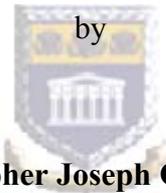


A review of the developmental vision and work of the City of Cape Town's Community Development Department (February 1997 to December 2000) and its successor the department of Community Services (January 2001 to June 2003) which was aimed at transforming socially dysfunctional communities such as Manenberg.

A research report submitted to the School of Government of the University of the Western Cape in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration



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Supervisor : Mr Leon Pretorius

Date : 10 November 2004

DECLARATION

I, Christopher Joseph O'Connor, hereby declare that this study project is my own original work and that all sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.



.....

C.J. O'CONNOR

10 NOVEMBER 2004

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- The staff of the School of Government, University of the Western Cape for their assistance and for being so approachable



ABSTRACT

This study reflects primarily on the developmental vision and work of the transitional local council of the City of Cape Town's Community Development Department (COMDEV) which existed from February 1997 to December 2000. This developmental vision was informed by the concept referred to as the *moral* norm that focused on the transformation of dysfunctional communities such as Manenberg. Access to municipal facilities is an important requirement to meeting the developmental needs of communities.

The eradication of the effects of years of apartheid practices which resulted in extreme inequity with regards to provision of municipal services and access to facilities was hampered by organisational resource constraints as well as an institutional theoretical blind-spot relating to the way in which developmental local government was understood. COMDEV identified a number of suburbs which displayed symptoms of high poverty levels and social disintegration which were manifested through crime, teenage pregnancies, low education levels, unemployment and health problems related to TB and HIV/AIDS. These suburbs were clustered together to form *zones of poverty*. The suburb of Manenberg formed part of the zones of poverty. Although COMDEV re-directed a significant portion of its capital budget allocation towards these zones of poverty it was not sufficient to bring about meaningful improvements to the quality of lives of those particular communities. It was this blind-spot which proved to be the most significant retardant to implementing the department's vision as much effort went into forcing an organisational paradigm shift from the traditional mindset and practice of municipalities providing a service to residents towards meeting the needs of communities in a holistic manner.

Consequently by the end of 2000 very little tangible progress had been made towards improving the quality of life of communities living in suburbs such as Manenberg which forms part of the zones of poverty. Whilst COMDEV's capital budget expenditure for the period 1996/97 to 2000/2001 illustrates a major shift in capital investment in zones of poverty a case study into the suburb of Manenberg indicates that there have been no tangible improvements to the socio-economic conditions within the suburb. This is confirmed by an analysis of the 1996 Census figures compared with the 2001 Census figures obtained from Statistics South Africa. Interviews with the councillor and residents of Manenberg confirm this but also point to the emergence of a new sense of optimism which was brought about by the improved relationship between the residents and the City through the developmental vision and efforts of the Community Development department .



The lessons learnt during this period are valuable to informing current practices of developmental local government.

The establishment of the Unicity of Cape Town in December 2000 resulted in the disestablishment of COMDEV which was succeeded by the department of Community Services in 2001 and the developmental vision and work of COMDEV was discontinued. An analysis of the capital budget for 2001/2002 and 2002/2003 clearly shows the reduction of expenditure in the zones of poverty and the redirection elsewhere. Interviews with the councillor and residents of Manenberg provide insight into how communities are impacted upon when changes are made to municipality's organisation structures without proper consideration to the continued developmental needs of vulnerable communities.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|---|
| ACT | Area Coordinating Team |
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BLA | Black Local Authority |
| CMA | Cape Metropolitan Authority |
| COMDEV | Community Development Department (of the City of Cape Town) |
| CTCHC | Cape Town Community Housing Company |
| DFU | Development Facilitation Unit (within COMDEV) |
| HIV | Human immuno-deficiency virus |
| iSLP | Integrated Serviced Land Project |
| IDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| IDASA | Institute for Democracy in South Africa |
| LGTA | Local Government Transition Act (No 209 of 1993) |
| LRA | Labour Relations Act (No 66 of 1995) |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organisation |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| SALGA | South African Local Government Association |
| TB | Tuberculosis |
| TMC | Transitional Metropolitan Council |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| ZOP | Zones of Poverty (and social disintegration) |

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

“Citizens and communities are concerned about the areas where they live, they are concerned about access to services and economic opportunities, mobility, safety, absence of pollution and congestion, proximity to social and recreational activities and so on. Local government can impact on all of these facets of our lives. The outcomes which developmental local government seeks to achieve may differ over time. However, in our current circumstances the key outcomes are as follows :

- *Provision of household¹ infrastructure² and services*
- *Creation of liveable, integrated cities, towns and rural areas*
- *Local economic development*
- *Community empowerment and redistribution*

Each of these outcomes needs to be seen within the context of national development and the principles and values of social justice, gender and racial equity, nation building and the protection and regeneration of the environment.”

Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development White Paper on Local Government (1998:22)



This study considers the work of the Department of Community Development (COMDEV³) in the City of Cape Town, through the manner in which it implemented its developmental vision, its institutional consequences and the obstacles to its realisation. The concept referred to as the *moral* norm is what informed the work of the Community Development department and follows the ideal of what is understood as development as dealt with in the White Paper.

Local government is challenged to transform communities into ‘healthy’ communities that are virtuous and holistic and renew and sustain themselves without recourse to crime or any other

¹ A household refers to a unit of people living, working and sharing resources in a sustained manner and especially living within a designated geographic boundary. (eg. A nuclear family of husband, wife and children living together in an urban dwelling) UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000*

² Essential municipal services such as water, sanitation, electricity, roads, storm water drainage and street lighting needed to sustain a healthy and safe standard of living.

UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000*

³ The Community Development Department of the City of Cape Town which existed between 1997 and 2000. The department consisted of the clustering of the Health, Housing, Community Services, Administration and Finance directorates as well as the Development Facilitation Unit. The Community Services Directorate in turn consisted of the Sport and Recreation, Libraries, Parks and Bathing, Arts and Culture and Civic Buildings Branches.

activity deemed 'inappropriate' by the state. The department focused on the production of a 'morally healthy community' that reproduces itself in a way that is deemed '*functional*' as opposed to '*dysfunctional*'

1.2 OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

During 1997 the newly formed administration of the City of Cape Town inherited the responsibility for providing a range of services to communities many of whom were disadvantaged over many years by a system of local government informed by apartheid policies and practices that perpetuated inequity. This resulted in a wide disparity between the levels of service delivery and infrastructure provision in a number of areas within the municipal boundary. For example, in the areas known as Ikapa and Crossroads, service delivery such as refuse removal, sanitation and operating community facilities such as libraries and community halls had virtually ceased. Infrastructure in these areas had been severely neglected during the apartheid period. The level of neglect resulted in a storm water system that was blocked by sand and which caused flooding of roads and homes in the rainy months, potholes in roads which made it impossible for vehicles to drive on. Other areas of the City such as Pinelands, Sea Point and other previous "White suburbs" received a reasonably high standard of services together with relatively well maintained infrastructure.

The City's administration **recognised that inequity in service delivery is directly related to poverty⁴ and poor socio economic development.**

It recognised the need to extend services to areas which had not received them traditionally and the need to extend service delivery in particular key areas. Budget constraints made it

⁴ UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000*, describes poverty as the denial of choices and opportunities for a tolerable life, and often encompasses a lack of basics for survival - such as food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education and employment. The emphasis in recent work has been more on human poverty than on income poverty. Human poverty refers to the deprivation in certain essential aspects of human life and is multi-dimensional.

impossible for the municipality to simply expand its services whilst at the same time maintaining the delivery of the same level and range of services to the areas that had previously benefited from them. The task was further complicated by a number of established suburbs such as Manenberg, Factreton, Kensington and certain suburbs of Mitchells Plain that had fallen into a state of social dysfunctionality. In suburbs such as these what is considered to be the '*moral norm*' had over a period of longer than a decade, been replaced by social fabric problems. Symptoms of these problems were manifested in a high rate of gang-related crimes, teenage pregnancies, substance abuse, unemployment and low literacy levels resulting from school drop-outs.

The suburb of Manenberg on the Cape Flats serves as such an example as it was in urgent need of developmental interventions as it had over a number of years succumbed to the control of a drugs-based economy that was manipulated by the gangs. In order for it to meet its service delivery and developmental mandates as stipulated in the Constitution and the White Paper on Local Government, the City chose to be **driven by developmental needs rather than mere service provision**. It committed itself to a series of corporate priorities which were influenced by the developmental approach taken by its Community Development department and in 1998 identified the seven strategies it would follow to ensure visible improvement in the delivery of services and facilities to its residents.

These became commonly known as the “**Seven Strategic Priorities**” which were aimed at achieving the following ;

- the creation of a framework for integrating the City;
- achieving equity⁵ and redistribution;

⁵ According to the Global Equity Gauge Alliance (<http://www.hst.org.za/hlink/equity.asp>), “Equity is essentially about fairness, and implies that the most vulnerable and needy groups within a society require access to greater resources than those communities that are more robust. It is different to equal shares or equal opportunities. Equal shares would mean every district having the same amount of money to spend on each person, in contrast

- addressing poverty and social disintegration;
- focus on housing and homelessness;
- creating the environment that was conducive to economic development and
- job creation opportunities and
- the promotion of community safety.

Special **high impact projects** would be embarked upon that would result in the strategic priorities becoming a reality.



equity would mean that districts with the most vulnerable populations and worst facilities receive more money than "better-off" districts. In relation to health, such an approach is intended to improve the health of the most vulnerable at a faster rate than those whose health status is "better", thereby reducing the gap. Equity is a measure that compares one group with another. The long term goal of promoting equity is to improve the health of the most vulnerable groups."

1.3 RESEARCH FOCUS

The research considers the following:

- What the Community Development department understood to be the required end result in terms of **developmental local government**⁶,
- The informants which comprised of socio-economic statistics obtained from the 1996 Census, monthly health statistics obtained from the Health directorate, equity indicators relating to levels of services provided across the municipality and information reflecting the incidence of crime. These informants provided a useful indication of the prevailing conditions at local level. The department's developmental strategies and interventions were determined based on the information and insight they provided,
- The strategies that were developed and implemented by the Community Development Department to bring about **developmental local government**. For a brief period in its existence COMDEV flirted with these ideas in Manenberg. This study briefly touches on Manenberg to illustrate the thinking of COMDEV and the City with respect to how developmental local government should be approached.
- Identifying the constraints to achieving the desired result
- The extent to which COMDEV's developmental vision and work were continued with by its successor, the department of Community Services from its inception in November 2001 till the end of June 2003.
- The impact on vulnerable communities of changes to municipality organisation structures without proper consideration to continued resourcing and support of their developmental needs.

⁶ Local government that is committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. Developmental local government requires the exercising of strong leadership, clear vision, maximum participation by the community, the private sector and all stakeholders to meet the basic needs of all and build solid foundations for growth and lasting prosperity.
SOUTH AFRICA. 1998. White Paper on Local Government.
<http://www.local.gov.za/DCD/policydocs/whitepaper/wpindex.html> [Date of access: 4 Nov 2004].

1.4 OBJECTIVE OF THIS STUDY

This is a descriptive and empirical study the main objective of which is to reflect on the approach and strategies used by the City of Cape Town's Community Development department (COMDEV) during 1997 and 2000 to give effect to the developmental vision and principles set out in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government . The study is not meant to challenge, disprove or confirm any theoretical assumptions.

The subsidiary objectives of the study are;

- 1) to determine the extent to which the department understood the legal framework which applied at the time and the developmental requirements which applied to local government.
- 2) to determine whether the approach and strategies adopted by the department were appropriate to achieve its developmental mandate.
- 3) to identify the strengths and difficulties of implementing these strategies in zones of poverty such as Manenberg.
- 4) to determine the extent to which the department succeeded in improving the quality of life of communities who lived in areas identified as zones of poverty.
 - a) to determine the impact that COMDEV's vision and work had on the quality of life of residents of the suburb of Manenberg between 1997 and the end of 2000.
 - b) to gauge the changes to the quality of life of residents of Manenberg from 2001 till June 2003 during the 'stewardship' of the department of Community Services.



1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study was undertaken through the use of quantitative and quantitative sources.

Quantitative data was sourced from Statistics South Africa's Census statistics for 1996 and 2001 and was used to provide information on the socio economic conditions at suburb level. The city's Capital and Operating Budget Books in respect of the financial years 1997 to 2003 provides quantitative information into the amounts budgeted for and spent in particular geographic areas of the City. Both sources are considered to be accurate and reliable and are widely used.

The qualitative information has been obtained from interviews and press cuttings which deal with perceptions which contain an element of bias. Whilst the interviews have been limited to interviews of five city officials (who were employed within the fields of social development, health and housing), a focus group comprising the Councillor and ten residents and the owner of the local butchery in Manenberg they have not been verified, they do provide a level of insight into existing socio-economic phenomena and associated prevailing conditions at community level. The interviews with the residents of Manenberg cover the socio-economic conditions that prevailed in Manenberg from beginning 1997 to mid 2003 and the approach taken by the Council in response to these conditions.

Empirical information was gathered by using the following information sources;

- Audit of services Report of 1998.
- Archival records obtained from the City of Cape Town Municipality including;
 - Capital and Operating Budget Books for the financial years 1997 -2003.

- Agendas and Minutes of the Community Development and Housing Standing Committees including presentations and supporting documents made to Council.
- Directorate Business Plans for the financial years 1997 – 2003.
- Various City of Cape Town Publications.
- Legislation pertinent to the role and responsibilities of local government from 1997 to 2003.

Data from the above mentioned sources were gathered for use to formulate the contents of the interviews with the aforementioned role players.

The contents of the interviews together with data sources such as reports to committees, publications and studies undertaken by others were used for purposes of analysis and reflection.



Practitioners within the fields of Social Development and Health who were employed in the City's Community Development Department were targeted for interviews as they were regarded as possessing the most valuable insight to the subject matter.

Although this study spans the seven year period between 1997 to 2003, the prime focus is on the first four years between 1997 to 2000 which coincides with the organisational lifespan of COMDEV which existed within the transitional local council of Cape Town. This is because COMDEV was disestablished and replaced by the department of Community Services when the Unicity of Cape Town was established on 6 December 2000. The discontinuation of approach and initiatives started by COMDEV limits the ability of this study to adequately measure and comment on the impact of COMDEV's work in the longer term. The period 1997 to 2000 and the work of COMDEV is nevertheless significant as it illustrates local government's departure from previous notions relating to community development.

CHAPTER 2

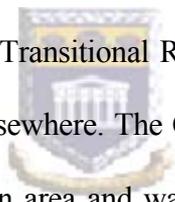
CONTEXTUALISING THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ENVIRONMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In keeping with the principles of decentralisation and the devolution of state power, South Africa adopted the principle of establishing local government as a distinct sphere of government. The Reconstruction and Development Programme⁷ (RDP) required a strong and effective local government to be in place to ensure the success of local development.

Following the local government elections in 1995, municipalities throughout the country began to implement the provisions of the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1993.

This involved primarily the establishment of Transitional Metropolitan Councils (TMCs) in large urban areas, including their respective Metropolitan Substructures (MSSs), Transitional Local Councils (TLCs) in other urban areas and Transitional Rural Councils (TRCs) and Transitional Rural Representative Councils (TRRCs) elsewhere. The City of Cape Town was classified as a Substructure within the Cape Metropolitan area and was one of six substructures within the area.



⁷ The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted by the ANC (African National Congress) as a detailed map for transformation which sought to reorder politics, the economy and society along democratic and participatory principles. It was meant to be implemented as an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework aimed at mobilising South Africans and the country's resources in the eradication of poverty. Its purpose was to provide guidance to efforts aimed at building a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country. It represents a vision for the fundamental transformation of South Africa.

The RDP places much emphasis on the restoration and upgrading of services where they have collapsed, and the expansion of services to new areas. SOUTH AFRICA. 1994. RDP White Paper.

http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/white_papers/rdpwhite.html?rebookmark=1#PREAMBLE [Date of access: 4 Nov.2004]

2.2 THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN WITHIN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT ENVIRONMENT

At a planning workshop held in October 1996⁸, in preparation for the final agreement in respect of the allocation of powers, duties and functions between the CMA and its substructures, participants agreed that the City would fulfill the following principal roles:

- To provide and maintain the basic municipal infrastructure and services.
- To enable or facilitate development.
- To regulate and build relationships between individuals, groups and institutions.
- To lead social transformation and administer resources.

In December 1996 the Cape Metropolitan Authority (CMA) together with six substructures, one of which was the City of Cape Town ('the City') were established.

The strategic priorities for the City recognised that there was a need to:

1. restore, upgrade and extend the basic municipal infrastructure and services as well as maintain existing infrastructure and services.
2. address basic social needs such as the provision of shelter, health care, employment and safety in an integrated and cooperative way.
3. address the economic and physical development of the City in an integrated and sustainable⁹ manner.
4. develop a sound system and culture of participation in the affairs, plans and action of the City.

⁸ *Report on the Strategic Planning Worksession* (10 October 1996), a report compiled by Nico McLachlan of Gouws Woods and Partners and Elna Trautman of the Department of Human Resources on the Worksession held at the Cape Town Municipality Training Centre on the 5 October 1996. pp, 5-6.

⁹ Such activities which utilise resources and build capacity in a way which ensures that the activity can be maintained over time.

The principle roles assigned to the City together with the priorities it regarded as strategic served to emphasise the functional differences between ‘service delivery’ and ‘development’ which is reflected in the manner in which the organizational structure was designed.

2.3 INSTITUTIONAL LOCATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

2.3.1 Introduction

Section B of the White Paper on Local Government (1998) defines *developmental local government* as “local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives.”

The institutional requirements to make this a reality do not appear to have been considered when the City’s organizational structure was designed. Instead, the newly established Council’s structure was significantly influenced by the need for it to fulfill its five principal roles and its strategic priorities as contained in section 2.1 of this chapter.

This resulted in the ‘service delivery’ and ‘development’ functions being located in separate departments responsible for different activities.

Figure 2.1 illustrates how the City was redesigned around five departments namely that of planning and economic development, corporate finance, institutional transformation, community development, and municipal services.

This does not encourage high levels of integration and co-operation across departments and would later prove to frustrate efforts aimed at meeting the developmental needs of communities.

2.3.2 Institutionalising the allocation of functions

The Municipal Services department was made responsible for engineering services (referred to as 'hard services') such as roads and drainage, electricity, water and waste.

The Community Development (COMDEV) department was allocated the responsibility of meeting the developmental needs of communities as discussed in Section B of the White Paper through the provision of 'soft services' comprising housing, health, development facilitation and community services.

For the City of Cape Town to deliver on its developmental mandate it would need to ensure that its strategies and supporting actions would accomplish the highest level of integration across all departments, especially the departments of municipal services, planning and economic development and COMDEV. For example, whilst functions such as Arts and Culture, Libraries, Sport and Recreation and so forth would be significant contributors towards the promotion of social development they would require significant support from functions in the economic development and municipal services departments to ensure that the full range of developmental needs of communities were properly addressed.

2.3.3 Limitations of the Structure

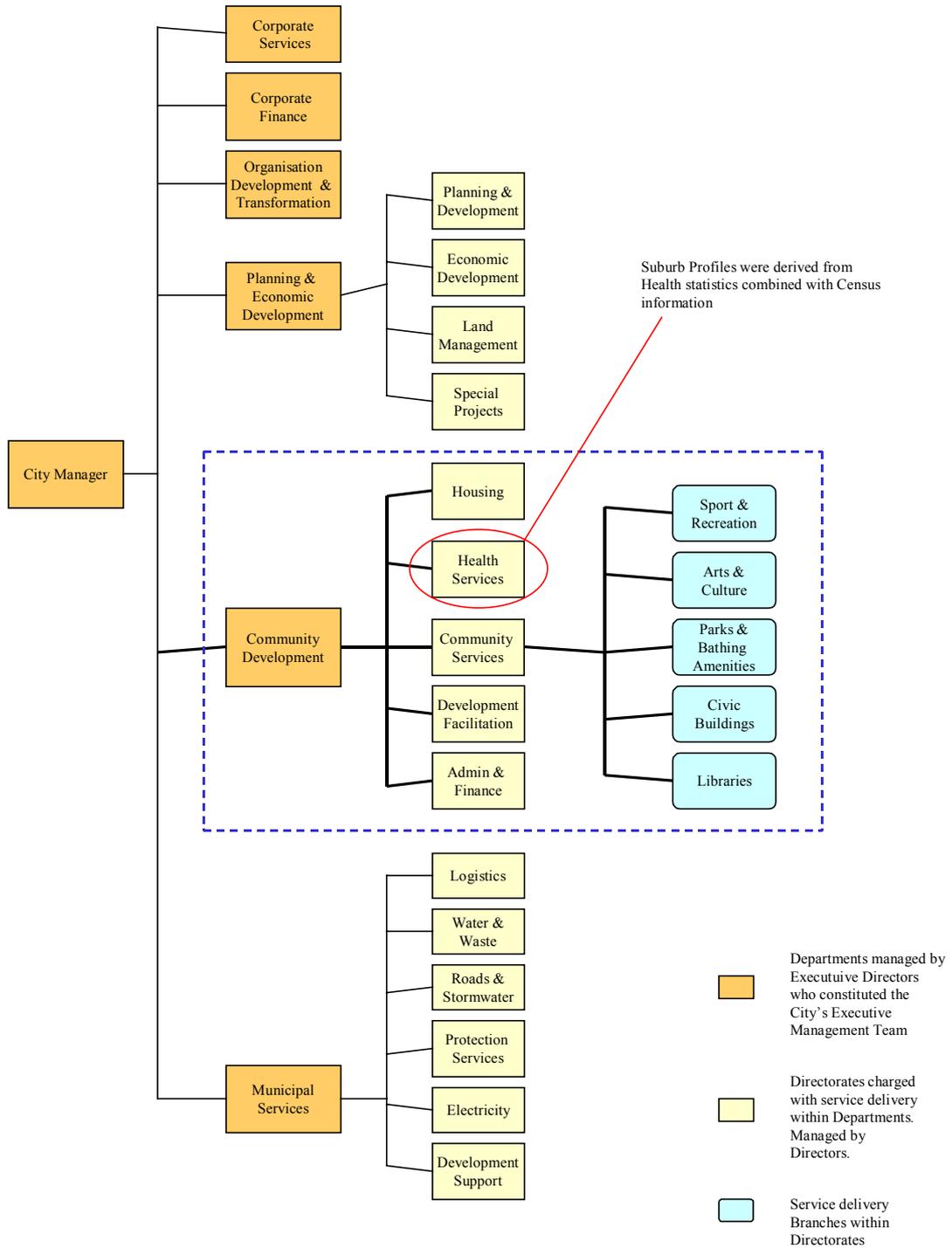
The separation of traditional municipal engineering services from the developmental services served to reinforce the degree of silo mentality which existed within departments which frustrates attempts aimed at realizing the benefits of integrated service delivery.

2.3.4 Political Component

The Council's political component consists of 74 Councilors under the chairpersonship of the Mayor. Political direction is provided by Council's Executive Committee which comprises of the Chairpersons of each of the political Standing Committees. COMDEV is accountable in respect of housing matters to the Housing Standing Committee and reports to the Community Development Standing Committee in respect of matters relating to Health and Community Services.



Figure 2.1 : ORGANISATIONAL CHART OF THE TRANSITIONAL LOCAL COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN IN RESPECT OF THE PERIOD FEBRUARY 1997 TO DECEMBER 2000



2.3.5 How COMDEV was resourced

COMDEV consisted of the cobbling together of a number of functions which had existed in the previous municipal dispensation. These were the functions of health, parks bathing, civic buildings, housing and libraries. It was allocated a new function in the form of the Sport and Recreation branch but was not provided with an operating budget to make it functional.

The department of Community Development through a process of micro-design and associated transformation processes succeeded in reallocating operating budgets between all of its directorates and branches which saw the newly established Sport and Recreation Branch receiving a budgetary allocation which was sufficient to render it functional.

The other departments such as Municipal services and Planning and Economic development were required to overcome similar difficulties as the financial constraints which applied to the newly established local authority did not permit large scale additional operating budgetary allocations to fund growth areas. COMDEV was required to deliver its core business as contained in Chapter 5 (paragraph 5.1) of this study with an Operating Budget of R 423,1 million and 3,236 staff members (using the 1999/2000 financial year as a point of reference).

Table 2.1 provides an indication of COMDEV's Operating Budget, staff establishment and number of facilities it managed in respect of the 1999/2000 financial year. The financial constraints faced by the City of Cape Town did not enable Community Development to increase its staff complement or its Operating Budget to accommodate its growth needs. This resulted in no significant growth in either of these areas since its inception in 1997.

Table 2.1

| Facilities | Branch | Expenditure Category | 1999/2000 | Staff |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | | | Operating Budget R | |
| 34 x Libraries | Libraries | Salaries & Wages | 24,127,330 | 323 |
| | | General Expenses | 6,935,340 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 1,612,910 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 863,870 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 6,539,705 | |
| | | Total Budget | 40,079,155 | |
| 4 x Recreation Centres 9 x Nursery Schools 1 x Track 5 x Stadiums 25 x Community Centres 4 x Sports Complexes | Sport & Recreation | Salaries & Wages | 14,971,865 | 330 |
| | | General Expenses | 1,388,240 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 38,280 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 358,170 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 9,641,270 | |
| | | Total Budget | 26,397,825 | |
| 41 x Halls 66 x Public Toilets/Bath Houses | Civic Buildings | Salaries & Wages | 22,444,895 | 450 |
| | | General Expenses | 8,676,420 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 6,255,730 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 10,313,440 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 20,194,650 | |
| | | Total Budget | 67,885,135 | |
| 17 x Bathing Facilities 1 x Resort 2 x Beaches 441 x Play grounds 14 x Parks 60 x Sports fields 147 x Layouts | Parks & Bathing Amenities | Salaries & Wages | 67,699,415 | 1,120 |
| | | General Expenses | 13,816,220 | |
| | | Operating Costs | 4,321,565 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 8,617,940 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 5,983,390 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 19,653,005 | |
| | | Total Budget | 120,091,535 | |
| | | | | |
| | Arts & Culture | Salaries & Wages | 324,290 | 6 |
| | | General Expenses | 470,690 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 7,900 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 8,780 | |
| | | Total Budget | 811,660 | |

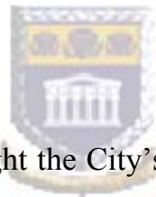
TOTAL BUDGET : COMMUNITY SERVICES DIRECTORATE R 255,265,310 2,229

| | | | | |
|--------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 30 x Clinics | Health | Salaries & Wages | 47,097,400 | 497 |
| | | General Expenses | 10,815,910 | |
| | | Operating Costs | 14,400 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 5,043,800 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 939,340 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 1,268,360 | |
| | | Total Budget | 65,179,210 | |

| Facilities | Branch | Expenditure Category | 1999/2000 | Staff |
|------------|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|-------|
| | | | Operating Budget R | |

| | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 9 x Housing Offices 17,663 x Rental Stock Units | Housing | Salaries & Wages | 38,325,600 | 450 |
| | | General Expenses | 16,645,030 | |
| | | Operating Costs | 136,670 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 14,057,755 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 17,125,905 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 2,745,335 | |
| | | Total Budget | 89,036,295 | |
| Development Facilitation Unit | Development Facilitation Unit | Salaries & Wages | 3,187,570 | 29 |
| | | General Expenses | 751,375 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 8,960 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 42,805 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 72,140 | |
| | | Total Budget | 4,062,850 | |
| Administration & Finance | Administration & Finance | Salaries & Wages | 5,472,030 | 31 |
| | | General Expenses | 2,662,405 | |
| | | Operating Costs | 250 | |
| | | Departmental Charges | 895,200 | |
| | | Repairs & Maintenance | 495,880 | |
| | | Capital Charges | 122,025 | |
| | | Total Budget | 9,647,790 | |

TOTAL BUDGET : COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT R 423,191,455 3,236



The foregoing discussion serves to highlight the City's attempts to cope with the then local government environment which was characterized by the need to transform in order to deliver on new municipal mandates and address extensive service backlogs within serious resource constraints. This environment was also significantly impacted upon by a range of legislation which existed to prescribe to and guide municipalities through its transformation referred to as the transition process.

2.4 THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK APPLICABLE TO THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW

2.4.1 Introduction

By 1997 a comprehensive range of legislation had been put in place to ensure that local authorities adhered to the transformational requirements which was kick-started by the Interim Constitution and the Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (LGTA). The promulgation of different Acts and Bills coincided with each of the three phases within the Transition Process.

The transformation of local government consisted of three distinct phases of transition, namely;

- **The pre-interim phase**, which prescribed the establishment of local forums to negotiate the appointment of temporary Councils, which would govern until municipal elections.
- **The interim phase**, beginning with municipal elections and lasting until a new local government system has been designed and legislated upon.
- **The final stage**, when a new local government system will be established.

The period under review commences in the latter part of the Interim Phase during which the City of Cape Town was established in December 1996 and concludes in the Final Phase which resulted in its disestablishment to make way for the Unicity of Cape Town in December 2000.

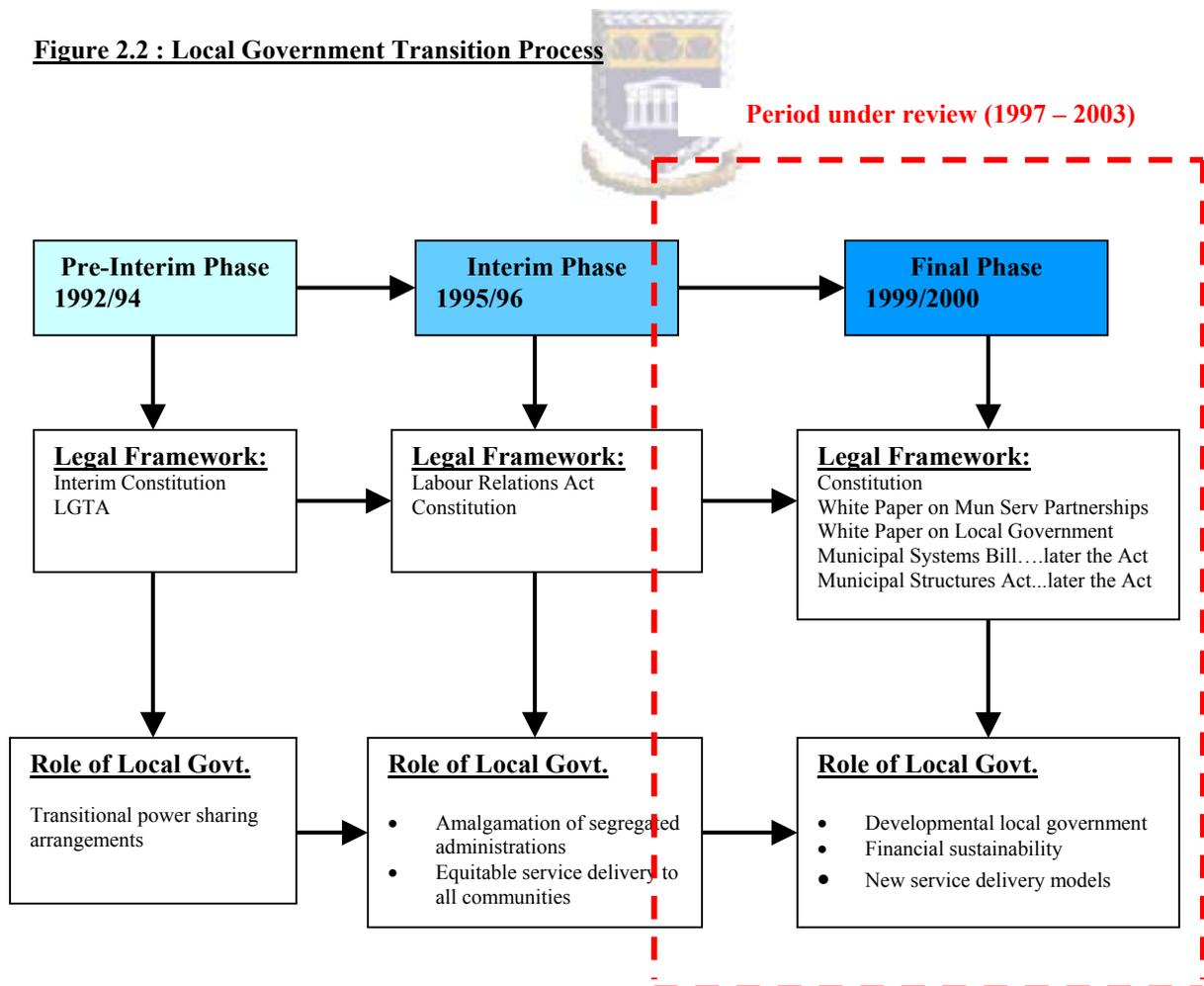
By 2000 a number of key national policy and legislative developments had impacted upon local government.

The most significant of which were as follows ;

- The Local Government Transition Act (No 209 of 1993);
- Labour Relations Act (No 66 of 1995) ;
- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No 108 of 1996);
- The White Paper on Municipal Service Partnerships (1997);
- The White Paper on Local Government, 1998 ;
- The Municipal Structures Act (No 117 of 1998)
- The Municipal Systems Act (No 32 of 2000);

Figure 2.2 provides a schematic view of the legislative framework applicable to local government during the transition process with specific reference to the period under review.

Figure 2.2 : Local Government Transition Process



2.4.2 THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT TRANSITION ACT (No.209 of 1993)

The Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1993 provided the framework for initial reform of local authorities. Formerly segregated areas were integrated into transitional local councils with nominated local councils and nominated councillors.

2.4.3 LABOUR RELATIONS ACT (No.66 of 1995)

The Labour Relations Act of 1995 protects the rights of workers, provides for bargaining between employers and employees and provides an avenue for the resolution of labour disputes. It requires human resource management and labour relations to be managed in a manner which is more sympathetic and fair as was the case previously. Management is required to be more accountable, transparent and participative.

2.4.4 CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (Act No.108 of 1996)



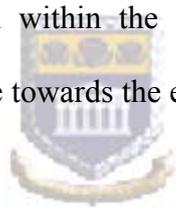
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No 108 of 1996) captured the ideals of a developmental local government which enjoys protected autonomy and is a democratising force which serves its communities efficiently and established the notion of making local government a sphere rather than a subordinate level of government. The autonomy of local government is restricted in terms of Section 155 of the Constitution and Section 153 positions municipalities as a driver of development by requiring them to meet the basic needs of society and that they must be engaged in national and provincial development programmes.

Local government is therefore required to improve the quality of life of communities through the delivery of quality services, ensuring that adequate infrastructure is provided and properly maintained, attracting of investment in the areas which lead to economic growth which in turn raises levels of employment opportunities for the communities. Community participation in

their processes of planning and collaborative activities with communities, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and the private sector is also a legislated and desired requirement of local government.

2.4.5 THE WHITE PAPER ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT (1998)

The release of the White Paper on Local Government 1998 (White Paper) filled a void that had been in place since 1996 as the Constitution was not supported by a policy framework to guide the actions of local government, except for the LGTA. The White Paper provides guidance in the areas of developmental local government within the context of social economic development and the roles required of local authorities. It deals with the status of local government within the constitutional framework and emphasised its role in service delivery. The White Paper was written within the framework of and is subject to the Constitution and provides a detailed guide towards the establishment of a developmental local government system.



Pravin Gordham, then chair of the political committee overseeing the writing of the White Paper remarks: “It will require our participation and rolling up of sleeves, our acting like citizens, as opposed to mere atomised consumers of municipal services”. The White Paper requires of “role players” to act as citizens and therefore requires that realisable measures are taken to assist ‘citizens’ to act as such in the face of globalisation. It is a radical departure from previously defined notions of development in South Africa in suggesting that the rights of the citizens are not simply those of ‘basic needs’, where this refers to the provision of a range of social products (a house, a serviced site *etc.*), but in furnishing the conditions for individuals and households to sustain themselves socially and economically.

The White Paper reconceptualised previous notions contained in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which requires local government to be the “hands and feet” of delivery initiatives. The manner in which the White Paper dealt with *developmental local government* signaled a significant departure from the view that residents become citizens when their needs are satisfied; where needs were defined, essentially, as a house and a serviced site.

The White Paper (1998;17) states that, “Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens¹⁰ and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives”. The term ‘development’ in the White Paper is measured not against how many homes are built or sites are serviced but against the degree to which ‘citizens’ are able to *sustain* themselves and their households but assisted by local government interventions aimed at sustaining and improve their material needs and the quality of their lives.



2.4.6 THE MUNICIPAL SYSTEMS ACT (No.32 of 2000)

The Municipal Systems Act sought to provide municipalities with a framework in respect of their functions and powers, their rights and responsibilities in relation to those of the communities they serve and the establishment of meaningful and capacitating public participation. Sections dealing with local government’s role in social and economic upliftment of communities together with the provision of access to quality services that are affordable to communities were important informants to the approach taken by COMDEV. The Act provided COMDEV with the ‘flesh’ which could be added to the notion of Integrated Developmental Planning (IDP). By linking Performance Management to the IDP it establishes accountability as a key driver to ensure that the needs of the people are met in the most appropriate and efficient manner.

¹⁰ the term ‘citizens’ refers to those residents with de jure rights and obligations

2.4.7 THE MUNICIPAL STRUCTURES ACT (No.117 of 1998)

In terms of this Act, a municipality is defined as consisting of both the “governing structures and administration” of a local government as well as “the residents and communities” in its demarcated jurisdiction. The intention is to ensure that public participation is built into the daily working of local government as a *necessary* component of its functioning as an institution.

2.4.8 WHITE PAPER ON MUNICIPAL SERVICES PARTNERSHIPS (1997)

The White Paper on Local Government deals with a number of principles involving service delivery by local authorities. Local service delivery is one of the criteria mentioned in the demarcation board Act whereby boundaries can be altered based on the ability of a municipality to deliver services effectively. Section 19 of the Municipal Structures Act refers to service delivery of municipalities in a manner that meets the needs of the community and includes the participation of communities themselves. In terms of the Framework Agreement on Municipal services Partnerships signed by COSATU and the Department of Constitutional Development and SALGA in 1998, the provision of services need not be confined to local authorities and that the involvement of other sectors such as NGOs and the private sector should be structured and guided by the principles of democratic local government, especially the Batho Pele¹¹ principles.

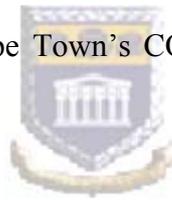
¹¹ The *Batho Pele* (People First) policy and its principles was promulgated in 1997. It aims to enhance the quality and accessibility of South Africa’s government services by improving efficiency and accountability to the recipients of public goods and services. Government’s vision of providing its citizens with integrated seamless service delivery is supported by service delivery principles which inform the Batho Pele policy, namely regular consultation with customers and improved levels of courtesy, setting of service standards and the increasing access to services, provision of better information about services together with increased openness and transparency about services and provision of best value for money services. South Africa. Department of Public Service and Administration. 2004. Batho Pele-Putting People First. <http://www.dpsa.gov.za/projects/batho-pele/index.htm> [Date of Access: 5 Nov 2004].

2.5 SUMMARY

In summary, the legislative framework that was in place to effect local government restructuring and transformation is considered to have a strong logic and proved to be both empowering and enabling in most instances. The legislation clearly points the way to be followed during each distinct phase leading up to and during the transformation of local government. Legislation was timiously promulgated to enable informed implementation.

However, to COMDEV the Municipal Systems Act (No.32 of 2000) whilst being clear and implementable in driving local government restructuring was considered to be constraining in that the performance management section of the Act tended to emphasise internal effectiveness and efficiency (inputs and process) which is fundamentally different from a system that focuses attention on outcomes and impact of strategies and interventions.

Armed with access to a comprehensive range of legislation which provided local authorities with what was required, the City of Cape Town's COMDEV department needed to get to know the wishes of the people it served.



The next chapter deals with how COMDEV went about assessing the needs and wishes of communities which in turn would influence its service delivery strategies and interventions.

CHAPTER 3

INSTRUMENTS USED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TO GAUGE THE NEEDS OF COMMUNITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous Chapter dealt with the legislative framework that assigned roles and responsibilities to local authorities and provided guidance in the execution of these duties. These requirements relate to democracy, public participation and delivery of services. In this Chapter we will deal with the instruments which are both of a technical nature and political nature to gauge the needs and wishes of communities.

This Chapter illustrates how the City and its department of Community Development complemented the techniques of suburb profiling and political interaction with communities as instruments to best understand and gauge the needs and wishes of communities.

Within the South African context it is of the utmost importance for local government to intimately know and understand the prevailing conditions and circumstances in which the community it serves find themselves. This knowledge forms an integral part of the informants which will determine the developmental strategies to be followed to achieve positive outcomes in the form of improved quality of life.

Considered against a background of limited resources, the dire conditions of disadvantaged communities and the negative impact of globalisation on these communities, there is no margin for error in determining the most appropriate strategies and associated interventions to reverse the effects of years of apartheid practices. Inappropriate and ineffective interventions translate into wastage of scarce resources as well as lost time. Time is also viewed as a scarce

commodity as communities are running out of time to overcome their shortcomings and enter the global economy which determines their livelihoods. Such are the conditions in which sustainable developmental local government is required to function.

3.2 THE 100 DAY PROGRAMME

In February 1997 as was the case for a number of other newly established local authorities, the City of Cape Town's newly appointed administration were faced with the need to 'get to grips' with the provisions of the LGTA, the new Constitution (1996) and a **draft** of the White Paper on Local Government which was later published in 1998. It embarked on a "100 Day Programme" which was aimed at providing the newly appointed Executive Management Team (EMT) with first-hand exposure to the needs amongst communities. The EMT constituted the City Manager and Executive Directors as Heads of each of the municipality's departments. Information gathered during this programme together with the existing legislative framework (as described in paragraph 2.3 of this study) influenced the direction taken by service delivery departments such as Community Development which was tasked with improving the quality of life of communities which had been subjected to inequitable practices during the apartheid era. Information gathered during the "100 Day Programme" supplemented other sources such as socio-economic information obtained from the 1996 Census highlighted the need for substantial capital investment in the poorest areas of the City such as Philippi, Crosroads, Nyanga and Kewtown. Consequently, COMDEV set out to address the inequitable position with respect to provision of community facilities and associated service delivery shortfalls prevalent in poorer areas. Its intention was to improve the quality of life of these communities through its Capital Budget Programme by the provision of community facilities which would serve as centres from which its developmental initiatives and day to day operations would be run.

3.3 SUBURB PROFILES

By combining information obtained from the 1996 Census information with the City's Health statistics a community profile was constructed which provided a multi-dimensional view pertaining to symptomatic conditions such as incidence of crime, gangster activities, violence, incidence of tuberculosis, substance abuse, teenage pregnancies and unemployment. Suburb Profiles provide useful indicators of community "well-being" and are important informants to strategies and interventions designed to meet particular needs of specific communities. COMDEV's Development Facilitation Unit (DFU) in particular made extensive use of Suburb Profiles to the content of developmental interventions.

Table 3.1 and *Table 3.2* serves to illustrate the range of data that was used to compile a suburb profile. The census Composite¹² is a fairly good indicator of the socio-economic status of communities. For example, the Composite indicator column reflects that the community of Crossroads are worse off than the community of Woodstock. A high Composite value indicates degree of poor socio-economic conditions that exist within a given community.

DFU was able to steer the activities and services provided by departments across the City away from a silo approach which had previously often resulted in communities receiving services in a disjointed way. Once armed with a better understanding of local conditions and dynamics COMDEV was in a better position to focus its efforts and resources on addressing root causes rather than attempting to treat their symptoms.

¹² Composite Indicator provides an indication of the socio-economic conditions which prevail within geographic areas and consists of information relating to levels of education, unemployment, labour force that are unskilled and household earnings. There is a direct relationship between high composite values and poor socio-economic conditions.

Table 3.1: SUBURB PROFILE DATA USED TO GAUGE EXISTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

| A Suburb Name | B Census 1996 - Population | | C Male | D Female | E % of Population Less Matric | F Census 1996 - Socio-Economic | | | H % Labour Force Unskilled | I Composite | J Crime Rate 1996 | | |
|-------------------------------|--|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|--|-------------------------------|----------------|
| | B Population | C Male | | | | D Female | E % of Population Less Matric | F % of Population Unemployed | | | G % Household Earnings < R12 000 pa | H % Labour Force Unskilled | I Composite |
| Browns Farm | 44,404 | 21,923 | 22,481 | 89.63 | 42.84 | 61.77 | 49.97 | 61.05 | | | | | |
| Crossroads | 24,833 | 12,425 | 12,408 | 83.10 | 52.35 | 68.92 | 44.10 | 62.12 | 5,513 | 7,430 | 3,222 | | |
| Facreton | 12,277 | 5,793 | 6,484 | 85.23 | 19.28 | 22.21 | 21.63 | 37.09 | 5,637 | 5,050 | 668 | | |
| Gugulethu | 79,162 | 38,233 | 40,929 | 89.54 | 50.40 | 67.89 | 47.90 | 63.93 | 2,193 | 2,904 | 736 | | |
| Hanover Park | 29,646 | 14,185 | 15,461 | 89.34 | 26.33 | 28.57 | 30.48 | 43.68 | 8,268 | 3,377 | 742 | | |
| Heideveld | 17,388 | 8,155 | 9,233 | 84.59 | 24.70 | 27.77 | 23.42 | 40.12 | 12,842 | 9,961 | 1,950 | | |
| Kewtown | 6,559 | 3,059 | 3,500 | 86.43 | 20.47 | 29.79 | 24.65 | 40.34 | 37,369 | 153 | 13,354 | | |
| Langa | 46,505 | 23,970 | 22,535 | 82.07 | 37.45 | 51.80 | 50.60 | 55.48 | 1,742 | 2,168 | 471 | | |
| Manenberg | 45,086 | 21,137 | 23,949 | 88.16 | 30.17 | 33.27 | 29.72 | 45.33 | 4,953 | 3,842 | 752 | | |
| Mitchells Plain | 111,608 | 52,124 | 59,484 | 92.64 | 35.45 | 36.71 | 29.72 | 48.63 | 9,355 | 5,679 | 952 | | |
| Nyanga | 51,006 | 25,083 | 25,923 | 87.95 | 46.74 | 58.01 | 49.03 | 60.43 | 2,684 | 3,617 | 1,568 | | |
| Philippi | 60,403 | 28,705 | 31,698 | 84.09 | 55.27 | 81.01 | 44.25 | 66.16 | 1,411 | 1,090 | 206 | | |
| Salt River | 6,555 | 2,920 | 3,635 | 60.03 | 12.49 | 26.56 | 12.20 | 27.82 | 69,123 | 14,371 | 2,380 | | |
| Woodstock | 14,496 | 6,943 | 7,553 | 61.86 | 11.55 | 22.83 | 13.57 | 27.45 | 31,257 | 6,498 | 1,076 | | |
| Property Related Crime | Burglary and Attempted: Residential or Business Premises, Shoplifting, Theft of/from motor vehicle, stock theft | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Social Fabric Crime | Assault with intent to inflict Grievous Bodily Harm, Common Assault, Drug Related Crime, Rape and Attempted Rape | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Violent Crime | Murder, Attempted Murder and Robbery with aggravated circumstances | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Source : Statistics South Africa , 1996 Census
 City of Cape Town : Strategic Information Unit : 10 November 2004
 South African Police Services : Crime Statistics

Table 3.2: SUBURB PROFILE DATA USED TO GAUGE EXISTING SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HEALTH CONDITIONS

| Suburb Name | TOP 5 – Causes of Death:2001 | | | | | | Clinic servicing Catchment | Underweight for age under 5 years - new | Severe malnutrition under 5 years - new | Growth faltering / failure under 5 years - new | Diarrhoea under 5 years - new | Case treated as STI - new | Contraceptive user under 18 years | Referred for Termination of Pregnancy | DOTS visit - Facility |
|---------------------|---|---------------|----------|------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Cancerous Disease | Heart Disease | HIV/AIDS | Infectious | Unnatural Causes | Total Deaths in Suburb | | | | | | | | | |
| Browns Farm | 5 | 8 | 27 | 17 | 52 | 109 | Mzomomhle | 112 | 51 | 65 | 329 | 2302 | 7128 | 12 | 31150 |
| Crossroads | 27 | 54 | 77 | 59 | 145 | 362 | Crossroads | 20 | 4 | 19 | 247 | 494 | 4423 | | 11641 |
| Faetreton | 18 | 16 | 3 | 6 | 11 | 54 | Faetreton | 42 | 5 | 23 | 138 | 169 | 172 | 22 | 3861 |
| Gugulethu | 98 | 154 | 150 | 111 | 233 | 746 | Gugulethu | 136 | 48 | 90 | 1212 | 3102 | 13716 | 37 | 53344 |
| Hanover Park | 55 | 70 | 3 | 21 | 55 | 204 | Hanover Park | 26 | 2 | 9 | 342 | 409 | 298 | 58 | 15578 |
| Heideveld | 32 | 39 | 1 | 7 | 19 | 98 | Heideveld | 14 | | 19 | 347 | 186 | 296 | 13 | 5914 |
| Kewtown | 10 | 13 | | 3 | 9 | 35 | Silvertown | 2 | | 2 | 98 | 263 | 365 | 33 | 7748 |
| Langa | 64 | 80 | 116 | 60 | 124 | 444 | Langa | 40 | 35 | 51 | 158 | 354 | 318 | 37 | 2547 |
| Manenberg | 76 | 111 | 38 | 43 | 87 | 355 | Manenberg | 102 | 16 | 145 | 436 | 359 | 305 | 43 | 6420 |
| Mitchells Plain | 1 | 4 | | 2 | 6 | 13 | Mitchells Plain | 91 | 12 | 50 | 314 | 162 | 62 | 1 | 11626 |
| Nyanga | 30 | 44 | 72 | 64 | 125 | 335 | Nyanga CHC | 14 | 9 | 8 | 195 | 761 | 3552 | 24 | 27422 |
| Philippi | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 6 | Mzomomhle | 70 | 4 | 24 | 166 | 320 | 147 | 3 | 4404 |
| Salt River | 5 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 20 | Spencer Road | 29 | | 16 | 49 | 263 | 73 | 18 | 7477 |
| Woodstock | 21 | 36 | 2 | 8 | 15 | 82 | Chapel Street | 15 | 3 | 5 | 42 | 312 | 2100 | 27 | 8758 |
| Top 5 Deaths | Disease/Condition | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unnatural Causes | Assault by firearm, unspecified, sharp object, Exposure to smoke or fire, Motor vehicles accidents, etc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heart Disease | Heart failure, Hypertension, Pulmonary heart and circulatory system, Ischaemic heart disease, etc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cancerous Disease | Malignant of Skin, Bladder, Breast, Cervix Uteri, Kidney, Liver, Colon, Rectum, Anus etc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| HIV/Aids related | HIV/AIDS, Cancer, Chronic and infectious diseases, TB etc | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Infectious | Pulmonary TB, Septicaemia, Intestinal infectious diseases and parasitic | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Source : City of Cape Town : City Health Directorate Health Information System : Death Statistics for 2001 and Routine monthly Reports from Clinics for the period 1 July 2000 to 30 June 2001

3.4 ZONES OF POVERTY (ZOP)

Community Development identified six zones of poverty and social disintegration by mapping indicators on levels of living, crime, health statistics including incidents of teenage pregnancies, unemployment and income indices, education levels, NGO and CBO interventions and the extent of municipal services and facilities. An audit of service levels that was undertaken in 1997, the findings of which were published in 1998 was used to identify two significant informants which gave give definition to the ZOP, namely the measures of equity and social poverty.

Equity was measured in respect of the access to municipal services and facilities in relation to other suburbs in the City. An area-based survey was conducted of municipal infrastructure and services such as clinics, fire and rescue services, law enforcement agencies, sanitation and stormwater services, levels of water supply and the scale and quality of the road network.

Development was understood as redressing inequalities in infrastructure and services across the city to alleviate poverty. Social poverty included measuring the poverty of families in relation to Poverty Datum Line (PDL), incidents of crime, teenage pregnancy, unemployment levels and levels of education. It was recognised that each ZOP consisted of a different set of characteristics which resulted in zones not being homogenous. Zones therefore needed to be serviced differently to cater for each of their unique needs and conditions.

The following areas were identified as zones of poverty:-

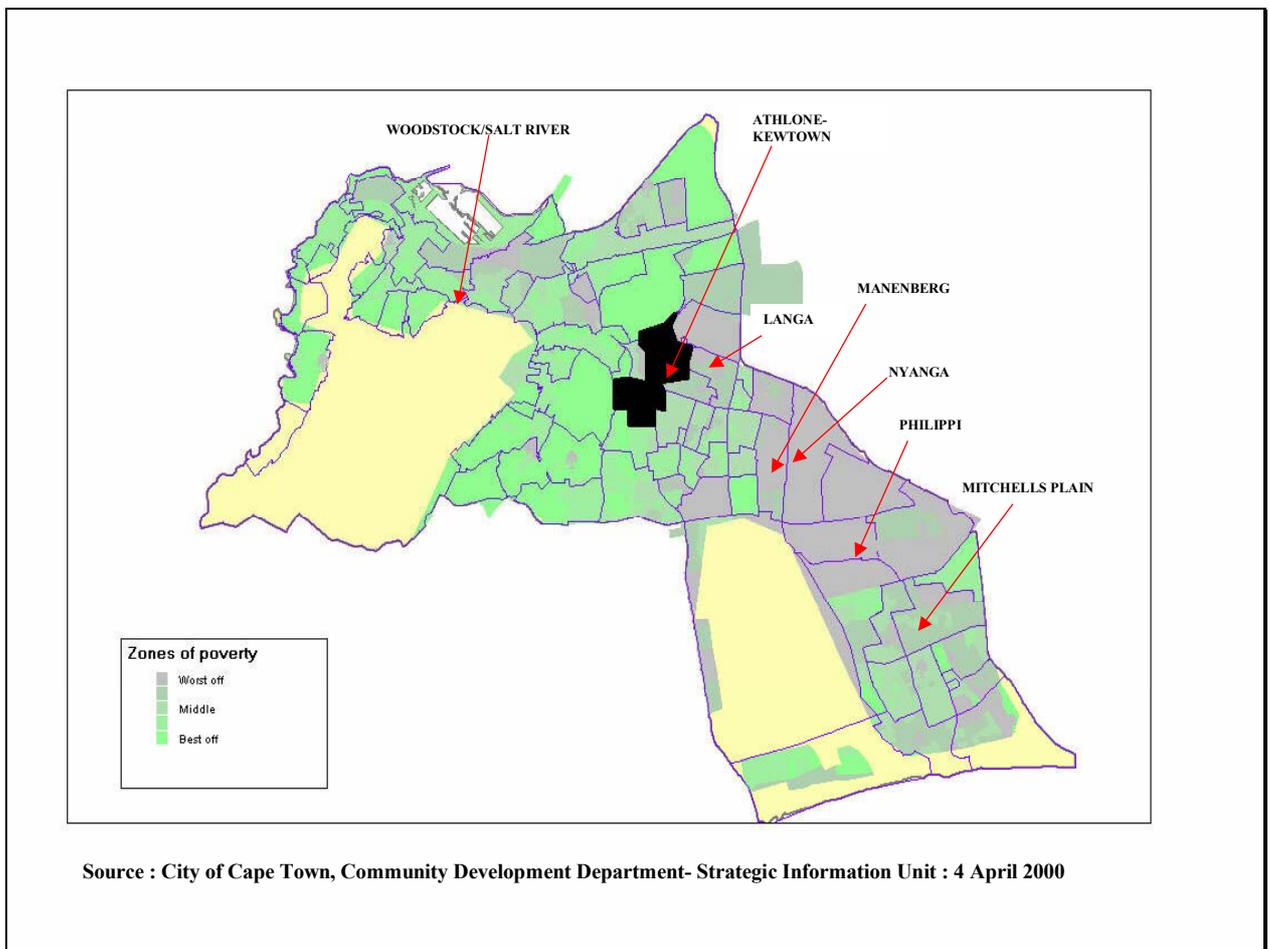
- The Integrated Serviced Land Programme¹³ (iSLP) area - including Philippi, Crossroads, Nyanga and Browns Farm
- Manenberg zone - including Guguletu, Hanover Park and Heideveld
- Langa

¹³ The iSLP (Integrated Serviced Land Project) is a R1.4 billion development project primarily aimed at addressing the socio-economic needs of 40,000 families living in informal settlements in and around Cape Town. The project is unique in that it serves these communities in an integrated fashion by providing for their housing, education, health, community, economic and human development needs in a coordinated way (iSLP : 2000. Integrated Serviced Land Project: A Special Integrated Presidential Project. <http://www.islp.org.za/default.htm> [Date of access: 5 Nov.04]

- Kewtown
- Woodstock/Salt River - including Factreton
- Mitchells Plain

The location of these areas are shown in **Figure 3.1**. indicates the geographic location of the zones of poverty within the City of Cape Town. Colour coding ranging from dark green which represents areas that were considered to be best off to light green which represents areas that considered to be middle class areas to the worst off areas which are colour coded as grey. COMDEV used its Capital Budget as an instrument to improve the inequitable position which existed in respect of access of marginalized communities to municipal facilities.

Figure 3.1 : Zones of Poverty within the City of Cape Town



Manenberg was identified as a ZOP which was considered to be worse off in relation to other areas in terms of poverty and *dysfunctionality*.

Table 3.2 : CAPITAL BUDGET EXPENDITURE WITHIN ZONES OF POVERTY (1997/98 – 2000/2001)

| 1997/98 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area within Zone of Poverty |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 4,347,575 | 9,3 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 5,283,400 | 11,3 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 5,393,915 | 11,5 | Langa |
| 2,740,662 | 5,9 | Mitchells Plain |
| 9,439,369 | 20,2 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 3,036,066 | 6,5 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 30,240,987 | 64,7 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| 1998/99 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area within Zone of Poverty |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 4,975,719 | 9,2 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 9,694,452 | 17,9 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 6,773,505 | 12,5 | Langa |
| 7,536,890 | 13,9 | Mitchells Plain |
| 2,759,839 | 5,1 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 4,168,969 | 7,7 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 35,909,374 | 66,3 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| 1999/2000 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 34,320,430 | 15,6 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 7,679,682 | 5,7 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 15,013,837 | 11,2 | Langa |
| 13,472,290 | 10,0 | Mitchells Plain |
| 1,905,400 | 1,4 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 6,532,500 | 4,9 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 78,924,139 | 48,8 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| 2000/2001 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 36,130,000 | 24,1 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 8,183,250 | 5,5 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 10,502,450 | 7,0 | Langa |
| 10,151,000 | 6,8 | Mitchells Plain |
| 2,303,000 | 1,5 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 3,348,510 | 2,2 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 70,618,210 | 47,1 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| 2001/2002 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 6,766,210 | 8,0 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 3,044,700 | 3,5 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 278,145 | 0,3 | Langa |
| 5,567,040 | 6,6 | Mitchells Plain |
| 163,960 | 0,2 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 2,116,360 | 2,6 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 17,936,415 | 21,2 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| 2002/2003 Amount Spent R | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|--------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 5,849,430 | 9,3 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| 7,747,175 | 12,3 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| 1,902,320 | 3,0 | Langa |
| 2,941,000 | 4,7 | Mitchells Plain |
| 174,615 | 0,3 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| 64,000 | 0,2 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| 18,678,540 | 29,8 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

Table 3.2 indicates expenditure that was undertaken for the exclusive benefit of ZOP.

COMDEV developed an overall framework for addressing zones of poverty in the City which contextualised poverty in terms of Income from earnings, subsidies and welfare grants; Basic needs being met; Social exclusion meaning exclusion of groups through cultural or political norms; and **livelihood strategies**¹⁴ meaning what the poor do to meet their daily needs.

It's approach to addressing ZOP included;

- The establishment of a knowledge base and analysis of local problems,
- Review of existing initiatives that support the poor,
- The allocation of municipal resources in the form of capital and operating budget allocations to enable targeted interventions aimed at meeting the needs of particular zones.
- Initiate new target strategies to complement existing activity
- Establish political will to drive the approach
- Short term strategies aimed at ensuring service delivery and obtaining an informed understanding of prevailing conditions and dynamics at local area level,
- Medium term strategies aimed at restoring confidence and governance whilst also ensuring the proper alignment of resources earmarked for the area.
- Longer term strategies aimed at bringing about urban regeneration.

¹⁴ According to Parnell and Pieterse (1999: 15), livelihood strategies refer to "the social and cultural responses through which the poor help themselves and support associational network activities".

The recognition that previous interventions of this nature were rendered ineffective by the absence of a clear strategy prompted COMDEV to advocate a new approach which called for the provision of a framework for an urban regeneration programme aimed at the Zones of Poverty. In its report to the Council's Executive Committee dated 24 October 2000 it recommended that a framework be established which would provide the context for Urban regeneration, provide definitions and common understanding of the problems to be addressed in a coordinated manner, the principles that would guide urban regeneration programmes, a methodology for strategic interventions and objectives which will ensure the desired outputs and outcomes. This approach was later used in the development of the City's urban regeneration framework.

3.5 THE NOTION OF DEVELOPMENT INFORMED BY THE WHITE PAPER ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT



It appears that the notion of 'development' is haunted by a certain imprecision concerning the citizen. Residents are deemed to be citizens to the extent that they are able to exercise their rights to a sustainable livelihood. However such a definition betrays the ethical imaginary that it presumes. The citizen is a moral-ethical figure, that citizenship implies a certain norm of social conduct, and, therefore, implies a certain *good* way of living together *in community*. The development of the citizen means, therefore, capturing and holding residents in relations deemed conducive to *ethical* conduct so that they may live '*properly*'. If development means assisting residents to meet their needs in a sustainable manner, then the development of the citizen means assisting residents to reproduce themselves *morally*. Development, therefore, is not simply about meeting the needs of citizens. It is about capturing residents to a life-aesthetic defined by the state so that they can be citizens. It is about helping people to become *ethical* beings and holding people in relations that make them governable. If the development of the citizen implies an

ethical norm, then development is about assisting residents meet their needs in a *good* way, an *honest* way, a *moral* way. It can be said that producing *good* ways to meet their needs is a fundamental condition of the citizen. Shifts in the domestic economy towards sectors requiring skilled, educated labour mean that for millions of South Africans, economic and social survival is increasingly dependant on the informal sector.

In the South African context, 'Informal Sector' is somewhat of a misnomer and covers a certain domain of economic activities which include for example in Manenberg the acquisition and sale of hard drugs but in areas elsewhere in South Africa could mean street vending or begging. It refers increasingly to a domain of activities barely or not at all regulated by the state. They are regarded as informal, nonetheless, because their actions are either illegal which could involve robbery or drugs or prostitution or not formally registered. This implies therefore that growth in the capitalist economy is not simply growth in the formal sector and that the capitalist economy is supported by a range of practices and institutions only some of which may be thought of as 'virtuous' from the point of view of the state. We can say, therefore, that the accomplice of the crisis in the formal economy and the growth of the informal economy is the social and economic sustainability of associations, gangs, syndicates, family types, not all of which are conducive to *citizenship*. They are not conducive, that is, to the production of *moral* beings of the type needed by the national state.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a developmental model designed to initiate economic growth according to political as opposed to simply economic criteria. Not trusting the market to do anything other than reproduce racial inequality, the RDP was intended to encourage economic growth through 'meeting the needs' of the (mostly African) poor. However the RDP erred in assuming that such needs were mostly known in advance. In that

South Africans were already *ethical* citizens. Development is not simply about ensuring that citizens meet their needs sustainably, but is about developing communities to be moral and ethical citizens.

In COMDEV's interpretation of 'dysfunctionality' a host of social pathologies were derived from the disintegration of the *nuclear* family. This is in agreement with a vast theoretical and sociological literature on the importance of such families for the integrity of the *nation state*¹⁵. The production of ethical citizens depends as much on the insertion and holding of residents in certain types of family structures as it does on capturing them to the school system. This is not simply important for the *content* of the education they receive as much as it is for the relations of discipline and authority to which pupils are subjected. Community Development aspired to change the entrenched social and economic trends which had resulted in the steady deterioration of the social fabric of a number of suburbs. The White Paper's position on citizen and developmental local government served as a significant influence to the department's approach.

COMDEV intended to transform dysfunctional communities by developing residents into citizens who were able to exercise their rights and accept their responsibilities to achieving sustainable livelihoods without recourse to immoral or illegal activities. It regarded the ideal citizen to be a moral-ethical figure with a certain norm of social conduct and, therefore requires a certain *good way* of living together *in a community*. The development of the 'citizen' means, therefore, capturing and holding residents in relations deemed conducive to *ethical* conduct so that they may live '*properly*'.

¹⁵ Althusser, (1997) 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (notes towards an investigation)' in *Mapping Ideology* (ed. Slavoj Zizek). Verso : London and New York. See also Donzelot, Jacques (1980) *Policing of Families*. London: Hutchinson.

Development, therefore, is not simply limited to meeting the needs of citizens but includes transforming residents into *ethical*, law abiding beings who are governable. This is no easy task as the shifts in the domestic economy towards sectors requiring skilled, educated labour had found many such communities wanting. Their options for survival were extremely limited and eventually over a period of time they came to rely on the informal sector for their livelihoods. The growth of the informal economy could also signify growth in the activities of gangs and syndicates and their activities - which are not conducive to good *citizenship*.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a developmental model designed to initiate economic growth according to political as opposed to simply economic criteria.

The six basic principles of the RDP provide an insight into the political and economic philosophy which were “based on the people that provides peace and security for all and builds the nation, links reconstruction and development and deepens democracy”.¹⁶ These principles together with the key programmes illustrate that the RDP was intended to encourage economic growth through ‘meeting the needs’ of the poor. There is no mention of the social and moral poverty which existed at the time in many of the poor communities such as Manenberg. This oversight suggests that the African National Congress (ANC) and its Alliance partners assumed that South Africans were already *ethical* citizens. Development is not simply about ensuring that citizens meet their needs sustainably, but is about developing communities to be moral and ethical citizens.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In summary this chapter describes how the City and its department of Community Development identified the socio-economic conditions of communities through the

¹⁶ *The Reconstruction and Development Programme*, published by the African National Congress, Johannesburg, p7

compilation of suburb profiles which were supplemented by a political process of community engagement aimed at obtaining insight into the needs and wishes of communities. Flowing from the knowledge and insight gained from the aforementioned instruments it was in a position to test the philosophies concerning development by using information regarding the conditions and needs of local communities which were obtained during the “100 Day Programme”, Suburb Profiles and the equity and social poverty issues which prevailed within neglected and run-down suburbs. These suburbs were geographically grouped to form zones of poverty which were targeted specific interventions aimed at addressing the poor socio-economic conditions.

The capital budget was used as an instrument to provide community facilities such as libraries and community halls in the zones of poverty in order to provide equitable access to Council facilities and services. The construction of facilities in the zones of poverty served to provide the foundation from which programmes targeted at the developmental needs of the communities in the zones of poverty.



The instruments discussed in this chapter became integral parts of the overall broad approach take by COMDEV with regards to implementing its approach to development.

The next chapter deals with the broad approach that COMDEV took towards meeting its mandate to improving the quality of life of communities across the city.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT'S STRATEGIC APPROACH

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the broad approach adopted by COMDEV in support of its developmental vision.

4.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT'S VISION

“ To create an enabling environment for the management of the delivery of essential social development services (Health, Housing and Community Services) that stimulates the re-building of communities”.



Core Business Statement of the Community Development Department¹⁷.

4.3 TRANSFORMATION OF DYSFUNCTIONAL COMMUNITIES

COMDEV identified degrees of ‘dysfunctionality’ through a range of social conditions/symptoms which included the state of mind in a community. The complex relationship between symptoms (such as family violence and alcoholism) and root causes (such as unemployment and poor skills levels) of dysfunctionality presented COMDEV with a strategic choice between two options, namely to target symptoms or causes as being the most effective developmental strategy. Depending upon the position taken the interventions would be very different, for example treating alcoholism is not the same as consolidating nuclear families or improving levels of employment or reducing social passivity.

¹⁷ Community Development's Core Business Statement was published in the July 1997 publication of the City's official communications publication entitled “Commitment to Cape Town”.

These choices are further complicated by questions such as, if alcoholism and crime are symptoms, what are they symptoms of? If trauma is a symptom of violence and violence a symptom of gang wars, are the gangs themselves not a symptom of something as well?

When interviewing Dr. Ivan Toms he suggested the possible existence of a relationship between the growing culture of gangsterism and low self-esteem, which points to the possible existence of a further level to the hierarchy of cause and effect. Dealing with ‘dysfunctionality issues’ is complex in itself as it’s nature is not the same in all communities. This makes it difficult to devise interventions that are most effective in transforming communities into becoming ‘*functional*’ again. Communities where there are high levels of public participation in ‘community’ events and processes, where residents are well and democratically organised, where people are employed, where there is little or no crime, where families are stable, where attendance at school is high, where people are in a position to participate in the formal economy and where they are mentally and physically healthy – are considered to be “*functional*”. Adopting the right strategy to achieve this is critically important - despite the lack of resolution about what an appropriate ‘treatment’ would be (using the word treatment as a metaphor for the term ‘dysfunctional’).

An unpublished document entitled “15-20 years” produced in 1999 by the Development Strategy Group within COMDEV constructs an implicit hypothesis according to which the various elements mentioned above are weighted and positioned in a hierarchy of cause and affect. Regarding what it discusses under the heading “Poverty and the Economy” the report notes the following:

“There will be increased levels of poverty (currently 30% of the population is under the PDL [Poverty Datum Level] and 20% just above), and it will manifest itself as predominantly African and Coloured. There will be an increased disparity in income levels. There will be increased dependency on the informal economy for survival as a decline in the formal economy occurs. The nature and lack of skills of the poor will

not allow them access to the growth sectors, tourism, the new creative industries or the significantly important knowledge and information based industries. This will impact on levels of crime and social dysfunctionality in the worst neighbourhoods of poverty. Aids¹⁸ will impact on birth rates and the economically active groups (35 – 45 age group) and will result in larger numbers of orphans and the absence of an older generation to steer youth into adulthood, resulting in very weak social structures”.

At the time the community of Manenberg appeared to be ‘dysfunctional’ because nuclear families were disintegrating and seemed incapable of helping their youth into adulthood. The youth were left without proper guidance and came to attach little importance to education and to the acquisition of the skills necessary to participate in the formal economy. This attitude compounds the dependency of residents on the informal economy which is increasingly characterised by criminal activities.

The symptoms of suburbs captured in a downward spiral leading to dysfunctionality are manifested through high levels of violence, high levels of stress and violence induced trauma and sexual practices that encourage teenage pregnancy and HIV¹⁹/Aids.

It follows, therefore, that ‘treating’ dysfunctionality to make possible *appropriate* sustainable development is a question, not simply of trauma counselling or better policing and so on, but of measures that a) build and/or consolidate the integrity of nuclear families in the face of growing formal unemployment and b) provide youth in unstable families with social outlets other than gangs. It is this hypothesis that is manifested in COMDEV’s approach.

¹⁸ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome is a medical condition whereby the human body’s immune system is weakened by a virus (HIV) to the extent that it no longer can defend itself against ordinary infections. There is no known cure for AIDS. UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000*

¹⁹ Human immuno-deficiency virus is the virus that attacks the immune system which leads to the development of AIDS. UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000*

4.4 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT'S STRATEGIC APPROACH

The department embarked on six strategies in support of its Vision as stated in its Core Business Statement. These strategies involved the use of its directorates as drivers of transformation and levers from which opportunities could be created for marginalized communities to alleviate poverty and mitigate dysfunctionality.

Its strategic approach was to;

4.4.1 ESTABLISH HEALTH AS A BASIS FOR THE CITY'S DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH

The fact that a substantial portion of Cape Town's residents are poor together with the existence of clear links between poverty and a range of symptomatic conditions of ill health – prompted COMDEV to use Health as a basis for its developmental approach.

Health, through its intensive health campaign which is run by its *primary health care* services was regarded as an appropriate strategic driver in this regard. The emphasis, is not on the establishment of a medical infrastructure to treat various ailments and pathologies (tuberculosis, HIV, medical problems arising from alcoholism and so on) but to treat the *conditions* of these illnesses. COMDEV established a relational link between many of these problems with the disintegration of the family and set about addressing the causes of such family disintegration whilst also treating actual illnesses so that residents can return to their families as healthy and functional members.

Statistics relating to causes of death and medical treatment provided at the City's health clinics are captured in the Health directorate's information system. Information relating to amongst others, infant mortality rate, causes of death, teenage pregnancy, severe malnutrition, sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS and TB provide useful

indicators of poverty and socio-economic conditions within communities. The City was able to gauge socio-economic conditions across its suburbs through a suburb profiling mechanism which consisted of information from the health information system, socio-economic information from the 1996 Census and the crime statistics from the South African Police Services. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 illustrates how the different sources of information were used to compile suburb profiles.

4.4.2 ESTABLISH HOUSING AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC DRIVER

This strategy revolved around the accessing of national subsidies would be used to provide housing. The view was held that the establishment of new housing would bring with it a variety of benefits as it brings resources into the city; stimulates the local economy; increases the rates base; stabilises the City politically by delivering on the most articulated need; and provides shelter with secure tenure to the most vulnerable sector. The City's housing policy includes informal settlement upgrading, integrated serviced land programme, hostels upgrading initiatives, and improving the management of council owned rental housing.

COMDEV was instrumental in establishing the *savings-led*²⁰ Cape Town Housing Company which would act as a housing developer and speed up the delivery of public housing. Through making housing subsidies available to families and through construction of housing on a large scale, the department foresaw that the release of public funds would create employment for local community members who had basic

²⁰ This approach was developed by COMDEV and required prospective beneficiaries of government subsidized low-income housing schemes to join a waiting list whilst contributing to a savings scheme. The proceeds of these savings are combined with a contribution from the City which provides participants access to micro-credit by using the beneficiary savings as security. The amount of the loan taken by the beneficiary determines the size of the dwelling constructed. To ensure payment, title of the property to the beneficiary takes place after four years of occupancy. This arrangement was considered necessary to cultivate a culture of payment to overcome the historic problem of non-payment of rent, rates and service charges.

levels of skills. Employment of local communities would be fashioned along similar lines as a public works programme. It was envisaged that the creation of jobs in this sector would serve as a mechanism which would enable the family units to be consolidated as the household head would be in a position to take control of the family without having to depend on alternative livelihoods.

The granting of housing subsidies to beneficiaries, many of whom were parents was also regarded as a reinforcement of initiatives aimed at reestablishing parental authority over family units. Once granted ownership of housing units, families tend to take more responsibility and pride for the maintenance and standard of their homes and immediate environment. It was envisaged that over time this would contribute towards the establishment of market related property values as the areas improved which would stimulate new housing market economies being formed. Longer term outcomes would include families accepting greater responsibilities for their environments which includes public and social spaces and to prevent or reduce crime and gang-activities.

4.4.3 ESTABLISH COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND PROGRAMMES TO FURTHER THE AIMS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL COHESION

Enabling residents, especially the youth to sustain themselves through other means would contribute to reestablishing the integrity of the nuclear household. Life skills, communication and problem solving skills, leadership and mentoring programmes were considered as important ingredients towards meeting the need for social development and cohesion.

The Community Services directorate was required to contribute to the overall developmental strategy through the use of its facilities such as libraries, community halls and sports fields to meet the social and recreational needs of communities. It promoted the achievement of social cohesion²¹ and values such as tolerance and fair-play through activities that enabled residents to play, learn and socialize. Integrated programmes attempted to capitalise on synergies produced through the assembly of contributions from elements such as sport and recreation, health, arts and culture and education through libraries. These services were described by the Acting Director of Community Services as “frontline direct community services”. The key component of creating conditions for communities to function in a cohesive, resilient and self reliant manner is the provision of a comprehensive range of services which are informed by their priorities and needs.



The Community Services directorate has a strong relationship with the directorates of Housing and Health. In the words of the Acting Director “we add value and bring another dimension to the work of the department. Through our projects and programmes in the education (libraries), arts and culture, sport and recreation and the provision of social amenities, we enable a broader approach to community development- promoting social cohesion and integration. The delivery of community services has been strengthened by having the relationship with Health and Housing. We have also begun to build, at least theoretically understanding the relationship between health information obtained from the City’s health information system and the work of housing. We have therefore worked to redirect the capital budget

²¹ UNDP (2000) *Transformation for Human Development 2000* defines social cohesion as “the extent to which a group of people share certain fundamental values around which they mobilise each other and strengthen the group.”

programme of the Community Development department to enable better synergies between community services – and our goals of promoting social cohesion and integration – and the objectives of the health and housing programmes. This improves the effectiveness of our interventions and improves the health and well being of the community.”²²

COMDEV’s long term vision was to expand the role of libraries from simply being places of reading and learning to become places where young men and women can acquire information-based skills through access to computers and the internet. This would help to accelerate resident’s transition into the information age thereby improving their access to opportunities in the formal economy.

4.4.4 FOCUS ON MEETING EQUITY AND REDISTRIBUTION NEEDS OF COMMUNITIES THROUGH SERVICE DELIVERY ALIGNMENT

COMDEV set out to consolidate attempts across its directorates aimed at dealing with inequitable levels of service across the City’s suburbs. This approach required the Capital Budgets of all directorates to be aligned towards meeting the needs of poor communities. It planned to redirect the directorates Operating Budgets and human resources to follow the direction set by the realignment of Capital Budgets towards the poor areas. This would ensure that newly constructed or upgraded facilities would receive sufficient staff and associated operating budgets to enable them to become operational and surrounding communities with an equitable level of services. Realignment of budgets was considered to be essential to ensure that facilities were properly resourced for use as launching pads of developmental initiatives.

²² Interview – Delicia Forbes – Acting Director : Community Services, Community Development, Civic Centre : Cape Town, 1/11/2000

The Housing delivery programme would need to be supported by the provision of adequate community facilities which would serve as centres from which community building and empowerment interventions would be run. Community Centres in areas where Council had rental housing stock would be used to host drives which aimed to popularise and explain the City's Housing Policy. Governance in line with "Fairness in Housing Principles" required community members, local officials, local organizations and politicians to have a proper understanding of the City's role with regards to housing.

The Housing directorate's role was centered on the desire to enhance socio-economic conditions of the previously disadvantaged communities of Cape Town through;

- the provision of new low-income housing opportunities to the poorer citizens of the City,
- the effective administration of existing City low-income housing rental stock,
- the generation of various housing and ownership options in respect of social housing initiatives.²³



4.4.5 PROVISION OF A "CORE PACKAGE OF SERVICES"

It is important for city management to understand and take into account local contexts, local specifications and the manner in which people organise their own lives. The tendency to respond to poverty at the level of a city-wide strategy often proves to be too broad and does not accommodate specific needs and conditions at local level. This is referred to as the "shotgun" approach and leads to the wastage of scarce resources which could be put to better use in meeting the specific needs of targeted geographic

²³ Powerpoint presentation on the Performance Review of the Department of Community Development for the Period 1997-2000 (refer Vommunity Development Committee Workshop 7 December 2000, Newlands Conference Centre)

locations. The delivery of the appropriate “package” of services required insight into the dynamics at play within individual suburbs, which for example could provide a better understanding of issues and relationships that trap certain households in poverty and crime. The department recognized the need to establish a knowledge management capacity which would gather and analyse information regarding community needs.

Area-based management systems were considered as integral to the gathering and analysis of information concerning community needs and determining the appropriate range of services known as a *core package of services* which are custom designed to meet specific needs of specific areas based on the availability of resources. Their role in coordinating service delivery across the different service delivery silos is essential to avoid servicing of communities in a disjointed manner. Area-based management draws from a long-standing practice amongst health practitioners who used the Health Forums to ascertain the local health needs. Health Forums gauged the state of community *healthiness*, by the levels of infant mortality, communicable diseases, teenage pregnancies. Their approach did not solely rely on the provision of more clinics, doctors and/or nurses in an area as they are conceived as nothing more than *means*, rather than *products*. The provision of more clinics and nurses are not automatically the solution. Through the Health Forum, nurses were dispatched to schools and crèches to warn of the dangers of TB, to encourage those already infected to stick to their prescriptions, religious ministers were encouraged to discuss these issues from the pulpit and school principals were asked to raise these matters at assemblies.

4.4.6 CREATING INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR LONG TERM DEVELOPMENT

COMDEV sought to use its Capital Budget totaling R154million²⁴ and Operating budget of R423million²⁵ as instruments to create the mechanisms for the delivery of initiatives which would have long term outcomes. The establishment of Public Private Partnerships would create additional mechanisms which would contribute to the establishment of interventions that were sustainable.

The establishment of local area-coordinating teams (ACTs) was considered central to the success of this approach. Within the ACTs, the local organizations such as NGOs, CBOs and religious organizations play a significant enabling role as they possess local knowledge, local legitimacy and credibility that best positions them to play an important role as mediators between the city and civil society. They are regarded as the advocates of local community interests and their institutional capacity best suits them to undertake initiatives at local community level. COMDEV's vision was to facilitate the establishment and development of ACTs which could later become forums where local conflicts are mediated. They could later act as unifiers of skills, local knowledge and capacities communities progressed towards becoming resilient and self-reliant.

4.4.6.1 AREA-COORDINATING TEAMS (ACTs)

Area-Coordinating Teams (ACT's) are information-gathering teams, comprising participants from diverse sectors (religious, economic, social), to assemble data on local conditions, to analyse it and to propose appropriate strategic interventions. COMDEV

²⁴ The 1999/2000 Capital Budget allocated to the Community Development Department includes R65,018,927 for the Housing Directorate with the balance allocated to the directorates of Health and Community Services.

²⁵ Table 2.1 in Chapter 2 of this study provides a detailed breakdown of this amount.

sought to implement this model so that it could serve as a vehicle for the co-determination of local needs and priorities of local communities. The intention was to use this vehicle as the chief informant to content of the Core Package of Services. ACT's were also to serve as forums which would assist COMDEV to establish governance based on the public will.

The role of ACT's would differ from area to area to accommodate specific needs and prevailing conditions. This is especially true in respect of the Manenberg ACT where it was required to propose measures to deal with the causes of community 'dysfunctionality'. Key constraints to meeting social and economic needs of communities would influence the role of different ACTs. For example areas such as Guguletu, where social organisation is less mediated by gangs, where *extended* families are preeminent, where there is no history of social welfare and the obstacles to sustainability may be quite different. It would therefore not be necessary to enable the social and economic reproduction of nuclear families but rather that of extended households.

Although ACT's have no decision making powers, they serve a significantly important purpose through their generic roles which are;

- improve the flow of communication and information between the community and the city's officials and politicians,
- co-ordinate services across departmental silos in a specific area,
- develop area integrated development plans,
- monitor and coordinate implementation of local projects,
- develop area specific public-private and public-community partnerships,

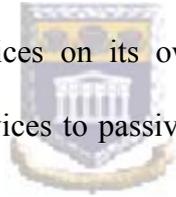
- facilitate community empowerment through providing communities exposure to activities such as decentralized problem solving.²⁶

4.4.7 CREATING ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS

Cohesive and self-reliant communities have a better chance of coping with the impacts of poverty. The building of human capacity is an essential part of assisting communities to change negative trends related to poverty together with provision of access to essential basic services and opportunities. Cohesive and Self Reliant Communities come about as a result of a conscious pro-active approach that promotes;

- Active participation of beneficiaries and their organizations,
- Capacity building programmes which are relevant and sustainable,
- The creation of enabling environment.

The provision of basic municipal services on its own does not bring about self-reliant communities. The mere rendering of services to passive recipients create dependency that is counter productive to sustainability ethos.



Active participation from communities requires their involvement on local and neighbourhood issues in a manner which enables residents to efficiently act together in the pursuit of their collective needs. COMDEV's approach to developing communities included initiatives aimed at acceptance of cultural diversity, building strong family and broader societal networks and encouraging active community participation.

²⁶ Report to EMT, 2000: **Status Report on Area Co-ordinating Teams**, compiled by D.Galant, Manager of the Development Facilitation Unit, Community Development, 17 May

4.4.8 TARGETED PROGRAMMES

Custom designed programmes to address particular community needs targeted at specific communities would replace previous ‘broad brush’ approaches.

Programmes would be aimed at particular target groups especially the youth and dysfunctional families and would consist of particular themes such as substance abuse, domestic violence and HIV/AIDS.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The broad approach and strategies of COMDEV appear to be in sync with the requirements of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government. The department’s strategies to deal with development and dysfunctional communities were strengthened by the introduction of ACTs which were designed to increase the levels of public participation, improve levels of integrated services delivery and coordination and to improve levels of accountability to local residents.

The next Chapter briefly deals with the conditions in Manenberg which was used as a testing ground for COMDEV ‘hypotheses’ on development.



CHAPTER 5

DEVELOPMENTAL CHALLENGES FACED IN MANENBERG

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter provides a **glimpse** into the social conditions which existed in Manenberg and touches on the COMDEV's response which was informed by its broader approach to development and meeting the needs of dysfunctional communities. The suburb of Manenberg serves as a good example of the types of social conditions which existed in a number of neglected suburbs across the city which were in need of developmental interventions aimed at transforming them into functional communities.

In COMDEV's interpretation of 'dysfunctionality' a number of social conditions/symptoms (including a state of mind in a community) such as crime, gang activities, violence and trauma, tuberculosis, alcoholism, substance abuse, teenage pregnancies were derived from the disintegration of the *nuclear* family. Functional family structures reinforced by a well structured school system in which the content of education and proper discipline and authority is reinforced are fundamental essential ingredients for the production of ethical citizens. This is confirmed through an interview with Dr. Ivan Toms²⁷, COMDEV's Director of Health who mentioned high levels of gang violence, the prevalence of teenage pregnancies, the low levels of education, domestic violence, tuberculosis, poor community organisation and the presence of street children - all of which are indicators of a dysfunctional community.

²⁷ Interview with Dr Ivan Toms, Director of Health, City of Cape Town, Civic Centre : Cape Town, 21/8/2000

In an interview with Desire Galant²⁸, the Manager of the Development Facilitation Unit (DFU) she argues that passivity of households contribute to an overall lack of community cohesion which reduces their ability to counter deteriorating social conditions. She sites the perceived degree of “passivity” of Manenberg households in the face of growing poverty as such an example which saw many households become increasingly more reliant upon welfare grants during the apartheid-era. This reduced their need to “come together” to sustain themselves financially.

At the time the suburb of Manenberg displayed symptoms of ‘dysfunctionality’ because nuclear families were disintegrating and seemed incapable of helping their youth into adulthood. Subsequently the City included Manenberg as one of its seven Zones of Poverty requiring developmental interventions which focused on "community", citizenship and governance and the practice of engagement.



5.2 HISTORY OF MANENBERG

The clothing, textiles and leather sectors which formed a significant part of the Cape Town region’s economy had over a number of years come to rely on female labour many of whom were drawn from Manenberg. These working class women had over time assumed powerful economic positions as breadwinners of households while the men were mostly confined to casual labour in the docks or in the construction industry. This status gave them significant social power as they were able to mediate access to jobs through a process referred to as ‘*ingebring*’. Manenberg township society recognized them as mothers (“die moeders”) who brought moral meaning to its residents as they provided the township with a form of social

²⁸ Interview with Desire Galant, Manager of the Development Facilitation Unit, Civic Centre : Cape Town, 22/8/2000.

parenting of the wider community. This “social order” saw women gaining social standing and authority within their families and the community. This period also brought with it early signs of family dysfunctionality caused through the economic marginality of many Coloured men which manifest itself through incidence of alcoholism and family violence. The strong influence of the “moeders” continued until the 1990’s when large scale job losses in the garment industry resulted in their loss of social standing in the community. This was followed by a period of steady decline of traditional family structures as an ever increasing number of households struggled to sustain themselves *respectably*. The declining economic status of this grouping of women created the conditions for a shift in the ‘moral-economy’ of the suburb as gangs gained increased influence over the social and economic conditions. Households struggled to sustain themselves *respectably* through *virtuous* activities and an increasing number of households came to rely on that part of the informal economy which evolves around illegal activities which are mediated by gangs.²⁹



5.3 PROFILE OF MANENBERG

The Mail and Guardian³⁰ published an article on the youth in Manenberg in which it reported that in 1997 approximately 45 gangs were active in the Manenberg area. Their activities within the suburb included dealings in drugs, alcohol, stolen goods and prostitution. This often resulted in turf wars which influenced the movement and manner in which residents lived from day to day. Their operations also extended beyond the suburb boundaries and in some instances included involvement with international crime syndicates and drug racketeering. The youth observed how gangsters were living opulent lifestyles in the midst of poverty and over time they came to regard gang membership as a means of obtaining status.

²⁹ Browne, J. 2000. A Social History of Manenberg. November. Cape Town : Isandla Institute

³⁰ Mail and Guardian, August 2, 1997. <http://www.mg.co.za/mg/news/97aug2/19aug-children1.html>

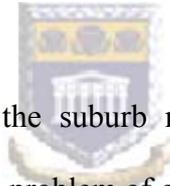
The perceived sense of recognition, protection and stability which gangs provided was preferred over their own dysfunctional families.

To release the stranglehold that gangs had over life in Manenberg required interventions that would empower households to sustain themselves without succumbing to reliance on gangs to meet their livelihood needs. This included the rebuilding of social networks which enhance individual welfare and security and block the ability of gangs to determine who is excluded from and who is included in daily livelihood activities.

The "culture of silence" within the community about the atrocities committed by the gangs posed a significant hurdle to breaking their grip over the community. This is confirmed by a number of Manenberg residents and Councillor Faldiel de Vries when they were interviewed about the conditions which existed in Manenberg prior to 1997. According to resident and local activist, Owen Munro, "people withdrew into themselves and preferred to ensure their circumstances for fear of their own safety".³¹ Another resident, Galiema Isaacs remembers that the majority of people in Manenberg had given up hope of ever improving the conditions in which they seemed trapped in. "They accepted that this was their lot in life" When asked about trauma and stress suffered by the community, the majority of interviewees all interviewees were of the opinion that they did not realise at the time that they were traumatised as they had become desensitised to the harsh conditions they lived in. According to Owen Munro, "shortly after the Manenberg People's centre was built and counselling for stress and trauma was made available by the NGO, we refused it because we said that it was a white man's sickness."

³¹ Group Interview with residents of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

School playgrounds were used as throughways or escape routes for gangs in active conflict. Sports grounds became the battle grounds of gangs, the library became the space for refuge from the gangs. The schools became recruiting arenas for gangs, which led to learners dropping out of school. At the end of 1997, gang activity had increased to the point where the day to day operations of Council were limited and determined by the gangs and their power to either create a safe or dangerous environment for service delivery. The clinic closed, the housing office moved and the library remained after being hardened (bullet-proof windows, reinforced door and locks, appointing part-time security guards) to make it more secure. Residents interviewed at the Manenberg People's Centre remember how those who were employed often elected to stay indoors and keep their children home during the week because of the gang wars over turf. This frequent absenteeism from their places of employment eventually led to them being dismissed.³²



The continued shortage of housing in the suburb resulted in overcrowding. Councillor Faldiela de Vries is of the opinion that the problem of overcrowding existed prior to 1997 and still exists. She blames the overcrowding for “many of the social ills in Manenberg”. She argues that “when two and three households live in the same household it leads to conflict of space³³. This also leads to abuse.” She refers to research conducted by Elaine Salo on the gang relationships, teenage relationships and abuse of girls. “One of the findings is that sub-tenants who are desperate for accommodation are also vulnerable because they cannot get accommodation elsewhere. Their children are often abused sexually and otherwise but they have to keep quiet because they will not be able to find another place to stay and this is a

³² Group interview with residents of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

³³ Space, or spatial aspects of everyday life refers to locational issues relating to access to employment and other social opportunities, it also refers to the poor's exposure to environmental degradation in terms of other green and brown environmental considerations. COMDEV extended previous notions of poverty to include spatial aspects along with social exclusion and livelihood strategies.

major form which the domestic violence takes.”³⁴ The local newspaper, the Cape Times³⁵ reported that up to ten or more people live in one house. The same article reported that the typical Manenberg household that lived in Council housing had a total household income of R440 per month and was in arrears with their rent to the amount of R 6 646.

Many residents lived in backyard shacks as a result of overcrowding which was caused by the unavailability of land for new housing as well as families that extended beyond the 'nuclear' mould. This is confirmed by the 1996 Census information which reflects that a total of 498 backyard shacks were attached to the 1352 houses on separate stands. In other words 36% of these houses accommodated backyard tenants living in backyard shacks. The 1996 Census reveals the following levels of basic municipal services to Manenberg households - 98% of households have electricity; 90% have piped water in their dwellings, 97% have flush or chemical toilets and 93% have access to refuse removal at least once weekly.³⁶



Table 5.1 contains statistics that were sourced from the 1996 Census information and the South African Police Services (SAPS) crime statistics for 1999 which serve to confirm above description of conditions that existed at the time. It reveals that 30,17% of the economically active adult population of Manenberg were unemployed, 33,27% of households lived below the poverty datum line and almost 30% of those residents that were employed fell into the category of unskilled labour. The SAPS crime statistics revealed significantly high violent crime and social crime incident rates within Manenberg as opposed to the middle-class suburbs such as Crawford.

³⁴ Interview with Faldiela de Vries, Councillor and resident of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

³⁵ *Cape Times*, April 30, 1999. "A Place that can be hard to call home".

³⁶ 1996 Census Information released by Statistics South Africa

The graph shows how zones of poverty suburbs such as Manenberg and Langa compare with better off suburbs such as Crawford and Sea Point. Whilst Langa's socio-economic conditions are slightly worse than Manenberg its crime rate is lower. Sea Point is clearly a more affluent community as indicated through the composite indicator but is plagued by very high levels of property related crimes. This could suggest that Sea point is targeted by perpetrators who are from outside the suburb. The main type of crimes committed are burglaries and motor vehicle theft. The composite indicator³⁷ clearly shows that the socio-economic conditions in 1996 placed Langa as worst off in comparison to suburbs such as Sea Point. The type of crimes also serve as an informant to the prevailing socio-economic conditions.

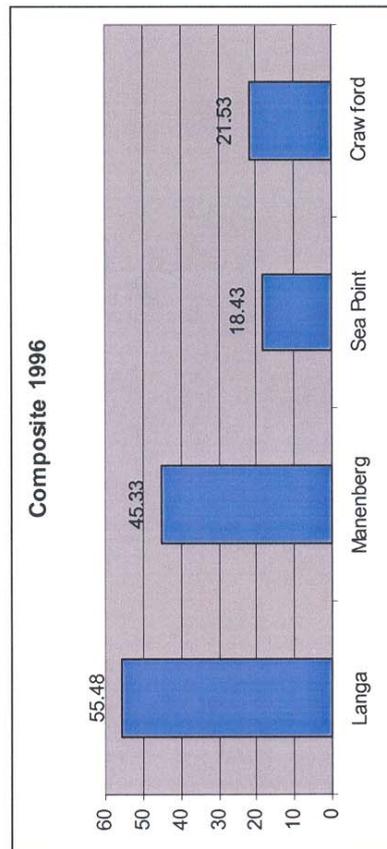


³⁷ Composite Indicator provides an indication of the socio-economic conditions which prevail within geographic areas and consists of information relating to levels of education, unemployment, labour force that are unskilled and household earnings. There is a direct relationship between high composite values and poor socio-economic conditions.

Table 5.1: SUBURB PROFILE DATA INDICATING DEGREE OF INEQUITY ACROSS SUBURBS

| A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------|
| Suburb Name | Census 1996 - Population | | Census 1996 - Socio-Economic | | | | Composite | Crime Rate 1996 | | | |
| | Population | Female | % of Population Less Matric | % of Population Unemployed | % Household Earnings < R12 000 pa | % Labour Force Unskilled | | Property Related Crimes | Social Fabric Crimes | Violent Crimes | |
| Langa | 46,505 | 23,970 | 22,535 | 82.07 | 37.45 | 51.80 | 50.60 | 55.48 | 1,742 | 2,168 | 471 |
| Manenberg | 45,086 | 21,137 | 23,949 | 88.16 | 30.17 | 33.27 | 29.72 | 45.33 | 4,953 | 3,842 | 752 |
| Sea Point | 11,602 | 5,077 | 6,525 | 29.67 | 4.69 | 21.83 | 17.51 | 18.43 | 48,181 | 7,645 | 1,233 |
| Crawford | 5,539 | 2,657 | 2,882 | 52.81 | 6.17 | 16.79 | 10.34 | 21.53 | 21,412 | 7,778 | 2,225 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Property Related Crime | Burglary and Attempted; Residential or Business Premises, Shoplifting, Theft of/from motor vehicle, stock theft |
| Social Fabric Crime | Assault with intent to inflict Grievous Bodily Harm, Common Assault, Drug Related Crime, Rape and Attempted Rape |
| Violent Crime | Murder, Attempted Murder and Robbery with aggravated circumstances |



Source : Statistics South Africa , 1996 Census
 City of Cape Town : Strategic Information Unit : 10 November 2004
 South African Police Services : Crime Statistics

5.4 COMDEV'S UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT IN MANENBERG

COMDEV's understanding of the notion of developmental local government was soon to be tested by the prevailing conditions in Manenberg. It was required to determine a developmental intervention appropriate to the needs of this suburb. Increasing the level of services and housing stock in an area where most residents have access to formal accommodation, water and electricity was obviously not an appropriate developmental intervention. What was required was to work towards achieving **outcomes** which would assist households secure their economic and social needs in a sustainable way.

The department regarded development as being driven by a **moral aesthetic that supports and consolidates activities that are deemed 'acceptable', 'honest', 'legal'**. It negates those deemed not; ultimately to realise a state of community that accords with the image of the 'good society'. In the case of Manenberg it is precisely this moral order that has been overshadowed by another type of order which is the opposite to moral order, sustained by the influence of gangs and such kinship groups and which are consolidated by trends in the global and national economy.

COMDEV saw the need to assist residents in Manenberg meet their social and economic needs in a sustainable manner by transforming households into families where the integrity of the nuclear family unit was high and where alcoholism, abuse and family violence non-existent. Members of such families would be ethical beings able to function as moral citizens. However, it's institutional limitations made it difficult to intervene here.

5.5 DEVELOPMENTAL INTERVENTIONS IN MANENBERG (1997 –2000)

COMDEV recognized the importance of improving the level of interaction between the City, residents and local stakeholders. This was achieved through the establishment of Area Coordinating Teams (ACTS) which signaled an attempt to establish 'good governance' practices through a mechanism which dealt with service delivery needs or problems at local level. When questioned about the involvement of COMDEV during 1997 and 2000 the residents and Councillor agree that for the first ever, a senior official in this case the Executive Director of COMDEV took a personal interest in the area and set processes in motion to consult with the community in respect of their needs and wishes. This marked a significant departure from the previous top-down paternalistic approach of the previous white Council. Faldiela De Vries remembers how workshops were run by the Development facilitation Branch of COMDEV to establish the needs and wishes of the residents of Manenberg.



The principles of the IDP³⁸ were applied and the consultation process was integrated with an initiative involving the City's Planning Branch which had commenced with a spatial development for Manenberg. De Vries remembers (and this is affirmed by the members of the group of residents being interviewed), “ this approach and the many workshops that were held with residents and Ahmedi Vawda started people engaging more and more with the Council. The local NGO's were also made part of the process and Ahmedi facilitated through workshops with Silvertree, Lillies Ministries and the People Centre (NGO's active in the area)

³⁸ The Municipal Systems Act (No. 32 of 2000) uses IDPs as the instrument through which performance management takes place. The IDP is conceived as the point at which developmental objectives and priorities are set, after which indicators are designed to measure progress against these objectives, it is also the point at which development strategies are set, and then 'translated' into compatible operational strategies

a more coherent approach from them to work towards a common goal. This ended up in a more coherent interaction between the different NGOs”³⁹

This new approach by COMDEV and the intensive levels of interaction with the residents local role player served to lay the foundation for the establishment of an institutional arrangement involving the establishment of Area Coordinating Teams (ACTS). The roles and significance of ACTs are discussed in Section 5.2.6.1 of this study. The intention of the Manenberg ACT was to provide the means for COMDEV and other service delivery departments to engage the community on a series of issues which included their basic needs, economic, social and political aspects of their development. Attention was also given to interventions aimed at dealing with the emotional and relational aspects of everyday life in Manenberg. The need for the development of new forms of engagement that would go beyond the conventional roles of provision and support was also recognised. The extent of 'dysfunctionality' and trauma within the community made it extremely difficult to engage with the community with the purpose of working on appropriate interventions.

Shortly after the Manenberg ACT was established and started to operate effectively, the City of Cape Town was incorporated into the Unicity of Cape Town and the Executive Director of Community Development along with the City Manager and other Executive Directors was removed from his post. COMDEV was left without executive management leadership to champion the development and roll-out of programmes to meet the local community's social fabric and economic needs. Developmental interventions were never implemented and the community was left to its own devices to try to improve their situation.

³⁹ Group interview with residents of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

The group of residents that were interviewed and Councillor de Vries agree that the ACT played a significant role in engagement with the community and local officials from other departments on meeting their day today basic needs. The main criticism that emerged from the group regarding the ACT was “because needs and priorities were determined at a local level, it was difficult to determine the extent to which service delivery departments other than COMDEV took community requests seriously and whether the issues raised were ever used to inform strategic plans for the area.”⁴⁰

In conclusion although COMDEV had obtained a very good understanding of the conditions and dynamics at play in Manenberg it failed to achieve any significant success in improving the lives of the community. This assessment is arrived at through the opinions expressed by the residents of Manenberg that formed part of the interview group as well a comparison of the data from the 1996 Census with that of 2001 which provides information on the socio-economic conditions within the suburb.



Table 5.2 points to a deterioration in the socio-economic conditions in Manenberg between 1996 and 2001. This is reflected in a marked decrease in household earning of households. Although the 2001 Census information indicates a decrease in the percentage of unemployment in Manenberg, there was a marked decrease in the household earnings in 2001 as compared with 1996. The increased composite score from 45.33 in 1996 to 54.65 in 2001 indicates a significant deterioration in socio-economic conditions of Manenberg households. Crime statistics from the South African Police Service also reflect a dramatic increase in the crimes rates across all crime categories.

⁴⁰ Group interview with residents of Manenberg, Manenberg People’s Centre, 9/11/2004

Table 5.2: MANENBERG - COMPARISON BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1996 WITH THOSE OF 2001

| A | B | | Census 1996 - Socio-Economic | | | | Crime Rate 1996 | | | | |
|-------------|--------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| | Census 1996 - Population | | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | |
| Suburb Name | Population | Male | | | | | | | | | Female |
| Manenberg | 45,086 | 21,137 | 23,949 | 88.16 | 30.17 | 33.27 | 29.72 | 45.33 | 4,953 | 3,842 | 752 |
| Suburb Name | Census 2001 - Population | | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | |
| | Population 2001 | Male 2001 | | | | | | | | | Female 2001 |
| Manenberg | 46,241 | 21,683 | 24,558 | 89.57 | 14.55 | 99.88 | 14.58 | 54.65 | 6,784 | 6,036 | 1,168 |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Property Related Crime | Burglary and Attempted; Residential or Business Premises, Shoplifting, Theft of/from motor vehicle, stock theft |
| Social Fabric Crime | Assault with intent to inflict Grievous Bodily Harm, Common Assault, Drug Related Crime, Rape and Attempted Rape |
| Violent Crime | Murder, Attempted Murder and Robbery with aggravated circumstances |

Source : Statistics South Africa , 1996 Census and 2001 Census
 City of Cape Town : Strategic Information Unit : 10 November 2004
 South African Police Services : Crime Statistics

5.6 DEVELOPMENTAL INTERVENTIONS IN MANENBERG (2001-2003)

The Unicity of Cape Town was established on 6 December 2000 and shortly thereafter the employment contracts of the City Manger of the transitional local council of Cape Town and a number of his management team were terminated. This led to the disestablishment of COMDEV department. From this point forward and until COMDEV's successor, the Community Services Department was established all initiatives that had been started by COMDEV in Manenberg and other zones of poverty were discontinued.

This is confirmed by the interviews with the group of Maneberg residents and Councillor de Vries. According to de Vries, “ The interaction which happened between Manenberg and the city through senior management stopped and was never replaced by any other official with the exception of the director of health, Ivan Toms who still chairs the ACT. No assistance with community development on the proactive side to improve the social conditions in Manenberg or to continue with the initiatives started by COMDEV. There is no proactive social development involvement from the City's side in an attempt at improving conditions here.”⁴¹

When questioned about the socio-economic conditions within the suburb of Manenberg since the establishment of the Unicity, the residents agreed that there has been no improvement in their quality of life, except for a decrease in the level of gangster related violence, their perception is that the same levels of crime and other social problems exist. The implications of the lack of the type of engagement which occurred between COMDEV and Manenberg has been, “for Manenberg it lost its identity as a special area which was a zone of poverty that needed specific interventions and it simply got lost with a number of other suburbs in this massive sea of poverty.”⁴²

⁴¹ Interview with Faldiela de Vries, Councillor and resident of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

⁴² Interview with Faldiela de Vries, Councillor and resident of Manenberg, Manenberg People's Centre, 9/11/2004.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Manenberg was viewed as a high priority suburb because of the extremely stressful conditions which the community were exposed to. Through a process of community consultation the department of Community Development commenced with a set of actions deemed appropriate to renew the suburb. Unfortunately these actions did not progress beyond the process stages and therefore did not proceed to concrete implementation and this resulted in an absence of visible improvements to the physical environment and the social conditions in Manenberg. This is substantiated by the Councillor, the group of ten residents of Manenberg and the local butchery owner⁴³. The situation was complicated by the restructuring changes involving the establishment of the Unicity which later ended in the discontinuation of all initiatives that had been commenced but not yet completed as COMDEV's successor, the department of Community Services within the Unicity considered other areas to be of higher priority than Manenberg.



Although COMDEV's intentions to bring about renewal and improvements to the quality of life of Manenberg did not materialise, it did achieve a greater degree of success in the other zones of poverty across the city. The next chapter documents and reflects on the impact of its strategies.

⁴³ The interview questions and responses received from Councillor Faldiela de Vries, the group of ten Manenberg residents and Anwar Adams the owner of the local butchery can be found in Annexures A, B and C respectively of this study.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND REFLECTION ON THE IMPACT OF THE STRATEGIES USED BY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This is an analysis of the impact of COMDEV's strategies across the entire city with special focus on the zones of poverty of which the suburb of Manenberg forms a small part.

Prior to 1997, the practice of community development was understood to entail the provision of services through community participation. Consideration had never previously been given to how the provision of these services ensured social and economic sustainability. The manner in which the newly established Council structured its service delivery departments was not sufficient to ensure the roll out initiatives that were informed by the requirements contained in the White Paper on Local Government. Whilst the institutional framework through its organizational structure made a clear distinction between 'service delivery' and 'development' by locating them in separate departments, it was not sufficient to bring about a paradigm shift amongst officials and resulted in a theoretical blind spot in relation to the practice of development. The extent of such a blind-spot was underestimated when the department's goals and deliverables were determined. Consequently the first two years of COMDEV's existence was characterized by much time and effort being spent on building a better understanding of its notion of development and the importance of equity. The incorporation of previous Black Local Authorities (BLAs) of Ikapa and Crossroads into the newly established City of Cape Town resulted in the need for a number of administrative procedures and policies to be reviewed. The Housing Directorate was particularly vulnerable in this regard and its performance was influenced by the different approaches to housing that existed within each of the former municipalities. The breakdown of effective management of housing stock in

the BLAs over previous years created the space for ruthless third parties to take informal control over who was allowed access to the housing stock. Bodies such as civic associations, residents associations and street committees informally took over the governance of the city's rental housing stock and they also determined and collected rents. This led to the exploitation of the poor who received no protection from the City.

According to Joel Mkunqwane⁴⁴, Acting Director of Housing, when the newly established Housing directorate attempted to administer these units they found that they had to work via these bodies. There was a need to break the stranglehold of these bodies and to administer housing along lines of fairness. Much of the Housing directorate's time and energies were spent on regaining governance over its housing stock. Meeting the developmental needs of marginalised communities depended upon COMDEV's ability to rectify inherited bad practices such as those in housing and to overcome the lack of insight amongst officials into the 'new' developmental approach. A review of the performance against the business plans from 1997 to 2001 of each of the directorates provides useful insight into the degree of success achieved in support of these strategies.

6.2 OVERVIEW OF PERFORMANCE BY DIRECTORATES (1997-2000)

COMDEV aspired to change the entrenched social and economic trends which had resulted in the steady deterioration of the social fabric of suburbs such as Manenberg. The department's initial approach was to strategically steer the activities of the Health and Community Services directorates to rectify the inequitable provision of community facilities and associated delivery of services. Between July 1997 and December 2000 it systematically realigned its Capital budget towards poverty areas through the construction of new community facilities or

⁴⁴ Interview with Joel Mkunqwana, Acting Director of Housing, Civic Centre : Cape Town, 22/8/2000.

the upgrading of existing facilities which would serve as centres from which community services and interventions would run. Its intention was to realign operating budgets and other resources to follow its capital budget realignment towards the poverty areas through staffing strategies, business improvement initiatives and the rationalisation of facilities.

6.2.1 HEALTH

The Health directorate set about addressing the need to improve the health of poorer communities through making comprehensive health care services accessible to all residents. The need to address inequitable service delivery issues was given top priority and was accompanied by the reallocation of resources towards poverty areas in a fair and equitable manner. The shift in Capital Budget towards poverty areas was accompanied by a number of initiatives aimed at improving service delivery, meeting the needs of the poor through the implementation of a District Health System, improving community participation and focus on improving the health of infants, children and women.



Initiatives aimed at improving service delivery were successful in reducing the staff to patient ratios. In 1998 1,073,716 patients were seen by 171 staff compared with 1,089,192 patients seen by 151 staff in 1999.⁴⁵ These efficiency gains allowed for a more equitable spread of staff to health facilities.

The redistribution of resources to achieve equity included initiatives such as the establishment of a district health system which saw the municipal area demarcated into four health districts. Staff were transferred to the newly established health districts to bring about equity in relation to the staffing of facilities.

⁴⁵ Power point presentation on the Performance review of the Department of Community Development for the period 1997-2000 (refer Community Development Committee Workshop 7 December 2000 , Newlands Conference Centre)

The day to day primary health care activities at clinics were complimented by a number of programmes such as alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy and against domestic violence were integrated with other directorates initiatives aimed at transforming communities. The directorate has consistently targeted HIV/AIDS and TB through its comprehensive awareness programmes. Evidence of the directorates shift in emphasis towards the needs of children and women is shown by the 134,199 sick children who were treated and 245,000 women who benefited from the reproductive services. Capital expenditure resulted in the construction of a new clinic in Facreton and extensions to Chapel Street, Langa, Guguletu, Vuyani, Lansdowne and Mzamomphle clinics.

The implementation of the District Health System saw the municipal area demarcated into four health districts the borders of which were informed by population size and spread of health facilities in relation to community needs. Consequently the Athlone (population 238,607), Central (population 287,239), Mitchells Plain (population 292,170) and Nyanga (population 249,462) health districts were established which included the integration of the Environmental Health section into this system.

Business improvement initiatives accompanied by the redistribution of staff to areas of need resulted in the directorate recording a 12% efficiency gain in the utilisation of its Professional nurses at clinics. The Athlone and Nyanga Health districts increased the number of patients it treated who were younger than 13 years by 36% and 34% respectively.

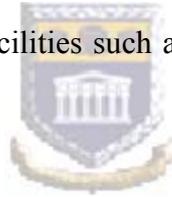
Capital investment resulted in extensions to the Hanover Park clinic as well as the construction of Community Health Care Centre at Green Point. The Manenberg clinic was relocated to a safer site which was more accessible to the community. Four clinics were

equipped to meet the demand for the dispensing of chronic medicines which was in line with providing tailor made services that meet the specific needs of communities.

The establishment of 12 Health committees contributed towards COMDEVs strategy to develop empowered communities through improving community participation in the services it rendered. The directorate achieved all of the objectives that were set in its HIV/AIDS and TB Prevention strategies.

6.2.2 COMMUNITY SERVICES

Community Services was tasked with improving the communities quality of life through the utilisation of its facilities and programmes which were geared towards encouraging community participation, empowerment and addressing quality issues. It concentrated on achieving equity by focusing on the needs of deprived communities through the construction, upgrading and utilisation of the City's facilities such as libraries, parks, playing fields, civic halls and swimming pools.



An assessment of this directorate's performance in relation to its business plans over the period 1997 to 2000 reveals that the *theoretical blindspot* amongst officials severely limited its ability to deliver on its developmental mandate. Consequently it was forced to focus much of its time and energy on building amongst staff and Councillors a better understanding of what was required to ensure an integrated and co-ordinated system of service delivery at area level across the service delivery silos within Council.

The directorate did however manage to realign its Capital budget towards the poverty areas which paved the way to coerce the movement of resources to address imbalances in service provision to the different geographic areas. It was not able to bring about an integrated,

collaborated and co-ordinated system of service delivery at area level as there was no coherence between its branches (Sport & Recreation, Libraries, Civic Buildings and Parks & Bathing Amenities) within the service delivery boundaries. This served to reinforce the silo mentality practice relating to service delivery to communities. The development and publication of the *Eyez on Summer*⁴⁶ programme served as an opportunity for the directorate to steer its branches towards service delivery and initiatives within a coordinated framework.. By 1999/2000 enough ground work had been done to enable the directorate to strategically realigned its resources towards addressing service delivery imbalances in poorer areas. It developed a coherent methodology through which representatives and community stakeholders could be identified and engaged with at area level. A marketing and communications strategy was produced which was geared to promote community services both internally across departments and externally to the public.



The City's inability to accommodate the growth demands on the operating budget caused by the need for newly constructed facilities that were funded from its Capital Budget reduced the directorates ability to implement business plans which revolved around making new facilities operational. Branches concentrated on finding innovative ways of operationalising these facilities using the scarce staff and operating budget resources at their disposal. Attempts to reallocate staff to 'slip-stream' in the direction of the Capital Budget were not successful due to resistance from the unions.

⁴⁶ The Eyez on Summer Programme and its publication was developed within the Community Development department. Its purpose is to offer the youth activities which are regarded as providing them with fun and exciting activities. Approximately 150,000 young people benefit from the programme. In 1999 the Argus newspaper which partnered the programme with the City, published and distributed 100,000 copies of the Eyez on Summer publication. It forms part of the City's Youth Strategy which offers creative alternatives to crime and promotes creative occupations for youth depending upon their interests.

The adoption in 1999 by Community Services of the same boundaries used in the District Health System provided the basis for improving the level of co-operation, consolidation and synergies between the two directorates especially in respect of its involvement in the *ACTs*.

Creative partnership models with communities were developed and R2,4 million was secured from the Provincial Government's Integrated Serviced Land Programme (iSLP) Capacity Building Fund to be used in creative initiatives.

6.2.3 HOUSING

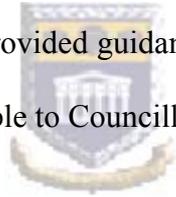
On the 11 December 1997 the City of Cape Town adopted a new, integrated housing policy to establish a uniform set of operational procedures across the city. Prior to this housing policy and practice had been fragmented according to the practices of former apartheid-era councils. The directorate was inundated by disputes arising from the extended nature of many Black African households. The death or departure of the lease-holder usually saw the tenancy rights, and later property rights, claimed by the remaining family members yet Council policy required the dwelling to be allocated to the person next highest on a waiting list.

The Housing directorate task was further complicated by the need to overcome obstacles to housing delivery such as obtaining adequate land for housing, responding to land invasions, evictions, installing effective management systems to deal with waiting lists and accessing provincial housing subsidies. Despite these problems the directorate managed to transfer 14,460 units spread across a number of suburbs into private ownership⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Power point presentation on the Performance Review of the Department of Community Development for the period 1997-2000 (refer Community Development Committee Workshop 7 December 2000, Newlands Conference Centre)

An analysis of programmes within the different housing administrations accompanied by an evaluation of the complex housing environment highlighted the need for strategies and policy mechanisms which would provide a standardised approach to service delivery based on fairness and equity.

COMDEV established a strategic framework which over a two year period evolved into a housing policy to ensure a common approach for administering rental housing in a fair and equitable manner towards achieving an enabling environment capable of addressing the housing needs of the poor. Councillors, communities, NGOs and officials workshopped a series of issues which provided them with a better understanding of the complexities of housing in respect of legislation and local contexts against the existing staff, financial and material resources that were available to the directorate. This informed the content of the Housing Policy which was formulated during this period. The policy in turn influenced the drafting of a Procedures Manual which provided guidance to officials and include as a source of reference the Code of Conduct applicable to Councillors and officials.



Delays at a corporate level in finalising the micro-organisation design prevented the creation of staff capacity and served to frustrate /delay progress made by the directorate in implementing the Policy and its procedures. In April 1998 the Housing Policy and related procedures were launched, which paved the way for a common approach to the administration of existing rental stock.

This period saw the conceptualisation of institutional arrangements to compliment existing housing programmes which resulted in the establishment of the *savings led* Cape Town Community Housing Company (CTCHC) in June 1999. The aim of the CTCHC was to

expedite delivery of new houses in addition to already established low-income housing streams by constructing 25,000 houses over a 5 year period.

Poor co-ordination between departments with regard to planning frameworks around the release of land for housing, insufficient budgets and *socio-political* interventions impacted negatively on the delivery of subsidised housing.

The savings-led CTHCC initiative produced a savings base of close to 9,000 potential beneficiaries. To overcome delays in land releases for housing, the directorate created an ‘in-house’ land delivery office which was tasked driving the identification and release of land. Other housing initiatives embarked upon between 1999 and 2000 included, the upgrading of hostels consisting of 371 units, launching of four tenure options pilot projects and the construction of 13,000 iSLP housing units.

6.3 BUDGET REALIGNMENT TOWARDS ZONES OF POVERTY (1997-2001)

COMDEV’s purposeful realignment of the Health and Community Services Capital Budgets towards the *zones of poverty* commenced in the 1997/98 financial year and accounted for 64,7% of the budget being allocated to these areas as opposed to the 29% which was spent in the previous year. This process of continued realignment towards the zones of poverty continued through to the 2000/2001 financial year. **Table 6.1** illustrate the extent of the realignment of Capital Budget provision towards the poverty areas during this period.

The City’s financial constraints could not accommodate the growth demands placed by the newly constructed facilities which were built from Capital Budget. This resulted in the Operating budget being out of synch with the Capital budget which posed enormous challenges to making COMDEV’s original intention for Operating Budgets to slip stream the Capital Investments a reality. Consequently the service delivery business plans which

revolved around making new facilities operational could not be implemented. In some instances facilities that had been constructed from iSLP funds were ‘moth-balled’ and remained vacant because of the lack of operating budgets to operationalise them. The lack of synchronization of Business Plans with the Operating Budget limited the branches ability to deliver which made them resemble wish lists of intent and this forced the attention towards finding innovative ways of operationalising these facilities using the scarce staff and operating budget resources at their disposal.

The City’s chart of accounts which determines the structure of the operating budget is limited in that it is only able to reflect expenditure on items such as salaries and wages and general expenses within silo departments. It is not able to record or reflect programme based expenditure nor can it reflect expenditure in geographic areas. It was therefore not possible to determine the degree to which Operating budgets were realigned towards zones of poverty. This necessitated reliance upon discussions with implementing officials who were limited to providing their perceptions on the degree of shift that took place.



Table 6.1 : CAPITAL BUDGET EXPENDITURE WITHIN ZONES OF POVERTY (1997/98 – 2002/2003)

| Expenditure (1997/98) | % of Total Budget | Area within Zone of Poverty |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 4,347,575 | 9,3 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 5,283,400 | 11,3 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 5,393,915 | 11,5 | Langa |
| R 2,740,662 | 5,9 | Mitchells Plain |
| R 9,439,369 | 20,2 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 3,036,066 | 6,5 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 30,240,987 | 64,7 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| Expenditure (1998/99) | % of Total Budget | Area within Zone of Poverty |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 4,975,719 | 9,2 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 9,694,452 | 17,9 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 6,773,505 | 12,5 | Langa |
| R 7,536,890 | 13,9 | Mitchells Plain |
| R 2,759,839 | 5,1 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 4,168,969 | 7,7 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 35,909,374 | 66,3 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| Expenditure (1999/00) | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 34,320,430 | 15,6 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 7,679,682 | 5,7 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 15,013,837 | 11,2 | Langa |
| R 13,472,290 | 10,0 | Mitchells Plain |
| R 1,905,400 | 1,4 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 6,532,500 | 4,9 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 78,924,139 | 48,8 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| Expenditure (2000/01) | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 36,130,000 | 24,1 % | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 8,183,250 | 5,5 % | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 10,502,450 | 7,0 % | Langa |
| R 10,151,000 | 6,8 % | Mitchells Plain |
| R 2,303,000 | 1,5 % | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 3,348,510 | 2,2 % | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 70,618,210 | 47,1 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| Expenditure (2001/02) | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 6,766,210 | 8,0 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 3,044,700 | 3,5 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 278,145 | 0,3 | Langa |
| R 5,567,040 | 6,6 | Mitchells Plain |
| R 163,960 | 0,2 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 2,116,360 | 2,6 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 17,936,415 | 21,2 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

| Expenditure (2002/03) | % of Total Budget | Area of Expenditure |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|
| R 5,849,430 | 9,3 | Nyanga, Brown's Farm, Phillipi, Weltevreden Valley, Cross Roads |
| R 7,747,175 | 12,3 | Hanover Park, Manenberg, Heideveld, Guguletu |
| R 1,902,320 | 3,0 | Langa |
| R 2,941,000 | 4,7 | Mitchells Plain |
| R 174,615 | 0,3 | Woodstock – Salt River (including Facreton) |
| R 64,000 | 0,2 | Athlone - Kewtown |
| R 18,678,540 | 29,8 | Total Capital Expenditure Across Zones of Poverty |

Table 6.1 indicates expenditure that was undertaken for the exclusive benefit ZOP.

Figure 6.1 : Capital Expenditure across all geographic areas : 1997/98- 2000/2001

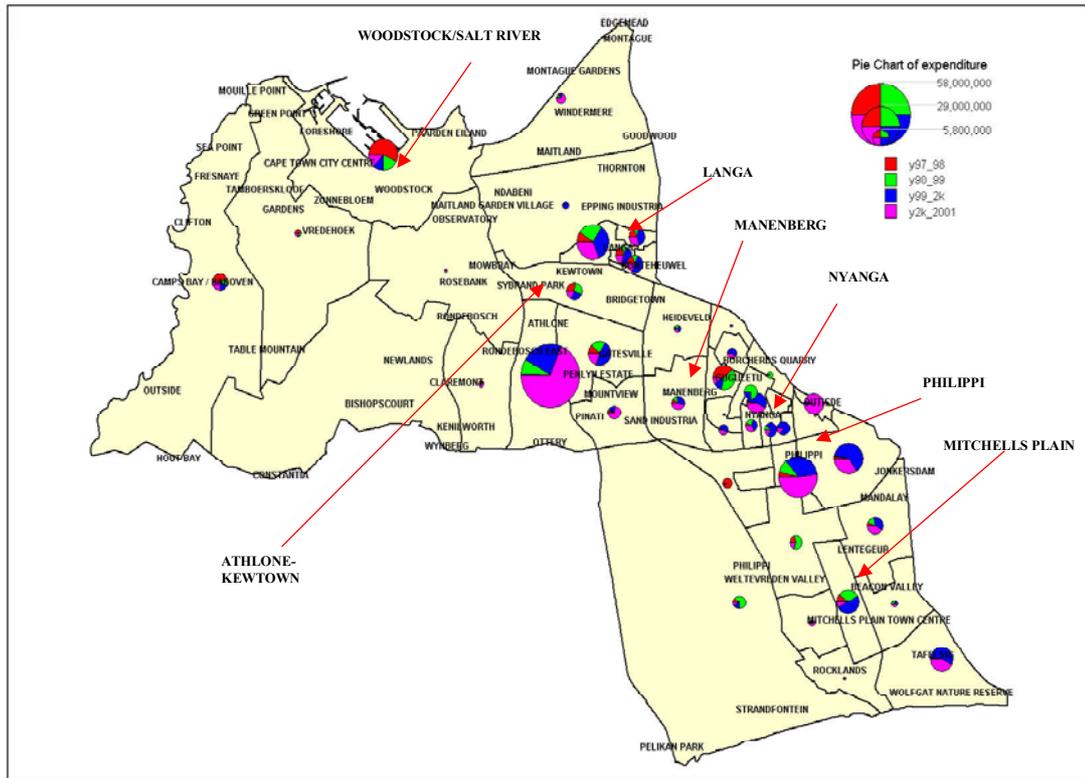


Figure 6.1 reflects the geographic spread of Capital Budget expenditure from 1997/98 to 2000/2001 in relation to the zones of poverty. The map demonstrates the amount and extent of the shift in the Capital budget from non-poverty areas towards poverty areas from 1997/98 through to 2000/2001. It is evident that the Community Development department succeeded in re-directing capital investment towards the zones of poverty.

COMDEV achieved significant success in improving the inequitable position which existed in respect of access of marginalised communities to municipal facilities by shifting its Capital Budget which resulted in the following facilities and improvements within these areas;

- ***The Integrated Serviced land Programme (iSLP) area - including Philippi,***

Crossroads, Nyanga and Browns Farm

Upgrade of Council Housing units in Crossroads
 Construction of ;
 Clinic in Nyanga
 Sportsfields in Millers Camp, Nyanga, Phillipi, Brown's Farm, Weltevreden Valley and Crossroads
 Change rooms in Brown's Farm
 Playgrounds in Crossroads and Weltevreden Valley
 Libraries in Nyanga, Weltevreden Valley and Brown's farm
 Indoor Sports and Recreation Centre in Phillipi
 Halls in KTC, Weltevreden Valley, Brown's Farm and Phillipi
 Multi-purpose Centres in Eldlovini and Zolani

- ***Manenberg zone - including Guguletu, Hanover Park and Heideveld***

Upgrade of Council Housing units in Hanover Park and Manenberg
 Upgrade of Old Age Homes
 Upgrading and Painting of Housing Stock Flats in Hanover Park
 Upgrading and alterations to Clinic in Hanover Park
 Construction of;
 267 houses in Tambo Square
 Conversion of Nyanga Hostels into family dwelling units
 Library in Guguletu
 Multi-purpose centres in Ikwezi, Luyolo and Elukhanyisweni
 Indoor Sports Centre in Guguletu
 Sportsfields and Changerooms in NY 95
 Hall in miller's Camp
 Playgrounds in Guguletu.



- ***Langa***

Construction of Tennis Courts
 Extentions to Clinic
 Hostel Upgrade to family dwelling units
 Construction of Gugu Sithebe Arts and Culture Centre
 Construction of Monwabisi Multi-purpose Centre
 Construction of Indoor Sports & recreation Centre
 Upgrading and major maintenance expenditure on Langa housing stock flats

- ***Athlone – Kewtown***

Construction of ;
 Stadia in Vygekraal, Turfhall and Athlone Soccer Stadium
 Libraries in Bridgetown and Rylands
 Halls in Rylands and Belthorn
 Upgrade of ;
 Housing Stock in Kewtown
 Maitland Garden Village Old Age Home

- ***Mitchells Plain***

Construction of ;
 Changerooms in Lentegeur and Westridge
 Sportsfields in Mandalay
 234 Houses in Tafelsig
 310 Houses in Montrose Park
 Indoor Sports and Recreation Centre in Mitchells Plain
 Library in Mitchells Plain Town Centre
 Public Toilet in Lentegeur
 Swimming Pool in Lentegeur
 Clinic alterations in Eastridge

6.4 CAPITAL BUDGET ALLOCATION TO ZONES OF POVERTY (2002-2003)

The discontinuation of COMDEV's initiatives referred to in Chapter 5.7 resulted in the shifting of capital budget allocations away from the zones of poverty towards other areas within the Unicity that were regarded as high priority by the new management that had been appointed.

Capital budget allocations to the **zones of poverty** decreased from R70,618,210 which represented 47,1% of COMDEV's 2000/2001 capital budget to R17,936,415 in 2001/2002 and R18,678,540 in 2002/2003.

6.5 THE WORK OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which interventions in the fields of health, housing and community services have contributed to achieving the conditions functionality.

6.5.1 Planning

Whilst at face value it would seem that COMDEV's approach, in this regard, as captured in its strategic vision (which is extensively dealt with in Chapter 4) seem to make perfect sense, the elements of the vision were never coherently reconciled either in writing or in departmental planning sessions. This made it difficult for the staff responsible for implementation to translate these concepts into action plans.

6.5.2 Performance Measurement

A limited number of Senior Management within the department had a clear understanding of how these concepts and elements were connected to each other. These measures were totally lacking in the performance indicators for directorates and their branches. Instead broad statements indicating the extent to which certain products have been delivered were used as a measure of performance and in a number of cases the performance measured was not linked to the achievement of overarching goals.

For example, the core business of housing was defined as “To promote, support and expand the role of housing in the overall economic and social well-being of Cape Town.”

Yet according to the Performance Measurement indicators developed for the Directorate of Housing within the Department of Community Development its performance was gauged by its success in:

- provision of an efficient and effective support service in the housing directorate,
- establishment of a cost effective and efficient maintenance service for Council letting schemes,
- management of the housing delivery program for the city in line with the City’s Strategic Priorities,
- preventing the occupation of vacant land and the control and monitoring of existing illegal settlements,
- provision of new low income housing opportunities to City’s poorer citizens,
- effective administration of existing rental stock through the “Fairness in Housing” Principles,
- seeking sustainable and firm political commitment to the adopted housing strategy and related policies.⁴⁸



The majority of these indicators refer to administrative measures to deliver, maintain and manage existing and new houses. The ‘social’ targets mentioned above simply concern the access of more people to housing subsidies; or they are too vague to be meaningful.

Conceptual statements such as “redressing and enhancing the socio-economic status of previously disadvantaged communities” are not properly spelt out to make it implementable and

⁴⁸ Performance Measurement indicators developed by the Housing Directorate within the Department of Community Development

properly measurable. The relationship between housing stock and the ‘functionality’ of the household is also not addressed.

Although COMDEV’s social vision is long-term in nature the importance of achieving short and medium term goals through delivery of tangible services and interventions which make a difference to the quality of life of residents should not be underestimated. This is precisely what is happening in the case of Housing.

According to COMDEV’s hypothesis the functionality of nuclear families is said to be improved when they *own* a dwelling. COMDEV’s housing strategy is thus to build new houses for ownership and to convert existing rented stock into privately owned property.

It is unfortunate that it is not possible to gauge the extent to which the delivery of housing or the transfer of ownership contributed towards COMDEV’s developmental goals. Officials are unable to provide accurate information in this regard and resort to vague statements about “meeting needs” and “providing development in impoverished areas”. They speak of how new housing is creating markets that provide families with financial assets, how ‘formalisation’ encourages investment from other government departments. Yet when one begins to be more specific they admit that many people cannot afford their bonds, nor the costs of improved services. They admit too that property markets are only phenomena of “middle class” areas. They also acknowledge that many residents are forced to rely either partly or in whole on the ‘informal’ economy to meet their payments.

Whilst the view was held that property ownership is an important contributor to building the integrity of the nuclear household the reality was that many residents were failing to meet even their rent payments. They would never be in a position to cope with meeting new bond-payments which in all cases would be higher than their rental payments. Russell Dudley⁴⁹, of the

⁴⁹ Interview with Russell Dudley, Senior Social Development Practitioner in the Development Facilitation Unit, Civic Centre : Cape Town, 24/8/2000.

Development Facilitation Unit aptly summed this up as “giving people a rope to hang themselves”. This suggests that it is not simply a question of time nor the manner in which services are provided and interventions through housing, health and community services have the desired developmental effects. It supports the view that efficient, effective and affordable service delivery on its own serve merely as obstacles to development.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The thesis has attempted to provide a descriptive and empirical evidence of the City of Cape Town’s department of Community Development during the period 1997 and 2003.

The study indicates that on the surface it appears that at a conceptual level the approach and supporting strategies of COMDEV as dealt with in Chapter 4 of this study constitutes the right ingredients to make it a recipe for successful implementation of the developmental vision of the 1998 White Paper on Local Government. The content of programmes and targeted interventions that were aimed at meeting the social and economic needs of communities displayed a strong influence of the department’s overall approach to development and is closely aligned to the legislative framework on local government.

The distinct roles that each of its directorates was assigned to play as discussed in section 4.3 of this study creates the illusion of a department that was aligned and primed to give effect to this developmental vision. However the study reveals that this was not so because of a fundamental omission it made in the process of determining its approach and supporting strategies. It’s failure to scan and evaluate the immediate organizational and political environments caused it to overlook the extent of the conceptual limitations (‘theoretical blindspot’) which existed within Council officials in respect of the ‘new approach’

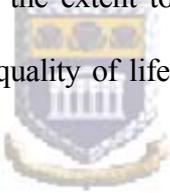
(developmental local government). This oversight was a major contributor towards barriers to implementation of its strategies and targets which under the circumstances proved to be far too ambitious.

COMDEV's broad approach and strategies as well as the way it went about its consultation processes in Manenberg suggests that it possessed a good understanding of the legal framework and the developmental requirements applicable to local government at the time. However closer examination suggest that whilst this may be true of the Executive Director Ahmed Vawda who was the main architect of these strategies, the same did not apply to the rest of his department. This is confirmed by the confusion below the level of senior management regarding the department's broad vision regarding development. The absence of a shared broad vision amongst many officials below the level of senior management was never properly addressed. It appears that COMDEV's understanding and broad vision was largely based on a theoretical and rhetorical notion of development and this added to the confusion amongst the staff. The conceptual understanding of the task (developmental local government), the institutional commitment to the task and the organizational restructuring brought about by the establishment of the Unicity overtook events. In short COMDEV ran out of time.

The empirical information gathered did not result in any conclusive evidence about appropriateness of COMDEV's approach and strategies to achieve its developmental mandate. There is however anecdotal evidence from interviews with residents of Manenberg that it did not achieve its mandate in this regard because it still needed to establish a trust relationship with the community. Trust is an important element towards enabling the developmental approach.

Implementation of COMDEV's strategies in zones of poverty was frustrated by the existence of the *theoretical blindspot*. Whilst the redirection of the capital budget expenditure towards the zones of poverty resulted in significant infrastructural improvements in these areas, the rollout of flexible, integrated interventions in the ZOPs was slow. In the case of Manenberg which forms a small part of the ZOPs no capital projects were implemented because the focus in Manenberg was on ensuring that a trust relationship was built through regular consultations between the Council, communities and local roleplayers such as NGOs.

The study clearly shows that in spite of the work of COMDEV in Manenberg between 1997 and December 2000, conditions did not improve. Anecdotal evidence from interviews with Manenberg residents however suggest an improvement in the relationship between residents and the City. It was not possible to determine the extent to which the department of Community Development succeeded in improving the quality of life of the other zones of poverty. Further research would be required to in this regard.



Data reflected in Table 5.2 of the study clearly points to the deterioration in the socio-economic and crime situations in Manenberg between 1996 and 2001. Interviews with residents and the Councillor of Manenberg confirm the continued deterioration in their quality of life from 2001 and June 2003. The interviews also suggest that the lack of Council involvement in the area since the departure of Ahmedi Vawda and the COMDEV department has left many residents with a sense of being abandoned by the City and this has damaged the levels of trust that been established between the residents and the City.

COMDEV's legacy should however not be under estimated as it managed to provide a substantial amount of community facilities in other previously deprived areas. Such facilities are deemed important to the development of functional communities.

The termination of the lifespan of the Transitional Local Council of the City of Cape Town (1997 – 2000) together with the termination of employment of its City Manager and other executives such as the Executive Director of Community Development had severe consequences to the department's work. This suggests that the main source of the department's strength lay within individuals and their contributions that they made. This poses a range of questions around the need for succession planning. The new management that assumed responsibility for the developmental needs of the community was not able to take the initiatives further as they themselves were unable to put the developmental concepts into place.

COMDEV's experience provides valuable lessons around the implementation of development local government, many of which could be written up as a guide of what not to do.

The case study of Manenberg serves to illustrate how communities are impacted upon when changes are made to a local authority's institutional arrangements and organizational structure without proper consideration to the continued developmental needs of vulnerable communities. This not only creates issues related to the wastage of opportunities for development to grow into more sustainable situations where communities are more confident and feel more empowered to see to their own developmental needs but also to damage to the trust relationship between officials, communities and local role players such as NGOs.

The study indicates the shift in the priorities from that which was deemed as important from a smaller local authority's perspective to that of a larger local authority which has to consider the interests of a larger section of the community across a larger municipal area.

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ANNEXURE A

INTERVIEW WITH COUNCILLOR F. DE VRIES (QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES)

INTERVIEW DATE : TUESDAY 2004-11-09

PLACE OF INTERVIEW : MANENBERG PEOPLE'S CENTRE, MANENBERG

QUESTION 1 :For what period of time have you been the Councillor for Manenberg ?
Since FEB1995, the pre-interim stage

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1997

QUESTION 2 :THE SOCIAL CONDITIONS WHICH PREVAILED IN MANENBERG

Describe the overall social conditions which prevailed in the suburb of Manenberg. Elaborate on issues such as Crime, Gangster activities, violence, trauma, family life, teenage pregnancy etc

Gangster activities

Very high gang related violence

Major gang fights around the control of territory The Americans and the Hard Livings

During this period the Americans gained the upper hand over the Hard Livings

Violence (family violence and public violence)

People could not easy move around in the area because of the turf wars and because of being often caught in the cross fire between the gangs.

Violence was sporadic, no fixed time

People themselves did not realise the amount of trauma and stress that they were suffering as a result of being subjected to these conditions.

Trauma

It was that trauma and stress which played itself out in the household – automatically the way you feel is the way you express yourself.

Children was confined indoors and the internal environment was crowded and this also added to the stress.

Gang violence has a direct bearing on unemployment – community members who may ordinarily be working before the violence starts, their mobility is confined to the geographic area that the gangs operate in and because their lives are at risk and they can't venture out...they don't go to work and they soon loose their jobs.

Family life (family functionality)

I think that the majority of households are headed by single women (divorced, widows or never married)

There are still many households today that never reconciled themselves with the trauma that gang violence brought to that family as two of the sons were killed as a result of gang related violence, the son –in law who was a gang leader was also killed, the father died of natural causes – all within a period of less than two years.

A number of families have lost at least one child as a result of gang violence and that affects the functionality of families.

Parents feel very concerned about the safety of their children as they go to school and mothers then give up their jobs because they must ensure that the children reach home safely. Whilst they are at work they continuously worry about the safety of their children. This is still a continuous worry about it. People are away filled with anxiety and vigilance. The mother in families tend to take on more responsibilities of the family. In cases where women are abused they choose for the sake of the children to stay and endure the abuse from their husbands.

Teenage pregnancy

Teenage pregnancy was always a concern at the time.

Youth – activities and the quality of life that was available to youth at the time.

Soccer was the main sport which the youth was able to partake in.

QUESTION 3 :MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Prior to 1997, what did the municipality of Cape Town do to improve these conditions?

Only minor upgrading work was undertaken such as building of vibrecrete walls.

QUESTION 4 :KNOWLEDGE AND INSIGHT INTO SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Are you of the opinion that the municipality of Cape Town had adequate knowledge and insight into the conditions which prevailed and the causes of these conditions ?

Please elaborate on your response .

NO, they never evaluated the needs of the community. The manner in which things were done took the form of departments who had money available on their budgets deciding for themselves on what Manenberg needed – without any proper consultation with the residents and local officials. Top – down approach and the bottom-up inputs were always ignored.

The maintenance of the housing rental units was also not done.

QUESTION 5 : STYLE OF GOVERNANCE EXERCISED BY THE MUNICIPALITY PRIOR TO 1997

How did it go about ascertaining the needs and wishes of the community?

There were no processes in place which gave communities the opportunity to engage with Council about their needs and wishes. This resulted in the community not taking 'ownership' of what ever the Council wanted to implement.

What influence did local officials, the local Councillor and other role players such as NGOs have on influencing the strategies and interventions regarding allocation of resources and service delivery to Manenberg.?

In 1995 when the newly appointed Councillors tried to influence the budget they were not able to as the budget contained many projects that had already been committed and were already underway. This meant that a significant portion of available budget was committed for up to three years. Access to information on the budget especially in respect of expenditure on line items it was not possible to monitor implementation of projects by the respective communities.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 1997 TO 2000

QUESTION 6 : THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE MUNICIPALITY

Was there a change in approach to ascertaining the needs and wishes of the community of Manenberg ?

YES

Workshops took place through the DFU to find out the conditions, needs and wishes of the community.

The principles of the IDP in respect of consultation were carried out in this regard.

The Manenberg Spatial development Plan was undertaken by the Planning Department (Pete Van Heerden)

The upgrading of The Downs

In which way did the approach change ?

DFU was very involved in facilitation session between Council , residents and local role players such as NGO etc.

What was the municipality's COMDEV department's role in this ?

What institutional arrangements were put in place by the municipality (specifically the COMDEV department) to ensure improved communication and service delivery ?

The ACT came into being in 1998/99 and was the brainchild of the ED COMDEV

To what extent was this approach aimed at improving the social conditions which prevailed prior to 1997?

The purpose of the ACT was to bring the local service depts in the Manenberg area closer to the people and to hold them accountable to the people for service delivery at local level.

There was also a greater awareness of the number of interactions between Council and the residents and the importance of such interaction.

A more visionary approach was undertaken

Was this approach effective ?

Please elaborate on the strengths and weaknesses of this approach?

As a result of this approach which was started by COMDEV, more people have started engaging with the Council.

The ACTS is a structure which interacts with the community on a monthly basis where officials are taken to task at local level, summonsed to the meeting and also informed of problems at local level.

The weakness to this approach – because the ACTS were undertaken at local level I'm not sure to what extent senior management of departments took communities requests seriously and whether the issues raised at the at were ever used to inform the strategic plans for the area.

QUESTION 7 : SERVICE DELIVERY / INTERVENTIONS

What initiatives/ interventions/ projects were implemented by the municipality's COMDEV department to improve the conditions in Manenberg?

Mainly putting in governance systems to ensure higher levels of and improved levels of interaction with the community.

A lot of COMDEV's energies went into the tornado area where COMDEV's approach was implemented. This resulted in the building of houses to replace those that were destroyed taking longer than usual but it was important to get the community involved in determining what was to be provided.

Some community members also frustrated the process.

Other smaller initiatives were , the Park transformed from derelict unused park to a nice park which is now used by the community.

The clinic and the staff employed by Council . Staff use the 'unsafe conditions' in the area as a reason to close the services.

Question 8 : INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER ROLE PLAYERS (NGOs) IN ACTIVITIES AIMED AT ADDRESSING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEEDS OF MANENBERG

Where there any other role players/ organisations involved in activities aimed at addressing the socio-economic needs of the community of Manenberg. And what programmes / activities did they offer?

Silvertree – hoped to erect housing around the periphery of the sports field which would make sportsfield enclosed by houses. Skills training of the community

Manenberg People's Centre

- Clean Green ,
- Screen printing – teaching people screen printing.
- Cooked meals Mon – Friday , (since stopped due to funding from PAWC stopping)
- Carework going to the homes of faril and elderly (washing, bathing) ((since stopped due to funding from PAWC stopping)

Self-Help Manenberg – started with ECD (early childhood development) worked with women who came for counselling regarding abuse to develop skills and make them self-reliant

Where these activities/ interventions / projects successful ?

YES but as long as funding was available

These projects were not income generating and therefore were not sustainable without funding

Please elaborate on the strengths and weaknesses of these interventions.

Funding and the type of service did not allow self sustainability.

Based on hand-out way of doing things

To what extent was the municipality of Cape Town (specifically COMDEV) in these interventions ? If low or no involvement from the municipality, what were the reasons?

NO involvement with the City

They were not interested in funding such funding

Their grants in aid were for other types of initiatives

QUESTION 9 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG.

By the end of 2000 where there any changes (improvements/ deterioration) to the socio-economic conditions which prevailed in Maneneberg prior to 1997 ?

Please elaborate and give reasons ?

There were improvements ;

The community was more organised, they started planning for the future (visualising the future Maneneberg)

More coherent approach from different NGOs working towards a common goal

More interaction between the different NGOs

What impact did the removal in December 2000 of the Executive Director of COMDEV have on COMDEV's roll-out and service delivery to Maneneberg ?

The interaction which had happened between Maneneberg and a senior management level (ie. the ED of COMDEV) stopped and was never replaced by any other official with the exception of the Director of Health, Ivan Toms in his capacity of chair of the local ACT.

No assistance with community development on the proactive side to improve the social conditions in Maneneberg or to continue with the initiatives started by COMDEV. The only initiative and interest that is being shown in improving the social conditions in Maneneberg has been from the part of the NGOs.

There has been NO proactive social development involvement from the City in the form of innovative ways of cooperating with NGO and sharing of facilities in an attempt at improving conditions.

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 2001 TO JUNE 2003

QUESTION 10 : THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE MUNICIPALITY

What were the implications to Maneneberg of the establishment of the Unicity ?

Maneneberg was no longer a focus area and lost its identity as it became part of the 'deep sea of poverty'

It didn't stand out from other suburbs and consequently lost its status as a 'Zone of Poverty'

Only the PAWC's dept of Social Services is attempting to bring about social upliftment and is focus on the crime situation in the suburb. The City is not part of any of these initiatives.

Please elaborate in respect of ;

- **Changes to institutional arrangements**

This is a structural issue as when the City declared Mitchells Plain & Khayelitsha as Presidential Lead projects , the Cape Flats Urban Renewal Projects seemed to lose importance. There seems to be a lack on the City's part to provide special focus on any of the original 6 suburbs which formed part of the Cape Flats Urban Renewal Project.

The City does not seem to consider Maneneberg as a ZOP or as a suburb which should be considered for urban renewal. This is partly because of the fact that Maneneberg has a weak ward Councillor who does not push hard enough to get the issues within her ward attended to and noticed at the corporate level.

A ward Cllr can shape a ward – they force issues onto the budget for their wards.

As a PR councillor I can only push certain issues for Manenberg (strategically) via the Manenberg People's Centre. The Clean Green Project was my initiative which I needed to handle strategically to get it off the ground – but I do it in my capacity as a member of the Manenberg People's Centre.

The structure of the current council has the effect of creating more space to engage with the ward Councillor and the PR councillor tends to be marginalised – esp if both Cllrs are from the same coalition.

The system is such that if you have a ward councillor and a PR councillor from the same political party, the party assumes that the ward councillor carries the responsibility for fighting ward specific issues and therefore they will redeploy the PR Councillor to another area where there is no ward councillor of the same party.

Continued support and roll-out of interventions and programmes that were in place prior to the establishment of the Unicity

None

QUESTION 11 : SERVICE DELIVERY / INTERVENTIONS

What initiatives/ interventions/ projects were implemented by the municipality's (successor to COMDEV) Community Services department to improve the conditions in Manenberg?

NO

The upgrade of the Manenberg Community centre was meant to occur but did not because of the intervention of a certain DA/NP coalition Councillor (Gatuza), has been stopped. They insisted that another facility in the Duinefontein area rather be upgraded. It has since fell off the agenda.

Upgrading of the Downs Road which forms part of the Public Open Spaces (Spatial Planning Dept) forms of the Places of Dignity Programme.

QUESTION 12 : INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER ROLE PLAYERS (NGOs) IN ACTIVITIES AIMED AT ADDRESSING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC NEEDS OF MANENBERG

Did other role players/ organisations continue with activities aimed at addressing the socio-economic needs of the community of Manenberg. And what initiatives/ interventions/programmes did they offer?

Love life – Clean Green campaign

Lillies ministries – run a crèche in a council facility – took over a previously Council run crèche and they do skills development (electrical, welding, cabinet making, catering) in partnership with the Dept of Labour

Please elaborate on the strengths and weaknesses of these interventions.

The major weakness is that after people are trained they still cannot find employment or placement with employers. Also no support system in assisting people to become self employed.

To what extent was the municipality of Cape Town involved (specifically Community Services) in these interventions ?

NO

If low or no involvement from the municipality, what were the reasons?

The municipality does not see its role as a catalyst to development. Too focused on Core business – don't view creation of job opportunities by creating the conditions.

QUESTION 13 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG.

Have the socio-economic conditions in Manenber changed from what existed prior to 1997 to mid 2003 ?

What are the extent of these changes (deterioration / improvement).

We seem to be deteriorating. More young girls out of school, not working due to teenage pregnancy.

More children dropping out of school at Primary School even though they fall within the Compulsory School Going Age.

No system in place to police truancy

Also no support system to help children with learning disabilities (Dyslexia) which is misdiagnosed as behavioural problems

Mother feels compelled to take children out of school and there is no support from the school.

Please elaborate on each of the following issues ;

- *Crime*

Crime seems to be unchanged but I do not have any faith in the crime statistics due to my personal experience in how they are recorded.

There seems to be an increase in the amount of community members who are now coming forwards to give information around crime issues. The police now have better access to information which assist them in their investigations than was the case previously. There is however of late a feeling amongst certain community members that they cannot trust the police based on what they have observed and are fearful of their lives if they cooperate with the police – this seems to point to a return to the culture of silence and not getting involved for fear of reprisals etc.

Statistics regarding Domestic Violence could be suspect, cases seem to be on the increase since cases are being taken far more seriously than they were before. There is also a growing trend (which is now recorded vs no records kept before) of domestic violence of women on men.

- *Gangster activities*

Gangster activities have decreased , not as rife as it was prior to 1997.

Starting the pockets in which people started to claim ownership for their space has instilled a type of ownership in the community .

When gang violence rears its head then community will say 'ons gannie die kak vat nie'

When gang violence occurs they take their children indoors and they worry about the whereabouts of their children when gang violence erupts.

They have since realised that if they nip gang violence in the bud and it doesn't flare up then it wont increase.

Gang violence is often caused by activities in drug trading, either someone has traded drugs in their turf or they want to take over a turf.

Drug lords are effected by gang fights in that their business is impacted upon and therefore try to ensure gang fights are avoided. Gang activities are still high but they are more sophisticated and violence is lowered. They are also now more involved in organised crime and armed robberies outside the suburb of Manenberg.

- *Violence (family violence and public violence)*

This is still an issue – high incidence.

- *Trauma*

People are still traumatised but are now aware that they can deal with it and are dealing with it differently. People are more open about it and speak about what has happened to them and this helps to deal with trauma. – therapeutic.

- *Family life (family functionality)*

Women that are abused speak out and find support from other women who were victims who successfully dealt with it.

- *Teenage pregnancy*

Teenage pregnancy still is a concern and the incidents of teenage pregnancies seems to have grown over the years.

The major concern is the danger related to unprotected sex and the dangers of contracting HIV/AIDS.

There seems to be a growth in HIV/AIDS cases in Manenberg. Much of it is linked to the movement in and out of prison . In the majority of cases these men were sexually abused in prison they feel the need to prove their ‘manhood’ to themselves by sleeping with many young women .

- *Youth – activities and the quality of life that was available to youth at the time.*

Youth are worse off in terms of social activities as they are very materialistic. Drugs are more accessible to youth and they are easily hooked especially manufacture their own drugs.

They are used as runners for drugs to get money to afford their materialistic wants. They also seem to buckle to peer pressure, . other are drug users and get hooked very easily.

QUESTION 14: REVIEW OF THE APPROACH AND WORK STARTED BY COMDEV

Was the approach taken by COMDEV and the work which it started – appropriate to meet the needs of and transform the community of Manenberg ?

A lot of his thinking and approaches stayed with the community and many more people became social activists because of that .

COMSERVS does not realise the added value that NOGos have to bring . They talk about partnerships in their BP’s but that is never put in place.

Please elaborate in respect of ; Strengths/Limitations

The impact of changes to the management of the department.

Since the termination of the services of Ahmedi Vawda there has been NO involvement in Manenberg by any senior official of the Community services department, with the exception of the Director of Health , Ivan Toms who chairs the local ACT.

There have been no involvement in trying to improve the social conditions in Manenberg or to continue with the initiatives started by COMDE. The Social Development Directorate has also had no contact with Manenberg. There is NO interaction with the City with the exception of the ACT which is at a lower level.

There has been NO proactive social development involvement from the City in the form of innovative ways of cooperating with NGO and sharing of facilities in an attempt at improving conditions.

*The biggest problem which leads to social ills is overcrowding
Two and three families live in the same household and that leads to conflict of space.
This leads to abuse, research (Elaine Salo) was done about gang relationships and teenager
relationships , how girls get abused and why they get abused. One of the findings is that sub-
tenants who have a desperate need for accommodation they often are vulnerable because they
cannot get other accommodation . Their children are often abused sexually and in other ways
but they have to endure it (keep quite) because they will not be able to find alternative
accommodation. This is a major form of the high levels of domestic violence.*



ANNEXURE: B

GROUP INTERVIEW OF MEMBERS OF THE MANENBERG COMMUNITY (QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES)

INTERVIEW DATE : TUESDAY 2004-11-09

PLACE OF INTERVIEW : MANENBERG PEOPLE'S CENTRE, MANENBERG
NAMES OF INTERVIEWEES LISTED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

QUESTION 1 : How long have you been a resident of Manenberg ?

The length of residence in Manenberg ranged from 37 yrs in the case of resident Owen Munro to 17 yrs in the case of Galiema Isaacs (shortest period in the interview group)

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1997

QUESTION 2 : THE SOCIAL CONDITION WHICH PREVAILED IN MANENBERG

**Describe the overall social conditions which prevailed in the suburb of Manenberg.
How did these conditions affect your daily life in Maneneberg ?**

Crime

*High gang related crime, gang vs gang innocent people injured & killed
Was viewed as one of the highest murder rates in the country due to gangster activities (esp in 1988)*

Gangster activities

*Gangster activities high but centred around territory. Feuds were long in duration
Many families lost children because of gang fights
Children became members and gangs.
Child gang members lost their lives as well as innocent 'bystander' children
Although the residents of Manenberg started to show their unhappiness with the situation regarding gangs (public marches etc were held) the gangs continued to recruit new members.*

Violence (family violence and public violence)

*Perception is that domestic violence levels were high at the time.
No stats were kept concerning the incidence of domestic violence during that period.
People were however aware that domestic violence was a problem but it was not spoken about outside of the different family units. No support structures were readily available to victims of domestic violence. The Police also disregarded such reports as they did not regard it as part of their core business. Their focus was on criminal activities and assault that was seen to be related to domestic violence was not taken seriously by the police. Therefore no charges were investigated properly.*

Trauma

People were very traumatised but people were 'used to it' Trauma was related not only to the socio-economic activities and gangster activities but also as a result of what people had to endure during the struggle days. People never dealt with the trauma related to what they were exposed to. They were never aware of the fact that they were traumatised as they accepted that what they were suffering was part of normal life. During the 1980's and 1990's trauma was regarded as a 'white mans' sickness and they therefore resisted counselling at the time.

They had become desensitised to the struggle and violence which they were confronted. What we today regard as 'abnormal' was regarded by many Manenberg residents as 'normal and vice-versa.

People had lost all hope of improving their quality of life and therefore became individualistic and this translated into them minding their own business and not intervening in helping another resident who had fallen victim to gang activities (robbery, rape etc)

The Manenberg People's Centre was constructed so that the community could receive counselling to deal with their social issues amongst others trauma.

The Manenberg People's Centre had a significant impact on the lives of community because of the progressive initiatives which were run from it.

Family life (family functionality)

Can only comment on the families which had problems. Approx one third of all family units living in the Manenberg flats were dysfunctional.

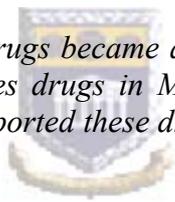
Teenage pregnancy

Was a problem. This relates to the stigma associated with children who are sexually active visiting the clinics for birth control. Children then risked sex without birth control and this resulted in many teenage pregnancies.

Drug activities (drug abuse and selling of drugs)

Mandrax ('buttons') is blamed as a major cause of the destabilisation of communities which up to the late 1980's used mainly dagga.

However in the 1990's more expensive drugs became available such as cocaine, ecstasy etc but there was no ready market for these drugs in Manenberg as the residents could not afford them. The resident drug dealers exported these drugs to the more affluent suburbs such as sea Point, Woodstock etc...



Alcoholism

Alcohol abuse was high amongst both women and men. This is confirmed in the rates of Foetal Alcohol Related syndrome.

Youth – activities and the quality of life that was available to youth at the time.

Soccer was played. Sport was viewed as only a game. There was no realisation of how if organised better (through sports councils etc) the recreational needs of community could be met as part of a strategy to improve the quality of life issues of communities. This only came about after Sport Council was established and the City of Cape Town established an Sport 7 recreation department which formed part of the Council's approach to the role it could play in social development of communities.

Youth were also involved in organised political activities (but no social activities)

QUESTION 3 : MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Prior to 1997, was the municipality of Cape Town involved in trying to improve conditions in Manenberg?

NO, but with few exceptions involving Cllrs Ross and Stott but heir style seemed very paternalistic and their suggestions were rejected by the residents.

Small projects mainly infrastructural related to rental housing maintenance such as building vibrecrete walls, but nothing to meet the socio-economic needs of the community.

QUESTION 4 : KNOWLEDGE AND INSIGHT INTO PREVAILING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Did they understand what was going on in the community ?

Please elaborate on your answer .

NO

Council should take the blame for the state of the community today. This dates back to 1983/84 when the poorest of the poor were placed in rental accommodation which is situated in an area known as the BRONX today. This relates to the period when people were relocated after being moved out of District 6, Lansdowne, Claremont as result of the Group Areas Act. The manner in which Council allocated housing areas within Manenberg was based on some sorts of class classification (based on income groups). All the poorest of the poor were placed together and the better off class were placed in a different area , known today as 'The Downs'”

QUESTION 5 : STYLE OF GOVERNANCE EXERCISED BY THE MUNICIPALITY PRIOR TO 1997

Did the municipality consult Manenberg residents on their needs and priorities?

The style was paternalistic and prescriptive with insufficient consultation.

No consultation to ascertain the needs and wants of the community was.



QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 1997 TO 2000

QUESTION 6 : THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE MUNICIPALITY

Did the Municipality increase its efforts to communicate with residents ?

Only one department tried to INCREASE the way in which they consulted the community. This was done through one senior manager, the ED of Community Services , Ahmedi Vawda who came in person to ask the people of Manenberg what their needs and priorities were.

No other senior official did this. This made it unique. He led by example in respect of consulting with the communities and getting communities involved in determining their future needs etc.

How was this done ?

The person , Ahmedi Vawda came in person most of the time and his dept the DFU became more involved in initiatives aimed at the improving of the environment, social improvements and started with urban renewal practices.

The Council through Ahmedi Vawda arranged for the local councillor and a number of community leaders together with some officials in the DFU visited the town of Charlotte in America to learn from them how they had gone about their urban renewal initiatives which was regarded as successful and which in part could be replicated in Manenberg.

Which departments were prominent ?

COMDEV especially the DFU

Was this effective ?

YES but focused on capacity building amongst the local community leadership and the changing of mindsets of residents of Manenberg who had previously given up hope of Manenberg ever improving its quality of life. People were now more optimistic and started to believe in their ability to bring about changes.

What were the strengths and weaknesses of these efforts?

The strength was that it was supported by a senior official and the Councillor who was also the chair person of the Community development Standing Committee.

The weakness was that it depended very heavily on the person Ahmedi Vawda to ensure its support,. With the termination of his contract and the marginalisation of the influence the Chair of the standing committee had – the initiative and the new practice of the new developmental approach to local government could not be sustained and never passed the embryonic stage .

QUESTION 7 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG

By the end of 2000 where there any changes (improvements/ deterioration) to the conditions which prevailed in Manenberg prior to 1997 ?

YES but limited to a change in attitude amongst officials and residents. This was the result of lots of effort in the process side which was aimed at involving communities and getting them to once again have the confidence to start to renew their suburb. More residents came forward who were wanting to be part of making Manenberg better.

The visit to Charlotte was such an initiative but after much work and preparation aimed at getting the people and the suburb ready to embark on urban renewal, the Unicity was established and COMDEV was disestablished.

With the termination of Ahmedi Vawda's contract the initiative was aborted as it was not supported by the newly elected Council and the newly appointed senior management.

Please elaborate and give reasons ?

The city as well as the residents of Manenberg had through the inputs of the ED – became more conscious about the importance of spatial aspects that were important to improving the quality of life. For example what the impact of built structures, having visual access to the street, blank spaces also the importance of designing out crime. The importance of changing things in smaller pockets vs trying to change the entire suburb. It was more pragmatic to 'eat the elephant in small bites'

What efforts from the municipality brought about these changes ?

Silvertree and the Manenberg Peoples Centre provided services to the organisation.

Ahmedi Vawda did much to get the two organisations to work together in improving the lives of Manenberg residents. (He undertook workshops with both institutions and took them through a SWOT analysis etc)

This resulted in the cooperation in the "Clean Green' project (part of the MPC)

What efforts from other organisations (eg Love Life)brought about these changes ?

Love Life came in 2000

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 2001 TO JUNE 2003

QUESTION 8 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG

Describe the overall social conditions which prevailed in the suburb of Manenberg. By mid 2003. Please elaborate in respect of ;

Crime

No

Unemployment

No , still high employment

Gangster activities

Still the same

Violence (family violence and public violence)

Perception is that domestic violence is still high

No indication of any decrease.

Trauma

People are still traumatised.

Family life (family functionality)

Approx three quarters of all family units living in the Manenberg flats were dysfunctional.

Safety of the community

Still unsafe in Manenberg



Drug activities (drug abuse and selling of drugs)

Mandrax ('buttons') and especially dagga still widely used by residents of Manenberg.

Drug dealers who still live in Manenberg still export the more expensive / sophisticated drugs to well oo suburbs. Gangs are used as drug runners by drug syndicates.

Gang wars do flare up but do not last long because the drug lords and gang leaders are aware that the longer the gang war last the less business will be made. Gangs therefore live in a condition of 'tolerance' of each other for the sake of their drug trade business interests

Alcoholism

Alcohol abuse still high amongst both women and men. This is confirmed in the rates of Foetal Alcohol Related syndrome.

Interviewees both sceptical about the success rate/ outcomes of Council's "sensible Drinking Campaign".

What needs are important which have not been met?

Not enough done to address alcoholism and alcohol abuse

Not enough drug rehabilitation facilities

The socio-economic issues of Manenberg is not being addressed . This is evident in the budget allocations of Council for expenditure in Manenberg.

Requests from the community to support initiatives ie. Lighting on existing poles in food garden. Electricity dept refuse because against policy to fit new lighting irrespective of the important impact it will have to the success of the food gardens project etc

People realise that they cannot depend on Council to improve the suburb.

They will need to do it themselves and get involved.

They cleaned Manenberg up well in the Clean Green project and this made a great difference to the appearance and confidence amongst people of Manenberg. But when the funding stopped things deteriorated again.

When the Clean Green project which is funded by Love Life was up and running there was quite a lot of media coverage about the success of the initiative which consisted of the involvement of local community.

The City later after taking cognisance of the success of the project and the fact that the community was able to be involved in local initiatives , but failed to award contracts to local residents when work was commissioned in the area. They saw that the local people cleaned the place better than them yet they employed people from other areas. This brings into question the criteria that the City uses to create employment and empowerment opportunities for local communities.

Council seems to have moved back to the days that they did not understand the needs of the community and the important interrelationship that things have in social development.

There has been NO involvement by the Social development directorate in Manenberg since the end of COMDEV.

No institutional memory has been recorded regarding best practice. No archive of best practice therefore very limits to ensure that the learning institution

Not enough use of NGO's who give much better value for money, they create far more employment opportunities and far more outcomes. Capacity building and self esteem opportunities are missed. People have more sense of ownership and pride in their area if they are used in local initiatives.

*For communities to change requires social change (both within the community but especially amongst officials who need to think differently) this begs the question of the **impact of organisational change in management and te impact it has on vulnerable communities.***

ANNEXURE : C

INTERVIEW WITH ANWAR ADAMS, LOCAL BUSINESS OWNER

INTERVIEW DATE : TUESDAY 2004-11-09

PLACE OF INTERVIEW : ADAMS BUTCHERY , UNIT 2, VISTULA AVENUE,
MANENBERG

Question 1 :

How long has your business operated from Manenberg AND HOW MANY Manenberg residents do you employ?

34 yrs (1970)

Ten people

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1997

QUESTION 2 : THE CONDITIONS AND NEEDS OF MANENBERG

Describe the overall social conditions which prevailed in the suburb of Manenberg.

How did each of the following affect your daily life in Maneneberg?

Crime

Crime was high but not organised and sophisticated

Gangster activities

Gangster activities high but centred around territory. Feuds were long in duration

Many families lost children because of gang fights

Children became members and gangs.

Child gang members lost their lives as well as innocent 'by-stander' children

Trauma

People were very traumatised as result of gang activities. Residents often caught in cross fire.

Gang battles could not be predicted and so therefore people could not plan to be out of the way before gangster fights. This impacted on their daily life (taxis, use of local facilities , clinic and library)

Stress related to always be uncertain of your children/'s / loved ones safety etc.

Family life (family functionality)

Violence within the family occurred but was never spoken about even though people knew that it was happening.

Mothers kept the families together. Father were either not at home often as some were gang members themselves. Other fathers were not capable of fulfilling their roles as head of household as they were drug addicts/ alcoholics.

Mothers took on the responsibility of fulfilling both roles.

Safety of the community

Many public places were not safe for the community to use because of the gangs turf wars

Drug activities (drug abuse and selling of drugs)

Drug dealing as high but most of these activities involved drug dealing to residents of Manenberg

Alcoholism

High rates of alcohol abuse amongst both fathers and mothers , but highest amongst men.

Youth – activities and the quality of life that was available to youth at the time.

Played soccer. Tried to get organised but was later taken over by the gangs.

QUESTION 3 : MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

Prior to 1997, was the municipality of Cape Town involved in trying to improve conditions in Manenberg?

Was a no-go area for the Municipality at the time

Not very involved, not interested in the sub-economic area.

White government in power not interested in the needs of Manenberg

The activities of the gangs also served to keep the city officials out of the area as it was seen as unsafe.

QUESTION 4 : KNOWLEDGE AND INSIGHT INTO PREVAILING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Did they understand what was going on in the community ?

Please elaborate on your answer .

No, did not understand.

They did not bother to engage with the community to find out what the wishes and needs of the people were.



QUESTION 5 : STYLE OF GOVERNANCE EXERCISED BY THE MUNICIPALITY PRIOR TO 1997

Did the municipality consult Manenberg residents on their needs and priorities?

No, cannot recall

QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 1997 TO 2000

QUESTION 6 : THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE MUNICIPALITY

Did the Municipality increase its efforts to communicate with residents ?

YES, more consultation with the community

Things started to happen slowly

The NP ward Cllr was very involved in the community and went to no-go areas, shebeens and drug dens and confronted dealers etc. She used to get the SAPS to accompany her to these areas.

How was this done and which departments were prominent ?

Parks planting trees, Cleansing cleaning the area, DFU on consultation activities.

Was this effective ?

Need and backlog so great that the interventions were too small to make a lasting impact.

What were the strengths and weaknesses of these efforts?

*Nothing improved which had a good effect *on my business**

QUESTION 7 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG

By the end of 2000 where there any changes (improvements/ deterioration) to the conditions which prevailed in Maneneberg prior to 1997 ?

Very difficult to judge. In spite of efforts on the part of the various Council depts there was no significant improvement to the lives of residents

Please elaborate and give reasons ?

Changes seemed to be mostly in terms of the attitudes of residents towards themselves, more positive

What efforts from the municipality brought about these changes ?

Mainly limited to support for residents initiatives.

Done mainly via the DFU unit.

What efforts from other organisations (eg Love Life)brought about these changes ?

Love Life, Manenberg People's Centre were more active than the Council.

This was due to the trust relationship that had been built with the community over the years.

Were more accessible to assist community.



QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE PERIOD 2001 TO JUNE 2003

QUESTION 8 : CHANGES TO CONDITIONS IN MANENBERG

Describe the overall social conditions which prevailed in the suburb of Manenberg by mid 2003. Please elaborate

Significant changes to attitudes of residents who seem to have come to the realisation that they should not come to depend on the Council or depend on Government to help them to improve their present positions but they should try to accomplish as much as possible for themselves.

The community as a whole seem to have self empowered themselves, some have become self employed, started small businesses etc.

NGOs such as Love Life should take the credit for getting many to believe in their own potential etc.

Crime

Crime is high but seems to be mainly housebreaking etc (petty theft) motivated by the need to get money to support their drug habit.

Unemployment

Still high no change

Gangster activities

Gang conflicts no longer solely about territory but focused on market. Both sides are aware that the longer they fight the less drugs they are able to sell

The market for drugs is no longer the community of Manenberg itself but has shifted to 'exporting' drugs to wealth suburbs of Cape Town such as Sea Point etc.

Hard livings vs Americans. Truces between gangs are more common which is based on the need to continue with business. They 'tolerate' each other for the sake of business.

Violence (family violence and public violence)

No change as from pre-1997

Mother still the main role player who absorbs most of the responsibilities for family life

Youth – activities and the quality of life that was available to youth at the time.

Has improved, more sport disciplines now such as cricket and rugby. N Don't get much support from municipality so they approach local business for sponsorships etc. More children now get involved. This has been encouraged by adults who grew up in Manenberg who were not able to partake in sport because of prevailing conditions. They see the benefits of partaking in sport amongst the youth.

What needs are important which have not been met?

Needs skills development programmes for employment

Improved security needs ESPECIALLY FOR BUSINESS

*City Police **does** react quickly for assistance to business but we call on them every day that is shows you how unsafe and **unattractive it is for business to establish themselves in Manenberg. We stayed mainly because of our ties with Manenberg going back many years – this is a family business***

Last robbed in the 1980's this is because there are many people working for the business and the fact that are alert to suspicious behaviour etc