermore, both informal and formal interviews are critically discussed so as to verify the level of interaction between stakeholders.

In chapter 3, the role of local government in housing distribution is discussed. It is argued that the main idea of local government is to bring it close to the people so that communities are able to participate in decision making. The Khayelitsha IDP is discussed
to verify its importance as a vehicle which enables different departments to work together so that they can prioritize the improvement in the quality of houses and other basic needs that are related to housing delivery. It also looks at the land policy of the IDP and how it is linked to housing. The land issue is another problem which arises when it comes to housing development in Khayelitsha. A comparison is drawn between the NHBRC and the PHPs to show that the PHPs are a better solution today in terms of fast tracking housing development in the area. A discussion of Site-C and double plotting is also included to show the lack of cooperation between the local government authorities and other stakeholders.

Chapter 4 provides recommendations and conclusions that are drawn through critical analysis of related government policies, books and relevant material that has been published recently about housing development in the Western Cape.
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISING HOUSING AT THE POLICY LEVEL AND THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING DISTRIBUTION

2. Introduction

The 1996 Republic of South Africa Constitution, Chapter 2, Section 26 (1) and (2) of Act 108 of 1996, states that, “everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing (and) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right”. In addition, according to the Western Cape Housing Development Act, of 1999 Section 3 (2) (e) and (f) the role of government of province in housing development is to “take all reasonable and necessary steps to support local governments in the exercise of their powers and the performance of their duties in respect of housing development; and (f) when a local government cannot or does not perform a duty imposed by this Act, intervene by taking any appropriate steps in accordance with section 139 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), and section 49 of the Constitution of the Western Cape, 1997 to ensure the performance of such duty”.

In conceptualizing housing development in Khayelitsha, this chapter will deal with policy frameworks that were established by the National and the Provincial governments, and the degree to which they have been implemented. The discussion centers on the Reconstruction and Development Plan and the White Paper on Housing. This chapter will also look at the ways in which the housing policy is implemented at local government level in Cape Town.
2.1 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)

After 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was initially the ANC’s post-Apartheid reconstruction framework, started to influence policy formulation. It is important for the study to give a brief history of the RDP in order to see its value in addressing the basic needs of the poor. The people involved in compiling this programme were a mixture of intellectuals, workers and representatives from community organizations. In order to achieve the goals of the RDP, a policy framework called the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development was written so as to give practical guidelines on how the programme should be implemented throughout the country. This policy framework provided for the establishment of the RDP coordinating structures. According to Mpofana, “these structures were multiparty and intersectoral structures that would be responsible for planning, coordinating, facilitating and implementing the RDP projects and thus giving effect to the ideals that were contained in that document (2002: 29). RDP forums was envisaged in order to create positive strategies of participation for the role players and to prioritize their specific needs, depending on the type of development the role players wanted to pursue.

Khayelitsha was not left out of this process: Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka held consultative meetings in 1995 in the Western Cape and in other provinces. This strategy was very important because it meant that Khayelitsha community developers and other stakeholders would, for the first time, understand the programme and be able to implement it. Callaghan states that “Public Involvement Programmes (PIPs) minimize risk by obtaining community support for the project before implementation and by
identifying and solving conflicts during the process of consultation, resulting in a sense of ownership, thereby reducing the risk of vandalism and avoiding costly maintenance” (1997:32). Stakeholders would share a mutual interest, sentiment and concern and get together to formulate ways of addressing their concern. Swanepoel (1989: 2) states that, “…the most important element in community development is that it is a learning process. As the people go through each phase of development they learn to approach the next phase better”. The RDP was focusing on the most immediate needs of people and relied on the energies of those people to meet their needs.

Linking housing development in Khayelitsha to the RDP can be seen as a way of addressing the basic needs of people, for example, “jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, telecommunications, transport, a clean and healthy environment, nutrition, health care and social welfare” (RDP, 1994: 7). Building houses has been a government strategy to alleviate poverty through employing people and generating skills. Housing includes planning, project management, land survey, engineers, building roads, electricity, sanitation, building of the top structure, plumbing etc. The government strategy was to encourage communities to develop skills which would enable them to participate in their local economic development. Boesak singles out two of these key programmes that are mentioned in the RDP, i.e. meeting basic needs and building the economy. He argues that “…basic needs includes dealing with the provision of housing to previously disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, building the economy can be seen as a strategy of government towards creating conditions in which people will be able to
improve their capacity to access these goods and services, including housing” (Boesak, 2002: 31).

The RDP (1994: 23) also states that “although housing may be provided by a range of parties, the democratic government is ultimately responsible for ensuring that housing is provided to all”. This statement is further endorsed in the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 on the general principles applicable to housing development by stating that:

(1) National, provincial and local spheres of government (should)-
(a) give priority to the needs of the poor in respect of housing development;
(b) consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development;
(c) ensure that housing development-
(iii) is based on integrated development planning; and
(iv) is administered in a transparent, accountable and equitable manner, and upholds the practice of good governance.

These principles show that there is an urgent need to utilize the existing frameworks and guidelines to ensure the input of community stakeholders is taken seriously by government.

The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development created a policy framework for people who had been marginalized to participate, to reflect on and make sense of their situation. This is based on fact that the success of any particular delivery option is
dependent on the people themselves. In support of the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development Programme, Swanepoel (1989: 2) and Du Mhango (1997: 13) believe that “development is about action at grassroots level”. It is within this context that the Provincial Housing Department and local authorities in particular have a crucial role to play in enabling people to acquire the necessary expertise on how to implement local projects. According to Khan “…, local authorities should not only be seen as implementing agents of strategies developed at national; and regional level, but be proactive in developing strategies and policies conducive to local conditions which will benefit people locally” (1998: 34). People’s understanding of their environment and their needs is a basis upon which development action can take place.

Although the RDP was later replaced by the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), there are lessons that can be learned from it. Understanding that the RDP was consultative, programmes like the IDP, Local Economic Development (LED) and the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) had similar aims and objectives on how to uplift the living standards of the poor. The RDP policy framework appealed for participation in decision making by all the role players but this has not happened at local government level.

The “achievements” of the RDP are cited in The Star (May 6: 1997),

“Real achievements have been made in electrification with 1.3-million new connections being made since 1994; water supply, a million connections since 1994 reaching 6, 4-million people and the transport sector which has pioneered joint public
and private ventures…**Not as successful but getting better is housing with 192,000 homes being built.** 550,000 subsidies granted education. 1,500 schools have been renovated and R1.1-billion approved for new buildings; and health…. despite some very public blunders, a White Paper is now out and 12, 300 schools fall under the primary school nutrition programme, 550 clinics have been built and 2,358 are being upgraded, and free health care for pregnant women and children under six is in place. The RDP is on the long road to success”.

In spite of this, the RDP was replaced by GEAR. The fact that the RDP was replaced by GEAR has made the need for capacity building and consultation at provincial and especially at local level even more important in order for the programs to be successful. If these needs are not met, communities could become frustrated and angry. A recently adopted Council report on the establishment of a presidential 1-style VIP protection unit for the mayor and executive committee noted that:

> “Communities are becoming more aggressive in their demands. Council meetings have been disrupted and councillors and officials have been held hostage and even physically assaulted….Communities have developed a rights culture and the City of Cape Town must accept that councillors will be put under pressure. This pressure will be transferred to the mayor’s office if communities lose faith in their councillors. The protection of the mayor and the executive committee should therefore be given top priority” (F. Khan and Thring, 2003: 57).
Towards the end of May 2005 there have been a series of riots and protests against a New Presidential Pilot Project known as the N2 GateWay. It is envisaged that in this pilot project all the shacks next to the N2 will be removed and replaced in preparation for the Soccer World Cup to be held in 2010. In an interview with the Senior Admin Officer in the Provincial Housing Department she claimed that, “they were not consulted about the matter, it was a presidential decision and now they have to defend what they have not decided”. Areas that have been identified for this project are Joe Slovo, Canana, Barcelona, Europe, Vukuzenzele, Boys Town, Epping North, New Rest, Maccassar and Greenfields which will be accommodated at Delft Towns 7 and 9 and at Delft Symphony. Other beneficiaries will get houses where they are living. These areas will be prioritised, even if they didn’t apply for a government subsidy because they are at the right place at the right time. Protesters came from Khayelitsha, Philippi, Nyanga East, Gugulethu, Langa and Ocean View to protest against this unfair decision because they have been waiting for a considerable length of time for the Provincial Housing Department to approve their subsidies. Now the projects will be directed to other areas and those who made a great effort to obtain houses during the period 2005-2010 will be disappointed because spending will be focused on the Presidential Pilot Project.

These recent violent protests directed at the Provincial Housing Department, Unicity of Cape Town and on councillors are a true reflection of the communities’ unhappiness at the slow pace of housing delivery. In the black townships and rural areas there is great dissatisfaction with regard to the inability of local government to implement the socio-economic rights of citizens as stated in sections 26/27 of the Constitution. (which relates
to housing, health care, water and social security). One of the common problems cited amongst the protesters is the lack of communication between the role players. As has already been mentioned, communication is of vital importance. Phumzile Mlambo Ngcuka in 1995 stated that positive communication would inform the people, misinformation could be avoided and tension between local government and communities would be eased. Although the study agrees that, there needs to be effective communication between communities and municipalities in order to implement policy frameworks and to put programmes in place, this alone will not address the problem.

2.2 The Housing White Paper

The Housing White Paper was formulated to promote the dignity of all citizens in South Africa. State intervention through the Housing White Paper was to make sure that every citizen had a right to adequate housing. In the Housing White Paper it is stated clearly that, “Delivery should take place through the widest possible variety of mechanisms (and) it is incumbent on the State to assist particularly the poor to enable them to be adequately housed whilst the State at second or third tier government can, through appropriate structures, act as deliverer” (23). It should be remembered that, the past apartheid government gave preference to the whites in the job market which made it easier for them to acquire homes. To expedite the process the government opted to give subsidies to those who did not qualify for housing bank loans and those who were unemployed. Certain criteria have been put in place in order for the applications to be scrutinized and checked to see who would qualify and who not.
From its initiation, the Housing White Paper encouraged a process that would be driven by the people. Public Involvement Programmes (PIPs) were promoted so that people could decide about their own future. The Housing White Paper argues that, “through its policies and strategies it will encourage and support initiatives emerging from communities or broader local social compacts aimed at equipping and empowering people to drive their own economic empowerment, the development of their physical environment and the satisfaction of their basic needs. Policies must recognize and give effect to this approach” (23). The World Bank supported this idea by stating that, “this will entail the development of collaborative initiatives and partnerships between government, the private sector, NGOs, assistance agencies and, in particular the communities themselves” (World Bank, 1999: 20-21). This will also entail the effective sharing of ideas and strategies for the economic development of communities and other developmental processes such as empowering people with skills geared towards black economic empowerment. Both the provincial and local government have been inviting people to apply for tenders in the Sunday Times and in community newspapers like Vukani, so that development can be owned by communities. Unfortunately there have been instances of nepotism and bribery which have not always been satisfactorily resolved. The mismanagement of government funds by certain individuals need to be urgently redressed.

The Housing White Paper recognizes that people must be able to choose the type of house they want to build. It is also important to explain to communities both the advantages and disadvantages before they make their choice between the PHPs and the
Contractor Built Houses. Some of the people participating in the PHPs are not aware that their houses are not registered under the NHBRC and do not know that they can register as individuals. The Provincial Housing Department and the municipality want to embark on a process to speed up delivery by building Contractor Built Houses so as to overcome the accumulated housing backlog dating back to 2003. The initiative they want to pursue does not give the individual freedom of choice as they perceive the procedure of subsidizing through the PHPs as very slow. According to the Housing White Paper “(the) State should promote both the right of the individual to choose and encourage collective efforts (where appropriate) by people to improve their housing circumstances” (23). Unfortunately all of the areas that have been identified will face the long term problem of land shortage so Contractor Built Houses are favoured as they require less land (30m). It will be necessary for the Local Government Authorities, local councillors, Community Based Organizations and planners to accelerate their research and planning so that large and extended families can also be accommodated.

The Housing White Paper appealed for participation of the community in order to encourage a positive attitude towards future decision making. It recognized that as part of local economic development people should share their knowledge. It was in favor of an integrated planning so that people would see where to prioritize. Generally participation has been limited and so the aims and objectives of the RDP and the Housing White Paper have only been partially implemented.
2.3 **Role of Local Government in Housing Distribution**

The local government should be accountable to all role players in housing distribution. “According to the Constitution of 1996 of the Republic of South Africa, housing affairs are the concurrent responsibility on both the central and provincial government. This is reflected in the Local Government Second Amendment Act, which does include housing as a local government function. However, the Housing Act (Act 107 of 1997) provides for a new and substantial role for local government in housing delivery. In terms of the Housing Act every municipality is required, as part of the process of integrated planning, to take all necessary steps to ensure that the inhabitants of its area of jurisdiction have access to housing and services” (Local Government Housing Finance Task Team, 1999: 1).

The racist policies created under the apartheid government contributed to many of the problems of housing development in Khayelitsha. These lead to the negative outcomes experienced by many people staying in the area which can be clearly seen in the poorly planned houses. According to Khan, “local government, built on the foundations of apartheid, has therefore been undemocratic, unrepresentative, fragmented and economically unviable” (1998: 17). Bauman has qualified the above statement by stating that “Khayelitsha which is located approximately twenty five kilometers from the major centre of Cape Town and ten kilometers from major centers of employment was at first seen as just another unique social experiment . . . to insulate accommodation for black residents . . . from the ‘white’ urban areas” (1998: 4). This situation has some extremely negative repercussions to the quality of life of those involved.
In the 1990s local government structures were reviewed. “The agreements forged through negotiations saw the creation of South Africa’s six Metropolitan Authorities as well as other broadly representative local government structures” (Khan, 1998: 13). The formation of six Metropolitan Authorities was a broad process involving the local government and its interaction with the CBOs, the community and other developmental organizations. These formations meant to create participation of all the role players in a community for positive delivery. Local government has been recognized as a key partner in the delivery of housing. In line with this, municipalities now act as developers of housing projects. This means that the success of housing delivery is often dependant on local government’s ability and capacity to drive project delivery.

The local authorities in Khayelitsha currently are not responding to the needs of the community as it was revealed on a mass rally on the 17 September 2005 when people demanded houses for all. It is said that “the mass rally to demand housing for all that kicked off on the 17 September 2005 revealed mainly two things: the amount of anger and frustration over present housing policies, and the need to seriously start planning a concrete way forward” (http://squat.net/en/news/capetown230905.html). Research has indicated that many beneficiaries of the housing delivery process feel that the current method of housing delivery is not meeting their needs. “There is also a lack of integrated development leading to a lack of health, education and other services (when building these houses). Yet many of these issues need to be addressed through careful planning and innovative housing development at a local level” (Housing in Local government Conference, 2003: 7). It appears that the Khayelitsha local authorities are not often
equipped with adequate information, skills and capacity to take on this challenge. The
creation of sustainable development in housing delivery must remain a vision and focus
from Local Government and Housing in the Western Cape working together with the
City of Cape Town, Khayelitsha local authorities and other involved stakeholders in the
area.

The main idea behind the formation of new local government structures was to respond to
the inherited challenges and those generated by restructuring in order to accommodate
those communities who have been historically disadvantaged under the apartheid
government. Local Economic Development (LED) was seen as a strategy to vindicate
the poor. “On a more substantive note, a recent study-cross section of 10 cases covering
the different variants and spanning, 8 provinces – revealed the following: Half of the ten
case studies showed one form of partnership or another between the municipality, local
business sector and the CBOs. However the partnerships often favored established
business interests, even if unintentionally. As a result relatively traditional forms of
economic growth strategies were followed without any new and creative ideas to address
the specific restrictions and lack of opportunities within the poor communities”
(Williams, 2003: 20). “It appears that a failure on the part of authorities to provide
adequate housing and integration of Khayelitsha with the economy of Cape Town has led
to limited employment opportunities, compounded by the inability to develop
entrepreneurial skills or potential in this disadvantaged area” (Khan, 1998: 43).
According to the South African Township Annual Report (1994: 305), the rapid growth
of the area has inevitably resulted in public amenities lagging behind . . . For example,
an area originally planned in the North West corner for a hospital, a stadium and a tertiary institution known as Lingelethu West, became temporary housing as an emergency measure for squatter families, but is now accepted as permanent”. Another major reason for poor integration relates the local government’s lack of information in formulating developmental strategies.

In stark contrast with the past it should be recognized that the local government is mandated to:

- “Provide democratic accountability to their community
- Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner.
- Promote social and economic development
- Promote a safe healthy environment and
- Encourage involvement of communities in the matters of local government” (Mufamadi, 2000: 3).

The local government legislation, in particular the new Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) has emphasized the idea that, municipalities are defined as “the structures, functionalities and administration of the municipalities and its community”. It is clear that the municipalities therefore cannot function without the participation of their citizens. In order for housing development to prosper in Khayelitsha, the CBOs, NGOs, religious leaders and political leaders must seize this opportunity to participate in the shaping of this aspect of government because it has a direct bearing on the social and economic advancement of the area as a whole.
Since there is slow development in housing, there is a need to challenge the local government, the councillors and other role players involved to be creative and establish participatory programmes that will be inclusive to all the role players. These key elements are important for the fundamental rethinking and radical redesigning of a local government to bring about dramatic improvements in performance.

**Key elements:**

- Emphasis on outcomes (meeting customer’s needs) quality and performance.
- Focus on processes that cut across structures and departmental boundaries.
- Emphasizes the equal importance of consultation, communication and rewards to ensure broad ownership and involvement in the change process (by all the role players)” (Bardill, 2004: 8).

A holistic approach is considered to be the best approach because it includes the integration of work by those involved in development.

2.4 **Integrated Development Plan (IDP)**

Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) for the improvement of service delivery in Khayelitsha and elsewhere must be recognized as one of the crucial tools for effective local government. IDPs are stipulated in the Development Facilitation Act (No.67 of 1995). The Local Government Transition Act Second Amendment Act (No.97 of 1996), various items of Provincial legislation (for example, the Gauteng Land Development Objectives Regulations 1996) are central to achieving the objectives of the Municipal
systems Bill (1999). It is appreciated that Khayelitsha must use the IDP and prioritize issues that are highly regarded by the community. Development must be envisaged for the next five to ten year period. Thus, issues such as transportation, environmental management, and housing, engineering services, economic development and land use management, infrastructure planning and spatial planning are all taken into consideration in the formulation of a coordinated plan. Amendment of section 5 of Act 7 of 1999 of the Western Cape Planning and Development Act stipulates that (1) each council must prepare an integrated development plan, or a spatial development framework as contemplated by paragraph (a) of the definition of “spatial development framework,” for the development of its area of jurisdiction . . .

(2) Each integrated development plan, spatial development framework or sectoral plan prepared in terms of subsection (1) –

(a) must have for its general purpose the co-coordinated and harmonious planning and development of the area to which it related, in such a way as will most effectively:

- achieve sustainable development;
- promote health, safety, order, ambience, convenience and general welfare, and
- Promote efficiency, economy and participation in the planning and development process.

As it has been argued by KDF in 1995 that “factors such as planning, design, tender implementation, construction and maintenance are critical in ensuring that housing related infrastructural development is beneficial to the community”, however it seems as
though the municipality lacks the capacity and commitment in Khayelitsha to provide the necessary framework within which delivery can occur. It is high time that Khayelitsha Local Authorities must move away from structural planning and arrive at plans which look at all aspects of development. There is an emphasis on collaboration across departments to address the issue of housing development. The IDP must prioritize houses for those who have plots and especially for those who have been living in temporary areas for more than ten years. The land issue must be seen as a vehicle that will promote housing development and render employment opportunities for the people of this area.

2.5 Land Policy, Housing and IDPs

The local government faces the immense challenge of developing sustainable settlements that meet the needs of the community and improve their quality of life. “In order to meet these challenges, the Council will need to understand the various dynamics within certain areas to develop a concrete vision and strategies for realization and financing of that vision in partnership with all necessary stakeholders.” (Maqhasha, 2003: 71) As recent events at Khayelitsha in areas like Nkanini and Endlovini have demonstrated, land and landlessness remain critical issues in post apartheid South Africa. “With the transition to democracy, expectations were high that the ANC led government would effect a fundamental transformation of property rights that would address the history of dispossession and lay a foundation for the social and economic upliftment of the rural and urban poor” (Lahiff, 2001: 1). The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) policy of “willing buyer, willing seller” has contributed to the slow pace of housing provision and
this has angered the community. The Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company working closely with the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) and other political organizations, has looked at many options to resolve the housing problem. According to Mapheele (a community developer, in 2003) “the government decided to buy land in Mandela Park in Khayelitsha.” At this stage with the government are still negotiating for land in order to accommodate people from Site C. In 2005 some land was granted to the community developers and according to Terreblanche, who is a directorate for time planning, the project is kick starting with municipal services in place. About 2 500 houses will be built at Kuyasa which is at Mandela Park and will accommodate people who are presently living on double plots at Site C. The negotiations started in 2002 and the land was granted in 2005, which is a long time to wait for people living under difficult conditions. 90% of the Contractor Built Houses and 10% of the Peoples Houses Processes will be constructed.

Informal settlements have mushroomed mainly because of inadequate resource allocation for housing during apartheid, resulting in a huge backlog. “Inappropriate policies such as the homeland policies and Group Areas Act, has led to a lack of available land in the inner cities and has aggravated the situation. That history is still with us” (Budget Vote, No. 16 – 19, June 2001). The purpose of integrated development planning in terms of the Municipal Structures Act (MSA) is to redress and eradicate the development legacy of the past, address severe social and economic imbalances such as the urban/rural divide as well as adverse conditions affecting marginalized groups on the grounds of race, gender, age or disability” (IDP Guide 1 pack, 1999/2000: 17). The IDP should prioritize
community participation and “enable communities to make regular input in development programmes by assisting them in the generation, sustenance, refinement and deployment of planning skills” (cf. e.g. Nineties, 1993). Also local authorities and other role players in housing development must use the IDP to “facilitate and encourage co-operation among different planning service sectors with a view to develop, propose, systematize, implement, co-ordinate and evaluate specific policies which are viable, feasible, practical, self sufficient in short, medium and long-term and are steered by competent people (e.g. Harrison & Watson, 1997).” This people centered approach to planning means that there is also the concomitant need to recognize, but decentre, the technical component of planning.

The land issue is linked to the economic development of Khayelitsha. According to Lahiff, “the lacklustre performance of the DLA, together with the virtual silence of senior political figures on the land question up to very recently, suggest that land reform has not been a political priority up to now. Poorly articulated demand among the poor and landless, and limited capacity among NGOs in the land sector, can also be cited as factors contributing to the lack of progress” (2001: 1). Awareness of land issues has greatly increased, amongst groupings across the social and political spectrum for example the PAC that has called for the acceleration of the pace of reform. “Recently, there has been what is called land invasion in Gauteng, Free State and Western Cape Province and perception was that Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was instigating and fuelling such activities, claiming that people have no access to land. Since people do not have access to land, this fact inhibits their access to housing, whereas housing is a right” (Maqhasha,
The anti-eviction campaigns that are growing in Khayelitsha are a way of increasing popular mobilization around land issues, and show a growing willingness by landless people to take direction action and to acquire land forcefully. Maqhasha moves further and qualifies the above statement by arguing that “the process of acquiring land and letting people build houses is significant because it provides the poor with access to security of tenure and encourages them to progressively build quality standards and increasingly improve their infrastructure” (2003: 72).

It is imperative to examine the Provincial Development Council to see which mechanisms they have applied. Monitoring provides managers and other stakeholders with continuous feedback on implementation. It identifies actual or potential successes and problems as early as possible to facilitate timely adjustments to project operation. “Monitoring accepts the project design as given, it measures progress, it is focused on performance and it occurs continuously”. Evaluation can be defined as “the periodic assessment of a project’s relevance, performance, efficiency and impact (both expected and unexpected) in relation to stated objectives. Project Managers undertake interim evaluations during implementation as a first review of progress, a prognosis of a project’s likely effects, and as a way of identifying necessary adjustments in project design. Evaluation challenges the design of a project, it draws conclusions and makes adjustments, it is focused on the effectiveness of the programme or project, and it becomes a key milestone in the project cycle.” (Thomas, 2002: 42-43).

In most of the places where there are informal settlements in Khayelitsha, there are sanitation problems that lead to health problems. Khayelitsha is one of the areas that
have been identified with high levels of Tuberculosis (TB) hepatitis, cholera and other
diseases due to the lack of infrastructure. Some of these diseases are caused by
contaminated water and the dumping of food in places that are used by the community.
Since there is no infrastructure in these informal settlements the storm water drains are
often polluted which contributes to the attraction of pests. In some of these places it is
difficult to install sanitation because they were not planned as housing developments.
Land grabbing in most instances has not helped the communities living in these areas.

The cardboard, corrugated or wooden shacks that are found in these informal settlements
do not promote safety and security. There is a high rate of crime and robbery is seen as a
social jungles that produce armed robbers and car hijackers”. There are frequent reports
of shacks being vandalized and rapes are reported almost every weekend. Because the
shacks are so densely constructed, it is difficult for the police to patrol these areas
effectively. The statistics that were compiled by Swart under the IAV, Eastern Metropole
between 1999 and 2000 on robbery, and on theft of motor vehicles numbers 4397. This
shows that crime has escalated in the area with one of the contributing factors being
informal settlements.

“Recognizing the need for a radical change in perspective, an inclusive group of
representatives from local regional authorities, community organizations and consultants
came together to prepare some new proposals in the early 1990’s” (Watson, 1998). They
acknowledged the importance of restructuring the fragmented urban system to create
more equitable and sustainable future, and developed broad city concepts called Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) (MSDF, CMC, 1996). “The MSDF embodies proposals which contrast sharply with past policies, including using well located vacant land to house the poorer population (instead of placing them on the periphery); linking neighborhoods together through nodes and corridors, instead of separating them via buffer strips and freeways; and promoting misuse; higher density developments of residential; employment; retail and recreational land uses rather than low density mono-functional suburbs and townships (Turok, 2001: 2 335).

A question that needs to be asked is how can the development of land in municipal areas be speeded up? It is important that, the local government through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) makes use of the Development Facilitation Act. “This legislation had a specific purpose of introducing extra ordinary measures to facilitate and speed up the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes and projects in relation to land”. The Development Tribunals have a key role to play in that it has to implement legislation and has the power to make decisions and resolve conflicts on land development projects, the local authorities should establish good relations with them. As cited in the Development Facilitation Act, municipalities are obliged to formulate Land Development Objectives (LDOs) for submission to ratification by the province. LDOs encapsulate the needs and wishes of all the role players in Khayelitsha regarding the development of that area. In practice, these LDOs must be developed in conjunction with and incorporated into the IDP which each council is obliged by law to develop and implement. Wherever the so-called RDP houses have been successfully
erected, the processes envisaged by the Development Facilitation Act have been followed, and significantly the private sector have been partners in and often managers of these projects ‘from the word go’. The Land Policy of ‘willing buyer, willing seller ‘is a controversial one and private owners need to be encouraged to release land for housing development.

2.6 Approaches to Housing Delivery

Providing adequate housing in Khayelitsha is an ongoing challenge, which requires a strong relationship between the local authorities, agents of the provincial authority, residents and other role players. A resident in Khayelitsha expressed the following concerns about this relationship, “People don’t have houses. They don’t have proper things. They have been filling in documents, getting title deeds and still nothing is happening.” “But people also don’t attend ward meetings because every Monday there is a meeting and maybe only six people turn up” (Malan and Nyewe, 1999).

In a survey conducted by BKS Engineering and Management, Reaching Out and Zakheni, respondents were asked what additional amount they could make available to pay for a loan on a top structure.

The results were as follows:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cannot afford a loan</td>
<td>16 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can pay up to R50</td>
<td>23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can pay up to 100</td>
<td>27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can pay up to R150</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can pay up to R200</td>
<td>12 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can pay more</td>
<td>11 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To justify the point discussed above, those who cannot afford anything are about 16 % and those who can pay up to R50.00 are 23 % which means those who cannot afford to make a loan will still live in shacks and those who can contribute only R50.00 will take time to qualify.

It should not be forgotten that after 1997 the GEAR policy was introduced by the national government which had an impact on people who had lost their jobs through retrenchment. “The social bias of development delivery (in housing) tends to shift towards better off communities that are already plugged into various developmental circuits and that manifest the required degrees of organizational capacity, institutional strength and social cohesion needed for projects to be implemented quickly and sustainability “ (Marais, 1997: 16). From this background it is clear that the ‘have nots’ will still suffer while those who have made contributions because of their better salaries will obtain subsidies.
CHAPTER 3: PEOPLE’S HOUSING PROCESSES (PHPs) AND CONTRACTOR BUILT HOUSES (CBH) IN KHAYELITSHA

3. Introduction

Many of the problems that have to be dealt with in regard to housing delivery in Khayelitsha will be tackled in this chapter. There will be a focus on the People’s Housing Projects versus Contractor Built Houses debate and a case study on the controversy surrounding Site-C double plotting.

3.1 What are PHPs?

Peoples Housing Projects is a program designed to assist families that want to build or organize the building of their homes themselves with technical assistance. Experience has shown that if beneficiaries are given the chance to build or to organize the building of their houses themselves, they can build better houses for less money.

The PHP is also a lower-cost method of housing production compared to going the developer route. This is because housing developers run profit making concerns and so PHP beneficiaries could save on labour costs by doing some of the building work themselves or by getting their neighbors, friends, families, and or local builders to help them, and avoid having to pay a project element to developers (Myrtle Stuurman-People. 2003, doc:1).
The PHP policy recognizes beneficiaries as the main drivers of the PHP. The PHP Policy is designed to accommodate maximum beneficiary involvement in human settlement development, through their exercise of choice in key housing decisions. In this respect, the PHP is not a housing delivery route to be implemented, but a people’s housing practice to be supported and facilitated. Beneficiaries are therefore regarded as a collective developer in the PHP. The construction of PHPs has empowered emerging contractors to create jobs around their projects. Some people in Khayelitsha have now acquired skills they did not have before through capacity programmes run by tertiary institutions in every province and through the technical support of support centres. The multipliers of these projects have also boosted the local economies. According to Letompa “Self-help housing programmes are the future for developing countries. Developing countries are generally struggling economically, and can only afford the most cost-effective housing investment. The resources of each family will have to be directed or channeled into providing housing for them at an affordable standard” (2002:20).

Paradoxically, the more houses governments build for low-income families the fewer houses they will have, but if the national and the provincial government provide the tools for building i.e. land-facilities and services, credits and technical assistance, the elements on which household and community security depend, then the maximum possible amount of dwellings will be built and in ways that the authorities can eventually control. If individuals are given access to property and resources such as cheap, quality building materials, housing delivery will be expedited in Khayelitsha.
3.2 **PHPs versus CBH (NHBRC) houses**

Contractor Built Houses also obtain a subsidy from the government. People have the opportunity of choosing between the CBH (NHBRC) houses and PHPs. The NHBRC houses advocate people pay a contribution of R2 479.00 before they qualify for a subsidy from the government. These houses are small and at times are referred to as RDP houses. Other people have referred to them as the “match box houses” (Patricia de Lillie).

In places where the local authorities have been successful in building the NHBRC houses, there has been a public outcry from the unemployed and those in the lower income group because of the difficulty they have in paying contributions. The new subsidy amounts for 2005 and 2006 released by the Department of Housing for income category (a), where people earning from R0 – R1 500.00 are supposed to contribute R2 479.00. Experience shows that not all of the people earning from R0 – R1 500.00 are able to contribute this amount. In an extended family, as is often the case in African indigenous communities, homes accommodate +_ eight people, with only one person working. The bread winner has to look after the family by paying for electricity, transport costs, school fees and providing food and clothing. In such instances the R2 479.00 is an impossible amount for them to contribute. Even if this contribution were paid in terms, it would take many months for these families to qualify for the approval of the new grant of R23 100. This reason largely contributed to housing development to being stopped from 2003 to 2005. It seems that self-help (PHPs) are the best option to be followed for the beneficiaries. Although in places like Site-B, Site-C and Town Two there is a shortage of land and small plots, the houses being created (PHPs) to
accommodate these extended families are bigger than the NHBRC plots and houses. Federations participating in the PHPs have proved to be effective in rendering services for housing improvements. In these PHPs there is a holistic approach in decision making because beneficiaries are actively involved in planning their own houses. Some of the PHP beneficiaries have built double storey houses if there is a shortage of land, so as to accommodate a space for cultural activities. This is most popular in places like Site-B and Town Two where there are small plots.

As I have indicated previously in the study, people are complaining about the quality of service that is rendered to the CBH Projects. To qualify this statement it is imperative to come with voices from grassroots level who have been affected by this kind of a delivery. The government (local authorities and the Provincial Housing Department) have given tenders to build houses but there has been a lack of monitoring and evaluation of the Contractor Built Houses that have been built so far. If there is a free flow of information between the housing developers and the beneficiaries, the question must be asked as to why complaints from the beneficiaries on the quality of houses being built are escalating? Christina Mdingi who is residing in Y-section at Site-B complained about the quality of her house that was built by John development project. When she complained to the developers of the project, she was told that she must contribute a further amount to deal with the problem. She is not the only one who has complained about the quality of houses and the lack of financial assistance by the project managers. Nobane Mbelu also from Y-Section of the Masivuke Housing Development Project complained about the misuse of funds and the lack of transparency by the project managers which has created delays in
finishing her house. In order for her house to be finished, she took her own money and placed an order on behalf of the Masivuke Housing Development Project. When she came with this alternative, she was told this was not allowed and, when she expressed her dissatisfaction, she was ignored by the project developer. She ultimately contributed another R5 000 that she got from her employers in order to obtain a house that would accommodate her family.

In Lindelani Park, where people were promised NHBRC houses by the local councillor, there has also been a delay in housing delivery. The infrastructure was completed in 2002, but due to the lack of proper consultation with the ward developers and the community, the local authorities’ planning has been inadequate. Mr. Wulana, who is one of the Community Based Organisation (CBOs) developers complained that there was a lack of consultation with the local authorities and that the community became victims of manipulation by politicians campaigning for votes. Mrs. Cynthia Norheshe of the same area has argued that they are not informed about meetings dealing with housing development. She argued further that, “people who don’t have money will have to live in shacks for the rest of their lives. Most people are unemployed, and even those who have jobs are only temporarily employed. We’ve been dumped to live in informal settlements and when something goes wrong we only get food and blankets. The government needs to understand that food does not make any difference. We need decent housing and sanitation.” According to Mr. Mdoda who is the sub councillor of this area, many of the people residing in that area do not qualify for a housing subsidy. Those who do not qualify will be removed and accommodated in a place where the infrastructure for serviced sites will be developed. Because there is a lack of available land this means
these people will have to stay in the area and Local Government in Khayelitsha will have to delay housing delivery to those who qualify until they access land for those who do not qualify. Proper planning can be done if there is land available.

Migration to urban areas and cities is a world-wide phenomenon. “Research in developing countries has shown that migration to cities is based on people’s long term expectations of a better quality of life in urban areas” (Todaro, 1971 and Letompa, 2002: 20). These expectations lead people to migrate even when they know that they will be unemployed and have to live in squatter areas for some time. “The decision to migrate is based on rational economic grounds. It depends on migration costs, the perceptions and prospects of finding a job, and wage differentials between urban and rural areas” (Letompa, 2002: 20). What is surprising is that some of the migrants came from large houses in the rural areas and find to their disappointment that have to live in a shack in the urban area. Migration from the rural to urban areas is contributing to the increase in demand for houses. Khayelitsha has many fast growing informal settlements where people build on land not allocated to them because there is no other accommodation. According to Kepe and Cousins, “Problems of poverty and inequality are particularly stark in rural areas. Given South Africa’s apartheid legacy of a deeply divided economic structure, sustainable rural development must focus on reducing inequality. This will require a range of complementary measures, central to which should be radical land reform aimed at both redistributing productive agricultural land and securing rights to land and other resources”. (2002: 1). Also, rising levels of unemployment in the formal sector and continuing insecurity and low levels of income in the informal sector is
contributing to migration to Khayelitsha. Migration to urban areas does not provide an escape from rural poverty. If the government does not change the recipe for development, the PHPs and the NHBRC houses will never accommodate all the migrants. The study below discusses the issue of double plotting in Site C that has led to many people in the area including some of the Local Government Authorities being unhappy about the criteria that was used by the politicians in removing 2 500 people from the area and accommodating them at Kuyasa.

3.3 **Double Plotting in Site C: a case study**

The housing challenge in site-C dates back to the period 1983-1984. The proliferation of squatting around Crossroads resulted in the establishment of the Site-C transit camp in 1984. It should be noted that Site-C was the first area to be created in Khayelitsha. “The transit camp was developed adjacent to the formal area of Khayelitsha (erected from late 1984 to early 1986), comprising of 3 468 residential sites with an average size of 30m², rudimentary services for twice the number of families” (Khayelitsha Development Programme, February 2002: 27). Each site was thus allocated to two families sharing the same toilet and this resulted in the term double plotting being used.

The intentions of the Cape Town Municipality were to make Site-C a temporary residential area until proper accommodation and infrastructure could be created. Availability of proper accommodation was sought in vain and resulted in this area gradually achieving the status of a permanent settlement. The problem that now arises within the area is that one family is supposed to vacate the plot. The family vacating the
plot is to be accommodated in one of the new residential areas called Kuyasa, Buffer (Chris Hani) and Taiwan. This initiative was proposed due to the fact that, “the process of transferring 27 300 properties in Khayelitsha under the Discount Benefit Scheme which started in 1995 has not benefited Site-C yet. Applications amounting to 3 468 from Site-C were invited until such time the double occupation issue was addressed” (Community Services Directorate of Tygerberg, 2002: 5). The lack of cooperation between the Local Government Authorities, CBOs, local councillors and other development agencies in addressing the problem of double occupation, has led to frustration within the community as the decision to remove beneficiaries is very controversial. Also some of the people in the area do not qualify for housing subsidies but have been granted housing plots at Kuyasa.

People are not motivated to move because the new area called Kuyasa is inaccessible to public transport whereas Site-C is accessible to transport. In contrast Site C is next to the railway line and there are roads that join Lansdowne road and the N2 and Khayelitsha as a whole. Most of the buses pass through the area and taxis use site C rank as a delivery point for people working in different areas of Cape Town. There are two shopping centres in the area, the one in Thembani and the Shoprite shopping centre in site-B next to the police station. There is also a big hall called Mew Way or Oliver Tambo Hall, which is used as an entertainment centre for all the people of Khayelitsha.

The story of Manelisi Nkubu who has a university degree and is working in town for a prominent bank but who still chooses to live in a shack, verifies the fact that, residents
see Site-C as a place where they want to invest their future. When Mr. Nkubu was asked by William Bush, who is a journalist for an independent community newspaper called Vukani, why he opted not to take one of the new homes being developed in Khayelitsha, Mr. Nkubu said, “Most of us want to get the house of our dreams. To get a house that is not going to be special for you means you are just trading spaces. Those houses are very small. And you can’t own more than one house. And I won’t move into a house in another area because I am so close to transport here” (Vukani, Thursday July 15 2004: 1). Manelisi Nkubu loves the sense of family and community spirit in Khayelitsha and a feeling of belonging. For these reasons many people are reluctant to move to an area like Kuyasa or Taiwan. When this study was written there was no infrastructure at Chris Hani and Taiwan that could attract people residing in double-plots at Site-C. Buffer which had been created as a pilot project attracted many people in Site C because they didn’t want to leave the area and be accommodated at Kuyasa. Although Buffer has attracted people from Site C, the houses are built very close to each other and there is a lack of space available for people who want to extend their houses to accommodate their families.

Places like Site-B, Town Two, Macassar, Harare and Kuyasa were built in order to accommodate residents who were in poor housing situations because of the double-plotting system. But this initiative was in vain due to the lack of cooperation between the local government authorities and CBOs. Kuyasa, the only area which has been created recently, has accommodated people from different areas of Cape Town but very few people from Site-C. The few people that were accommodated at Kuyasa were those
residing next to the clinic and the rent office. The space that was left was utilized as a rank for taxis traveling long distances and the double plotting issue remained unresolved. As housing development is a people driven process, the community of the area must adopt a strategy disallowing the rebuilding of shacks where people have been removed. Double plotting is not the only issue leading to the slow delivery of housing in the area. There is also a lack of effective criteria for planning and a poor quality of communication. According to Baer (1997:341), “a planner’s skill should include the ability to formulate criteria as well as to prepare goals and objectives for a plan”. The conflicting statements between the role players suggest that, people of this area do not sit down and plan. Lack of consensus in working for the interest of the Site-C community was noted by Mr. Mapheele from the ANC (who is also the chairperson of the Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company). Mr. Nkinti who is a member and a veteran of the Pan Africanist Congress was not aware that a housing initiative was planned at Chris Hani. The CBOs and the local authorities had agreed to accommodate families from double plots in 165 houses at Chris Hani (Interview, Myezo, September, 2004). Mr. Mapheele states that, “they were successful in negotiating to build about 165 houses in Chris Hani in order to accommodate people who will be removed from the double occupation and the subsidies were approved by the Western Cape Housing Department” (Interview, Mapheele, November, 2003). Mr. Myezo of the Western Cape Housing Department has also supported this statement by assuring the community that, they are about to launch a housing development project called Buffer at Chris Hani (Interview, Myezo, September, 2004).
In an interview with Thabiso Mapheele by Mackay of the Cape Argus in May 2002, he reported that, “the Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company is negotiating with Mew Way, a private company, to buy land for the construction of 1000 houses in Mandela Park, to address the problem of double occupation on many plots in Site-C.” Mapheele and his organization have suggested that flats be built as these would cater for more people without using a large amount of land. Mapheele has stated further that, “In most cases families have lived in cramped conditions for almost 17 years. Last year some residents were moved to the newly developed area of Kuyasa, also in Khayelitsha, but others had to stay where they were” (Argus, May 2002). A counter argument from Margot, who is a spatial planner for Khayelitsha, to the first statement by Mapheele is that most of the people from Khayelitsha are not interested in flats. These contradicting statements show lack of cooperation and understanding between the role players about what is expected by the community.

On the same issue of double plotting, Gavin Wiseman, who is a director for housing development in Khayelitsha, is confident that people serviced under his department at Site-C responded positively to the solutions put forward. He stated that, “there was a consensus between A and B residents to be moved to Kuyasa, where 2300 houses will be built, commencing from 1st April 2003” (Interview, Wiseman, April, 2003). This view contradicts what some of the residents interviewed had said about no proper infrastructure, small plots and very little space in places like Kuyasa. Given the fact that, residents of Site-C have not been given title deeds because of
double occupation, the question that needs to be asked, is what preventive measures have been undertaken by the local municipality to discourage people from building on the sites that have been vacated? What is needed in Site-C is cooperation between the local authorities, CBO’s and other involved agencies to establish informative and effective discussions and to extend these discussions to communities.

People living in informal housing have in many cases been promised better housing but in the planning of the Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company no mention is made of where they will be allocated. The local authorities admit they have failed in addressing the problem of double plotting. “…yet, paradoxically, the current performance measures introduced by the developing agencies with the local authority show a striking imbalance between measures of efficiency (common) and those effectiveness (absent)” (Houghton. 1997: 3). The Department of Housing in the Western Cape’s long-standing focus seems to have been on the planning process rather than on the outcomes and impacts of planning. “However there is an urgent need to broaden the performance agenda in the direction of identifying and measuring the effects of planning in the area and on society. Progress on this will depend on continuing yet more demanding Western Cape Housing Department agencies, but more importantly on deep change within the planning profession itself”. (Houghton, 1997: 1). The regular free-flow of ideas is essential in order to keep decision-makers, stakeholders and the non-participating public informed. Lack of information breeds suspicion and can derail housing development in Site-C.
Participatory processes must be reckoned with and must be well designed and agreed to prior to implementation. Callaghan recognises that the Public Involvement Programme (PIP), with its main objectives of “acceptance, ownership and sustainability,” are essential. These objectives minimize risk by obtaining community support before implementation and by identifying and solving conflicts during the process of consultation.

Monitoring and evaluation must be an ongoing process and clear and transparent structures and mechanisms must be established which will enable the work to be carried out effectively. According to Bardill (2004:21), “within these structures, tasks should be clearly defined, roles and responsibilities should be appropriately allocated, and clear time scales and reporting requirements should be set. The monitoring and evaluation structures should also involve all the stakeholders. Monitoring and evaluation frequently combines both internal processes carried out by the institution itself and external processes carried out by an independent person or team. Monitoring and evaluation should include the beneficiaries, the Housing MEC (Provincial Departments of Housing or other statutory bodies,) local government, local councillors, ward developers, CBOs, and NGOs. These role players must “be vigilant to ensure that private developers do not abuse the PHP. To this end, and because of the possibility of a conflict of interest, private companies (e.g. building materials suppliers, housing developers, etc) may not be a support organization and a supplier of goods and services to PHP projects simultaneously” (Myrtle Stuurman – People.doc.2003: 5). Also every effort should be
made to encourage appropriate partnerships between the private sector, beneficiaries, NGOs and the state in the PHP project.

3.4 Summary

In summary the role of local government in Khayelitsha’s housing distribution has not been a positive one in recent years. This is due to a lack of cooperation between the local municipality, councillors, community based organizations and other stakeholders involved in housing development. Secondly, the IDP has not been used effectively to prioritize the basic needs of the people which has lead to great dissatisfaction in the community. Thirdly, the shortage of land for building houses has also contributed to the housing backlog. It is therefore essential that the Provincial Housing Department devise mechanisms to fast track the building of the PHPs. The last chapter gives some recommendations, with regard to policy on housing, to help resolve some of these problems.
4.1 Conclusions and recommendations

At the fourth conference of the Institute for Local Government Management of South Africa (2000) and Housing in Local Government Conference (2003) the following problems were cited which are relevant to the preceding discussion on Khayelitsha’s housing situation: “huge inequalities in services, wasteful bureaucratic systems, unresponsive, citizens not consulted, unaccountable and opaque, beneficiary contribution (R2 479, OO), Provincial Housing Policy, land for housing, capacity, communication, IDP, construction industry, waiting lists.” If Khayelitsha is to change for the better, one of the issues that needs prioritization is the capacity building of the local authorities so that they fully understand the mechanisms that can be utilized. Access to quality houses should not be perceived as a privilege to be enjoyed by a few, but the rightful expectation of all citizens. The law includes Regulations 6, 7, 19(5), 19(7) and 19(9) of the Township Establishment and Land Use Regulations, 1986 (No R. 1897 dated 12 September 1986) together with section 37(2) of the Land Survey Act, 1997 (Act 8 of 1997.) This means that the city of Cape Town in conjunction with the Tygerberg Administration, should undertake to allocate plots to the needy people of Khayelitsha. Peterson argues that, “(by) filtering or ordering what we look at, each lens enables us to see some things in greater detail or more accurately or in better relation to certain other things”. “The lenses we use have important consequences because they structure what we look for and are able to see. Our conception of housing development plan for the area to direct our
attention and distributing our efforts, and using the wrong plan can lead us into a swamp instead of taking us to higher ground” (Morgan, 1987: 2).

In order to alleviate the existing problems faced by the Provincial Housing Department and the Tygerberg Municipality, the focus must be on the form, shape, size and structure of the houses. As Altmane (1993: 14) points out, “homes are anchors of human life…whether they are…owned or rented, or in planned communities or squatter settlements”. To most of the poor residents of Khayelitsha still living in shacks, the tenth anniversary of freedom is perceived as meaningless. The following recommendations were suggested during the Housing in Local Government Conference of 2003.

- A need for more innovative planning that involves all the role players, especially community at a local government level.
- There is a need to link economic development with social development. Employers, employees and municipalities should engage in a partnership around housing delivery. This will also ensure that social development meets the needs of a growing economy.
- Steps should be taken to strengthen capacity in local authorities to deliver housing. Skills development and reallocation and recruitment of staff to housing departments should be considered. In particular, Khayelitsha which is dealing with PHPs should ensure that the necessary capacity is there to support such projects.
- The development and communication of policy should be improved and strengthened. The Housing Department should have regular updates on policy and
workshops to discuss changes in policy to ensure that the local government in Khayelitsha fully understands these. Concerns raised by the Local Government should be taken into consideration and fed through to the Provincial Government.

- Integration of various departments in order to prioritize basic services, especially to housing should be driven through the use of Khayelitsha IDP.

- Beneficiaries need to be educated about options. The NHBRC (CBH) needs to be challenged to find cheaper options that adhere to standards.

These recommendations are extremely pertinent in the light of the analysis and case study presented here.

The Housing Department with the local government in Khayelitsha must develop a strategy that will enhance participation by the CBO’s and other developmental agencies involved in the future of housing development in Khayelitsha. Participation of the stakeholders must be guided by informed decision making that enhances cooperation between the developers and the community. Corrugated iron houses and wooden shacks must be eradicated and the housing department must focus on the People Houses Processes so that the community can take ownership of their housing projects.
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INTERVIEWS

Mr. Ludaka Zwelinzima (Programme Manager for KDF)

Mr. Mapheele (Chairperson of the Khayelitsha Community Based Development Company)

Mrs. Margot Muller (Khayelitsha Local Government Authority Spatial Planner)

Mrs. Mbelu Nobane (Site B resident)

Mrs. Mdingi (Site-B Resident)

Mr. Mdoda Hitle (Sub-councillor Chairperson)

Mr. Myezo (Staff- Provincial Housing Department)

Leon Myburgh (Khayelitsha Local Government Authority Planner)

Mr. Mxhuxumba (Site-C Residents)

Miss Norheshe C. (Khayelitsha Resident)

Mr. Nontshiza Eric (Area Co-ordinator in the South Peninsula District for Local Areas Economic Development)

Mr. Pieter Terreblanche (Khayelitsha Local Government Authority: Directorate Time Planning)

Mrs. Stuurman M. (Senior Admin. Officer: Provincial Housing Department)

Mr. Wiseman G (Director- Tygerberg Housing Department)

Mr. Wulana (Project Development Member- Site-B Resident)
APPENDIX 1

MAP 1: Khaya-Eyethu with Phakamisa, Ekuphumleni, Graceland and Green Point.
MAP 2: Ilitha Park (Subsidy houses).
MAP 4: Site-B, a small portion of Site-C (D-Section) and spaces with land grabbing.
MAP 5: Harare (with small and big plots) and a huge land (space) grabbed called Endlovini.

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ENDLOVINI PRIVATLY OWNED LAND THAT HAS BEEN OCCUPIED THROUGH FORCEFUL MEANS
MAP 6: Kuyasa, created after 1994 and a huge space of land that has been grabbed.
MAP 7: Mandela Park (Emakhaya), Griffiths Mxenge and Silvertown (no infrastructure for housing development)-commonly known as SST.
MAP 8: Macassar, an area which is better planned than the other areas with big plots.
APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT: SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT (SOG)

PROJECT: AN EXAMINATION OF HOUSING DEVELOPMENT IN KHAYELITSHA

SECTION: A- QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Planning

1(a) Do you participate in planning for housing development in Khayelitsha?
Yes/No

1(b) If yes, how do you participate?

1© If no, what role you have played in order to participate in housing development?

1(d) What is the progress so far in terms of housing delivery in your area?

77
1(e) What are the problems you are experiencing in terms of the planning for housing development?

1(f) What mechanisms have you devised in order to deal with the planning for housing development?

1(g) Is the community participating in planning for housing development?
Yes/No

1(h) If yes, how do they participate in planning for housing development in your area?

1(i) If no, why are they not participating?

1(j) What strategies in place create an environment in your area that makes it easy for the community to participate in housing planning?
2. Communication

2(a) Which language do you use when planning?

2(b) Is the language used in meetings/workshops accessible to everybody?
Yes/No………..

2© If yes, how many people are representing your ward/department in planning for housing development?

2(d) What is the level of education of the people that represent your department or ward in planning for houses?

2(e) Are the people capacitated in order to participate effectively in meetings?
Yes/No

2(f) If yes, how?
3. **Consultation**

3(a) How do you consult people?

---

3(b) Do they respond in meetings that are called for housing delivery?
Yes/No………

3(c) If yes, state the number of your usual attendances.

---

3(d) If no, what is the problem of the community not to turn up.

---

4. **Participation**

4(a) Is the community participating in decision making?
Yes/No ……………

4(b) If yes, which projects they have initiated for housing delivery?

---

4(c) If no, do they know that, they must participate in decision making?
Yes/No………
4(d) Do you have housing backlog in your ward?
Yes/No………..

4(e) If yes, can you give a number.

4(f) How are you going to reduce the housing backlog?

4(g) Is your area affected by the New Presidential Pilot Project?
Yes/No

4(h) If yes, how?

4(i) How are you going to deal with the problem?

5. **Protest marches**

5(a) Why there were protest marches at Khayelitsha (SST, Silver Town and QQ), Langa, Gugulethu, Philippi, Nyanga and Athlone?
5(b) Did you resolve the problem
Yes/No……………

5© If yes, how? -----------------------------------------------

5(d) If no, why? -----------------------------------------------

6. Sub council

6(a) Why there is an initiative for sub councils? -----------------

6(b) Which problems were mentioned in the sub council meetings?
7. Employment

7(a) Do you generate employment opportunities for the people under your ward?
Yes/No………..

7(b) If yes, how?

7© Do you participate in Local Economic Development for Khayelitsha?
Yes/No………..

7(d) If yes, how?

(e) If no, why?
8. **PHPs and CBH**

8(a) Which type of houses are preferred by the community?

8(b) Why?

8(c) Why the community is not interested in other types of houses?

8(d) Do you promote choices for housing subsidies?
   Yes/No ..........

8(e) How do you promote these choices?

8(f) Are the people informed about the choices they make pertaining to housing subsidies?

9. **Policy**
9(a) Do you have a policy for Provincial Housing Development?
Yes/No

9(b) If yes how is the progress in terms of housing delivery in the province?

9(c) If no, what strategies have you employed to deliver houses?

9(d) Have you experienced problems in relation to a National Housing Policy and the lack of a Provincial Housing Policy?

9(e) Are you involved in the planning for the use of IDP in Khayelitsha?
Yes/No

9(f) If yes do you experience some problems in the use of IDP in your area?
9(g) How is the progress pertaining to the building of houses in your area using the IDP?
Revised schedule for the subsidy amounts for 2003/2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Previous Subsidy</th>
<th>New Subsidy</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>Product Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R0-R1 5000</td>
<td>R20 300</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
<td>R2 479.00</td>
<td>R25 580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 501 to R2 500</td>
<td>R12 700.00</td>
<td>R14 200.00</td>
<td>R2 479.00 +</td>
<td>Shortfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>R7 000.00</td>
<td>R7 800.00</td>
<td>R2 479.00 +</td>
<td>Shortfall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigent: Aged, disabled &amp; health stricken: R0 to R800</td>
<td>R22 800.00</td>
<td>R25 580.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R25 580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional subsidy: R0 to R3 500</td>
<td>R20 300.00</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
<td>Indirect-The institution must add capital</td>
<td>At least R25 580.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation Subsidy: R0 to R3500</td>
<td>R10 900.00</td>
<td>R12 521.00</td>
<td>R2 479.00</td>
<td>R15 000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation Subsidy: for Indigent Groups: R0 to R800</td>
<td>R13 400.00</td>
<td>R15 000.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R15 000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Subsidies and PHP R0 To R1 500</td>
<td>R20 300.00</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 501 to R2 500</td>
<td>R12 700.00</td>
<td>R14 200.00</td>
<td>Shortfall</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>R7 000.00</td>
<td>R7 800.00</td>
<td>Shortfall</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The New Product Price

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The New Product Price</th>
<th>Stand Cost=R10 579:</th>
<th>House size=30m²@R15 00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total=R25 579 (R25 580)</td>
<td>(Cost of 30m²+R500.00/m²)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exempt form contribution</td>
<td>PHP, Institutional, Rural Subsidies and Indigent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo. Tech. Variation to be calculated in all cases except</td>
<td>R25 800.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation Sub</td>
<td>(25 580.00 X 15%=R3 837.00 max)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation. Subsidy Geo. Tech. Variation</td>
<td>R22 500.00=(R7 500+R15 000)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(R22 500.00X15%=R3 375.00 max)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Sector Hostels Redevelopment Programme</th>
<th>Previous Grant</th>
<th>New Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Units</td>
<td>R20 300.00</td>
<td>R23 100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Units (Per bed)</td>
<td>R 5 075.00</td>
<td>R 5 775.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Revised schedule for the subsidy amounts for 2005 – 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>Previous</th>
<th>New Subsidy</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>Product Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDIVIDUAL, PROJECT-LINKED AND RELOCATION ASSISTANCE SUBSIDIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R0 to R1 500 (Hard core poor)</td>
<td>R25 800</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>Collapsed category</td>
<td>R29 450.00</td>
<td>R2 479.00</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigent: Aged, Disabled &amp; Health stricken: R1 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>R28 279</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSTITUTIONAL SUBSIDIES</strong></td>
<td>R0 R3 500</td>
<td>R25 800</td>
<td>R29 450.00</td>
<td>Indirect: Institution must add capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONSOLIDATION SUBSIDIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R0 to R1 500</td>
<td>R14 102</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R1 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>New category</td>
<td>R16 313.00</td>
<td>R2 479</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation Subsidy for Indigent groups: R1 501 to R3 500</td>
<td>R16 581</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RURAL SUBSIDIES</strong></td>
<td>R0 to R3 500</td>
<td>R25 800</td>
<td>R29 450.00</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PEOPLE’S HOUSING PROCESS</strong></td>
<td>R0 to R3 500</td>
<td>R25 800</td>
<td>R31 929.00</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMERGENCY PROGRAMME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary assistance</td>
<td>R23 892.00</td>
<td>R26 674.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R26 874.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repair to existing stock:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se. &amp; Houses</td>
<td>R11 698.00</td>
<td>R13 137.82</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R13 137.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses</td>
<td>R16 581.00</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R18 792.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PUBLIC SECTOR HOSTELS REDEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Units</td>
<td>R25 800.00</td>
<td>R29 450.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R29 450.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual units (Per Bed)</td>
<td>R6 400.00</td>
<td>R 7 234.00</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>R 7 234.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1. Apartheid regime: is the past government of the National Party that has been advocating segregatory policies.

2. Community participation and development or people centered development: “shifts emphasis in development action to people, rather than to objects and production, to the enhancement of their capacity to participate in the development process” (Kotze and Kellerman, p. 36). Community Participation and Development should establish an adaptive and responsive administration within which both officials and participating groups may learn and adapt.

3. Housing: Is the grant of money that is given to the needy people by government or a private company for assistance in building houses that are low cost effective e.g. NHBRC and PHPs.

4. Housing Policy: is a way that serves as a system of action for administration. It has to describe reality where it involves conflicts among different segments of the community. Housing Policy should constantly seek better ways to uncover and select goals that are in the public interest, better ways to design and choose alternatives to achieve those goals and better ways to see that, the selected alternatives are properly implemented.

5. Integrated Development Programme (IDP): Planning which takes all the conditions and circumstances which will play a part in a successful outcome of the plan into account and it involves all the people or organizations who have a role to play or a contribution to make. It generates solution which optimizes the joint expertise of different disciplines (IDP manual).
6. Interest-groups: Are communities who must benefit from the projects for housing development. This benefit can be derived though understanding that “communities are never homogeneous or unified …Must be broadly representative, reflecting the interest of all the diverse groups in the community. They cannot be dominated by one party, a warlord, and traditional leaders as men” (SANCO. 1994).

7. Informal settlement: are shacks that have been built in a privately owned land, illegally. Usually the land is used for informal settlement without infrastructure.

8. Land invasion: is the land that is privately owned and occupied illegally, usually through the building of shacks in the context of housing development.

9. Local Economic Development (LED): is the process by which public, business and non-governmental sector partners work collectively to create better conditions for economic growth and employment generation. The aim is to improve quality of life for all.

10. Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP): encompasses steady progress towards improvement in the human condition, reduction and eventual elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease and expansion of well being and opportunity for all. It entails rapid change which must be directed to specific ends. It also involves societal and cultural as well as economic.