THE EFFECTS OF POOR IMPLEMENTATION OF HOUSING POLICY IN THE WESTERN CAPE: A STUDY CASE OF KHAYELITSHA SITE C

Student: Fred Bidandi

(2257858)

Min-thesis Presented to the School of Government, Faculty of Economic and

Management Science, University of the Western Cape, in partial fulfillment of the

Requirement for the Masters Degree in Administration

Supervisor: Prof.I.L. Thompson

SEPTEMBER 2007

DECLARATION

I declare that *Effect of Poor Implementation of Housing Policy in the Western Cape: A Case study of Khayelitsha Site C* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Signed	Date
Signed	Date



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the following persons for their invaluable assistance in bringing this piece of work to completion.

First of all to my Lord Jesus Christ, my creator and Redeemer, to whom I owe and dedicate my entire life and through whom all things are possible. His name be praised! Amen.

I would also like to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Prof. Lisa Thompson for her tireless guidance and support through out this time of writing this mini –thesis. Without your constructive critism, it would not have been easy. Thank you so much.

To my lovely mother, Agath and sisters Annet, Rebecca and Agnes, who always motivated me to continue with my studies and become the best that I could be. Thanks for your prayers, for always setting an example, for your encouragement, motivation and constant support. You made a big sacrifice over the years, but the trust and confidence you displayed in me never faded. This I will always treasure.

WESTERN CAPE

To my brother Julius and his family and friends, thank you for your support and encouragement.

My lecturers, Prof. Chisepo Mpaisha, Dr. M. Esau, Prof. Christo De Coning, Prof. John Bardill, Dr.Leon Pretorius, for their invaluable mentorship and guidance, enthusiastic assistance, advice and inspiration.

Your positive attitude towards the entire Masters Program, and especially your vision and insight pertaining to the frontiers on the public management dispensation will always be an inspiration to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page Number

DEC	LARATION	i
ACK	NOWLEDGEMENT	ii
TABI	LE OF CONTENTS	iii
ABBI	ABBREVIATIONS	
ABST	TRACT	v
СНА	PTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	
1.1.	Introduction	1
1.2.	Background to the problem	4
1.3.	Statement of the problem	8
1.4.	Objective of the study	8
1.5.	Research design and Methodology	9
1.6.	Research Design	10
1.7.	Research Methods	10
1.8.	Selection of Participants for the Study	11
1.9.	Instruments used	11
1.10.	Data Analysis	12
1.11.	Validity	12
1.12.	Interviews	12
1.13.	Significance of the study	13

1.14.	Limitations of the study	14
1.15.	Sequence of the chapters	14
CHAI	PTER TWO: BACKGROUND AND ANALYTICAL CONTEXT TO	
SOUT	TH AFRICA'S HOUSING POLICY IN RELATION TO KHAYELITSHA	
2.1	Introduction	16
2.2	Background to Khayelitsha	16
2.3	History	16
2.4	Population	17
2.5	Community Development in Khayelitsha	18
2.6	Houses and Development in Khayelitsha	19
2.7	Government Initiative	20
2.8	Policy framework	20
2.9	National Housing Strategy	22
2.10	Provincial Strategy	23
2.11	Local government strategy	25
2.12	Problem Areas	25
2.13	Challenges UNIVERSITY of the	26
2.14	Housing and RDP WESTERN CAPE	27
2.15	City of Cape Town housing strategy	28
2.16	Key programmes	28
2.17	Institutional Framework	29
2.18	The right to adequate housing	29
2.19	Housing Finance Corporation	30
2.20	Interest Rates	31
2.21	Housing Subsidy	31
2.22	End User	34
2.23	End User Finance and Subsidies	34
2.24	Land and Planning Issues	35
2.25	Housing Policy Objectives	36
2.26	The Role of Communities	37
2.27	Incremental Housing Subsidies	38

2.28	Affordability	39
2.29	Location	40
2.30	Conclusion	41
CHAP	TER THREE: DISCUSSIONS OF INTERVIEWS AND ANALYSIS	
3.1	Introduction	43
3.2	Background to the Case Study Area	43
3.3	Khayelitsha- Case Study Site C	44
3.4	Perceptions of Housing Services	46
3.5	Relocation	46
3.6	People's view and Feelings about the Environment	48
3.7	Government Assistance	49
3.8	Residents' perception of councilors	50
3.9	Residents role in Housing Delivery	50
3.10	Informal Housing	51
3.11	Description of housing environment	52
3.12.1	Health	52
3.12.2	Physical Infrastructure UNIVERSITY of the	52
3.13	Community Organization / ESTERN CAPE	53
3.14	Community participation	53
3.15	Sanitation	55
3.16	Economic Activities in Site C	55
3.17	Crime	55
3.18	Officials' involvement	56
3.19	Land Question	58
3 20	Conclusion	58

CHAPTER FOUR: HOW COMMUNITIES IN KHAYELITSHA PARTICIPATE			
IN SE	ERVICE DELVERY: DISCUSSION OF FINDING	S	
4.1	Introduction	59	
4.2	Duration of stay of participants in Site C	59	
4.3	Tendering	60	
4.4	Community Participation	60	
4.5	Lack of Suitable Housing Credit	60	
4.6	Lack of Capacity	61	
4.7	Institutional Frame Work	61	
4.8	Financing	62	
4.9	Stake Holders	62	
4.10	Product Quality	63	
4.11	Effects	63	
4.12	Approaches	66	
4.13	Conclusions	68	
~~~ .	UNIVERSITY of the	GT T1GT 0.11G	
CHA	APTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CON	CLUSIONS	
5.1	Recommendations and conclusion	69	
5.2	Community participation	70	
5.3	Housing Allocation and Financing Schemes	70	
5.4	Public private partnership	72	
5.5	Role of municipalities	73	
5.6	Conclusions	73	
APPENDCIES 76			
REFI	ERENCES	84	

#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

ANC African National Congress

**CBOs** Community Based Organizations

**GDP** Gross Domestic Product

**IDP** Integrated Development Planning

MEC Member of the Executive Council

NGO Non Governmental Organizations

NHBRC National Home Builders Registration council

PHP People's Housing Process

**RDP** Reconstruction and Development Program

**SABC** South African Broadcasting Corporation

**SACN** State of South African Cities

**SAHRC** South African Human Rights Commission

**UNCHS** United Nations Centre for Human Settlement

=

#### **ABSTRACT**

The ANC government came to power in 1994 and has had to come to grips with many economic, social and political challenges it inherited from the apartheid regime. A majority of the people were marginalized and subjected to poor standards of living in areas that were inadequately provided for in terms of basic services. One of the biggest challenges the new government is facing is the delivery of services especially housing Poor policy implementation continues to complicate the existing problems. Other issues which contribute to service delivery crisis include lack of public participation, insufficient funds to meet these huge demands, inadequate skilled human resources.

The study critically examines the extend to which poor policy implementation has affected the provision of housing in Khayelitsha with focus on the respective stakeholders. The stakeholders in question include housing services beneficiaries, councilors, community based organizations, financial institutions and the department of housing, all of whom are expected to play a vital role regarding housing delivery according to government policies.

Site C in Khayelitsha is the reference point of this study. At the time of this study, Site C was experiencing numerous problems related to poor housing. These include a high crime rate, unemployment, poor health conditions, and poor sanitation. The study investigates these issues in the context of the Government's policies and strategies to address the current national housing crisis, and concludes with observations as to how the situation may be addressed in Site C Khayelitsha.

#### CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

#### 1.1 Introduction

Housing is recognized as a human right. An important part of that right is being able to enjoy an adequate standard of living. Government is committed to ensuring that every one has the opportunity to access a decent home. This is not only for the direct benefit of households, but also for guaranteeing social cohesion, better employment prospects, improved health and education and greater economic inclusion. In order to achieve its ultimate goal the government has to create a policy framework and legislative support to make this possible, as well as allocating subsidy funds from the budget so that housing can be affordable to everyone.

To enforce the housing policy, the Housing Act, 1997 (Act 107 of 1997) was approved in November 1997 and came into effect in April 1998. After the enactment of the housing policy, the Government of South Africa facilitated its implementation by establishing a National Housing Code and National Housing Data Bank to assist with developing, implementing as well as monitoring national policy among other key issues.

Burman (2005:86) argues that the urban population in South Africa is bound to double by 2010, which is now estimated at an average of 9.5 million, placing a huge strain on national resources and infrastructure. He further argues that over 90% of the South Africa's GDP comes from urban areas. 80% of the country's poor population live in rural

areas forcing a certain age group (between 18 –45) to migrate to urban areas for better facilities.

In view of the above there is need for urban renewal and rural development as a complementary measure. For example, in many municipalities in South Africa the number of households has increased by an average of 3.3% per annum (Burman, 2005: 90). The current household growth rates imply that the provincial and local government have to plan for approximately 25,000 - 40,000 households per year given the current migration and the demographic profiles of the population. It is imperative to note that the additional households will be poor and will live in sub-economic houses that will require land, as well as the provision of social facilities and amenities

.

The government of South Africa embarked on a Reconstruction and Development programme (RDP) soon after the 1994 democratic elections. This programme was aimed at uplifting the economic wellbeing of previously disadvantaged citizens of the country. A major focus of the RDP is on the delivery of housing. The government plans to build affordable housing and this is to be done through the introduction of capital subsidy schemes of R28, 000 thousand maximum per housing unit (SAHRC, 2004:5). At the moment South Africa has an enormous problem with people living in inadequate housing that does not provide access to basic services or a healthy and convenient living environment. Inadequate housing conditions have enormous implications for health. Lack of sanitation and water are often linked to a variety of illnesses, especially diarrhea, which is a leading cause of death in Africa. Damp living conditions are also associated

with diseases such as tuberculosis. Women are especially affected by inadequate housing, as women are usually the home makers (Nomatyala, 2003:23). Currently the housing backlog has grown to over 5 million houses in South Africa, with a continuous inflow of immigrants from rural areas and refugees from other parts of the world adding to the problem. Annually, more than 200,000 new households are created that are not able to acquire adequate housing. People living in inadequate housing include:

- People in informal settlements.
- Hostel dwellers.
- Back yard bungalow/shack dwellers.

According to a report by the former mayor of the City of Cape Town, Cape Town as a city and its townships have an annual backlog of 260,000 (Nomatyala, 2003:29). To improve on this the municipality is planning a ten year human settlement plan that will transform the city and the surrounding townships by ensuring that the number of shacks are reduced and the majority of the community gain access to decent houses. Priority will be given on a first come first served principle, that is to people who have lived in the area the longest especially in Khayelitsha, Langa, Philippi and Gugulethu (City of Cape Town Housing Newspaper, May 2005). This chapter will focus on policy implementation for housing delivery in South Africa with emphasis on the Western Cape and Khayelitsha in particular. The role of stakeholders who have an influence on the delivery of affordable housing will be identified. The impact of stakeholders involvement on the delivery programme for housing will also be evaluated.

#### 1.2 Background to the problem

Since 1994 when the ANC came to power, one of the major challenges it faced and continues to face is provision of housing or permanent residential structures with secure tenure, water, adequate sanitary facilities, refuse disposal and a domestic electricity supply to all the people of South Africa (IDP, 2004/2005:23). The government, faced with this huge demand, has established a sustainable housing process through a National and Provincial Housing Strategy which will eventually enable all South Africans to secure housing within viable communities or locations.

According to the report by the MEC, Nomatyala (2003:29), the Western Cape provincial plan indicated that each year 20,000 units have been built, but 40,000 units need to be built on an annual basis to reduce the backlog caused by people who migrate to the province from other provinces. He observed that the continuous movement of people into and out of the Western Cape is complex because people move for various reasons including seeking employment, escaping poverty, and being able to access housing more easily than in their province of origin.

According to the Provincial Minister for Local Government and Housing when delivering the budget speech for the financial year 2006/2007 for the Western Cape, the Department of Housing was allocated a full conditional grant of R598 million for housing where 16,000 houses are expected to be completed and 18,000 sites serviced. However, by December 2006, the Department of Housing through the integrated service land project, initiated in 1992, will have delivered more than 25 000 additional housing opportunities

to the people in the entire province with Khayelitsha taking the largest share of +- 6000 units (Dyantyi, 2006:1-2). Despite this effort the government has not come out in full support in attempting to solve this overdue housing crisis. The current situation seems bleak indeed, not much different from the old South Africa that many thought was left behind. The reality of the housing backlog becomes apparent when looking at earlier official estimates of the national housing backlog (Urban Foundation; 2005:5, Vol 9).

.

The Mail and Guardian newspaper (4th June 2006), reported on the protests over the housing backlog and unlawful eviction from illegal settlements. In response to this report, the Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, while addressing the nine provincial ministers in Pretoria, concurred with their findings. As regards the overwhelmingly poor living conditions of most people, she observed that government has realized that many people are living in abominable conditions country wide, despite the fact that 1, 6 million houses have been built since 1994. The housing backlog is still enormous and much effort is needed to reduce this problem. The prevention of illegal eviction and unlawful occupation of land (Act, 19 of 1998) provides for the prohibition of unlawful eviction and sets out detailed procedures for the eviction of unlawful occupiers. The law further provides a process for fair eviction of unlawful occupiers, and distinguishes between occupiers who have been residing on land for more than six months or more. Protests by squatters against eviction from illegal settlements, for example in Boksburg, Khayelitsha (Western Cape) and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan area have been reported (Mail and Guardian Newspaper, May 2006).

The major impediment to housing delivery is due to a lack of alignment between national, provincial and local government. Some of the houses already constructed are substandard which has resulted in some beneficiaries either renting them out or selling them and erecting a shack elsewhere. With reference to the above, "The Housing Consumer Protection Measures Act" (1998), states that residential builders have to register with the National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBRC). The aim of the act is to protect homeowners or beneficiaries of the housing scheme from inferior workmanship, (Housing Consumer Protection Measures Act 1998:15).

According to the State of South African Cities (SACN) it is over 10 years a since the democratic elections took place. In this period a great deal has been accomplished in the transformation process of South African cities. However despite this significant progress, housing demands remain fundamental (SACN 2004:126). It could also be argued that due to the absence of significant improvement in the provision of social service indicators, there is a time lag between the implementation of policies and their effects.

According to City of Cape Town Newspaper (May 2005:4), the city's new human settlement plan is committed to ensuring that new settlements for poorer people are located nearer to core areas of employment, recreation, and with transport accessibility. In this regard, the provincial government with its partner, the City of Cape Town, is fully aligned to the national directions contained in the national plan. The city on its part is already committed to building 5000 new units in the urban core. Self build projects through the People's Housing Process have been implemented and by the end of the year

(2006), a further 4000 families will have obtained housing subsidies (City of Cape Town Housing Newspaper, May 2005). In addition, The City of Cape Town received about R.350 million from the provincial government, 70% of the province's allocation is enough to cover 10,000 new households a year.

SABC3 Special Assignment (26.06.2006, 9:30pm) noted that Cape Town needs nearly a 1/4million houses annually, the housing backlog we have today having been caused by apartheid laws. The report further indicated that housing is to be used to integrate the community and that currently people are housed far from the city and far from places of employment. Also noted was that there is a high level of crime and unemployment in townships. People must have access to transport and employment opportunities. In addition the program revealed that the process of allocating houses is inefficient, and allocation is often unfair. It should be based on those already on the waiting list. Most fundamentally, it was noted that in order to make people proud of their homes, Peoples Housing Projects (PHP) is the way to go (People's Housing Projects is a programme through which individuals can buy land and build their own houses). People need to be educated about PHP and its usefulness particularly with regard to accessing land.

In May 2004 a new housing policy was commissioned by President Mbeki that attempted to redress the housing backlog while also tackling apartheid spatial planning. Many of the new RDP houses were build on cheap land far from jobs and community facilities. This meant that the majority of people in the Western Cape are not racially integrated, something which the housing policy seeks to address (Nontobeko, 2005:38).

Nontobeko (2005) further urges that, in developing the new housing policy, the Western Cape government aims to use the provision of housing as a way to alleviate poverty. It has also promised to further policy development and to take responsibility for implementation as well.

#### 1.3 Statement of the problem

Black townships like Nyanga, Langa and Khayelitsha in Cape Town and Soweto in Johannesburg were a direct result of the apartheid government's policy to segregate blacks and whites. However, twelve years later these areas are firmly established, with some formal houses and good infrastructure, but the problem of large scale informal housing (zinc or wooden shacks with poor services) in these areas remains. From 1994 to 2005, the ANC government has put a policy in place to provide decent houses for marginalised groups. However, the policy has not been excuted very well and has raised concern on how it has been implemented. The central role of the study is to investigate the effect of poor implementation of the national housing policy on housing service delivery in the township of Khayelitsha in the area called Site C. Government should encourage a feeling of ownership with in the community in regard to housing delivery. This concept of ownership, extends to particuar to all beneficiaries.

.

#### 1.4 Objectives of the study

The primary objective of the study is to critically evaluate the extent to which the City of Cape Town is attempting to address the housing backlog and problems and obstacles which have arisen as will be highlighted by the field study to be done in Site C,

Khayelitsha. The study will analyze the nature and the extent of the housing crisis in site C in Khayelitsha.

Specific issues to be discussed will include:

- To examine the overall policy frame work on housing in the Western Cape
- To investigate the housing grants procedures and its implementation
- To investigate the factors that have contributed to poor policy implementation in Khayelitsha
- To examine the weaknesses and strength of the existing policies on housing delivery as perceived by the beneficiaries
- To investigate the acceptability of housing to the beneficiaries through random interviews
- To investigate the extent and challenges of involving communities in policy making process
- To make recommendations on how the implementation of the policy could be improved.
- To investigate the role of municipalities and public private partnerships regarding housing delivery.
- To examine the extend at which community development has been overcome

#### 1.5 Research design and methodology

The research design is based on stakeholder analysis where qualitative methods will be applicable using descriptive study design as opposed to the rational or experimental design (Berg, 2001:72). In descriptive research the goal of the investigation tends to be

the careful mapping out of a situation (Rosnow and Rosenthal, 1996:15). The research must have ways of analyzing and producing data so that theoretical or analytical suppositions can be examined, tested and be accepted or rejected. Berg (2001) argues that case studies are appropriate study designs to descriptive studies. Case studies offer stakeholder interviews to give a voice to all participants (Berg, 2001:72).

#### 1.6 Research Design

The study approached the survey using both qualitative and quantitative methods with emphasis on the former. According to Mouton and Babbie (2001) qualitative field research is an inductive descriptive and explanatory method. This method reinforces the extensiveness of the different cultural, social economic and environmental components. Berg (2001:60) refers to research design as a road map used for planning when undertaking a research study. He further points out that it aims at visualizing and imagining how the research will be undertaken, type of data to be collected and how much time will be utilized by the researcher. In short, it enables a researcher to obtain relevant data from which he will draw a conclusion.

#### 1.7 Research Methods

The study used both qualitative and quantitative research methods using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The quantitative aspect of the study utilized open-ended questionnaires. Open ended questionnaires were pre-tested on a random sample of participants living in Site C in Khayelitsha. Data was gathered by studying the available

internal and external sources, such as policy documents, journals, dissertations and books about housing in the Western Cape Province.

The qualitative aspect of the study used interviews and discussions with stakeholders (Councilors, for the area of Khayelitsha Site C, local government officials and a sample of residents who have already benefited from the housing scheme as well as members of the community who have not received housing in Site C). In total 50 interviews with the community were carried out, twenty five with residents in formal houses and the other twenty five with people living in informal or wooden shacks respectively.

The researcher also examined various reports presented by the governmental institutions for example Western Cape provincial government, City of Cape Town and the City of Tygerberg. Reports and comments received from members of the communities in general and beneficiaries of the housing scheme as regards the housing crisis in Western Cape and in particular Khayelitsha will be critically analyzed

.

#### 1.8 Selection of Participants for the Study

Sampling involves the process of selecting respondents. Stratified and purposive sampling was used in the study. Stratified random sampling was used to gather data from certain categories of participants which included local councilors, officials, as well as other people within the Khayelitsha area who are benefiting from the housing scheme. Purposive sampling was specifically used to gather data from the beneficiaries who had in depth knowledge about the housing scheme. This study however, targeted different

categories of stakeholders who were either directly involved or indirectly affected in the housing process.

#### 1.9 Instruments Used

In order to obtain relevant information, various tools were used which included video and lens cameras and voice recorder which was done with the permission of councilors and officials from the department of housing. Semi-structured questionnaires were used to provide descriptive information from the interviewees while open-ended questions were used to encourage the interviewees to offer explanations on certain issues.

.

#### 1.10 Data Analysis

Data from the questionnaires were transcribed and tabulated manually before coding and categorizing the responses from the participants. To ascertain and ensure credibility, final and thorough interpretation of findings was done.

WESTERN CAPE

#### 1.11 Validity.

Prior visits, coupled with both informal and formal interactions with councillors, residents of Site C and government officials played a big role in accessing the relevant information for this study. On the spot check-ups after every completed questionnaire helped the researcher to minimize the risk of biased research results.

#### 1.12 Interviews

Interviews were conducted in Khayelitsha Site C with key stakeholders involved in the housing programmes and since the qualitative method is regarded as an effective

technique for collecting data, the researcher was able to involve and engage key participants and focus on the beneficiaries. The selection of key informants was carefully done after consultation with the ward councillors and the Provincial Department of Housing. In this survey, the principle participants interviewed included the following categories of randomly selected residents of Site C, chairperson of the street committee, neighborhood watch chairperson of Site C and prospective beneficiaries. Others interviewed included: the Department of Social Services in Khayelitsha and the City of Cape Town's Department of Housing and Planning Unit who provided the researcher with survey maps of the case study area.

#### 1.13 Significance of the study

Insights gained from the study will serve a variety of purposes and will hopefully contribute to the improvement of the livelihood of the people of Khayelitsha in particular Site C through the provision of decent housing in the following ways

- The study will critically trace the origin of urbanization of black people
  with emphasis on the origin of townships in South African cities in the
  current context of housing policy and legislation
- The study will examine the understanding of the housing questions from the perspective of disadvantaged people living in Khayelitsha Site C
- The study will also provide some contextual information to policy makers,
   programme planners, service providers and beneficiaries of housing
   schemes about the housing implementation process

 The study will be able inform parameters for future research by exposing unexplored research areas.

#### 1.14 Limitations of the study

The reason behind the application of qualitative research is not to test hypotheses, but is often a necessary precursor to designing meaningful questions, but also to generate future research questions (Werner and Schoepfele 1997 as cited in Carlson, Siegal and Falck 1995:8).

The researcher encountered obstacles in acquiring accurate statistics as regards housing allocations and other related logistics about housing in Khayelitsha. Conclusions will be based on interviews with 50 residents in Khayelitsha Site C. These qualitative findings cannot be compared to existing quantitative findings for obvious reasons, but can allude to trends and perceptional information based on respondents' answers.

WESTERN CAPE

#### 1.15 Sequence of chapters

The study will be divided in five chapters as briefly outlined below;

#### Chapter 1

This chapter serves as the introduction and background of the study. It will also outline the contextualization of the research problem.

#### Chapter 2

Chapter two takes the form of theoretical framework and literary review of scholarly articles. This literature provides an over view of development factors and social economic factors relevant to Khayelitsha. It will focus on the historical background of housing in Khayelitsha from 1994-2005.

#### Chapter 3

This chapter consists of a discussion of interview materials collected from the field.

It will also provide information about services rendered by the local council and critical housing framework of Site C in Khayelitsha.

#### **Chapter 4**

This chapter will provide research findings in the light of current housing policy information and dynamics at local level in the context of Khayelitsha and analysis of problems and potential strategies to overcoming the issues of delivery. It will also provide strategies to avert the current housing crisis in Site C.

#### Chapter 5

This chapter provides the conclusions and recommendations of the research report and how it reflects on the analysis of the findings.

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

# BACKGROUND AND ANALYTICAL CONTEXT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S HOUSING POLICY IN RELATION TO KHAYELITSHA

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the historical background of the housing backlog in South Africa and Khayelitsha in particular. It attempts to relate to the supporting theories pertaining to housing problems in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape. The literature focuses mainly on policy framework and how it can be implemented to address the housing delivery in Khayelitsha Site C. Also analyzed in this chapter are some of the relevant policy documents. Finally, the decisions made by the Western Cape provincial government as to how to address the housing delivery are discussed.

#### 2.2 Background to Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha is one of the youngest and largest townships to emerge in the Cape Flats. It is also rated the third biggest township after Soweto in Johannesburg and Mdantsane Township in East London. According to Dyantyi (1999), Khayelitsha is a clearly defined entity, delineated as part of the current Tygerberg sub-structure, falling under the jurisdiction of the Cape Town Metropolitan Council.

UNIVERSITY of the

#### 2.3 History

The creation of townships emerged during the apartheid era purposely to accommodate and confine black communities in one area as a measure for easy administration. As a mandatory measure, several townships were established throughout the country,

Khayelitsha being one of them. Khayelitsha was established in 1984 during the tribal war outbreak at Crossroads informal settlement when the government tried forcefully to transfer some people to the new site and which gave birth to this name "Khayelitsha" which means "New home". The forced removal and transfer of informal settlements to their new home met with a lot of resistance and many people died: "we are ready to die but not ready to move to this poor uninhabited area. It will be our dead bodies …in Khayelitsha" (<a href="www.capegateway.gov.za">www.capegateway.gov.za</a> accessed on 02/08/06).

.

#### 2.4 Population

The initial inhabitants of Khayelitsha who were moved in 1984 estimated at 58,000, and by 1990, the population had grown up to 450,000 people (E Township Newspaper, June 2006). It is also estimated that by 1990, 80% of the population was unemployed, 14% lived in small core houses, 54% in serviced shacks and 32% in unserviced shacks. There was no electricity, while most inhabitants had to fetch water from taps at a distance of half a kilometer. Administration in Khayelitsha in the 1980's was undertaken by unpopular elected councils. According to the report by the Department of Health of the Western Cape provincial government released on 26th May 2005 about Khayelitsha, it estimated the area to have a population of 329,000 people representing 11% of the city population. 50% of the populations is economically active but not employed in the formal sector. 90% of these households earn less than R3500 a month to meet their livelihood obligations. (Mail and Guardian, 4th June 2006).

.

The statistics are confusing: according to City of Cape Town Newspaper (2 May 2006) it is estimated that the current population is estimated to be more than 500,000 inhabitants

with about 290,000 staying in shacks. Anso, (2006:9) estimate that about 48,000 people arrive in Cape Town every year and more than a half of this population locate themselves in Khayelitsha. "The real issue is that it is an informal settlement with a massively burgeoning population. The question is how to plan and deal with this influx of people and continuous informal settlement (Anso, 2006: 14)". According to Anso (2006:14), the population of Khayelitsha is about one million given the current inflow of people both from upcountry and immigrants form other countries. Lack of up to date and correct statistics is yet another problematic factor, raising doubt about the figure given by the City of Cape Town, Planning Department.

.

#### 2.5 Community Development in Khayelitsha

According to a speech by the former mayor of City of Cape Town, as reported in the City of Cape Town weekly newspaper, 16th May 2005, Khayelitsha was widely acknowledged as an area with multiple problems. Research commissioned by the population council of South Africa asserts that the community based organizations can play a leading role in implementing government plans for example involvement in erecting simple houses at less cost. In Khayelitsha at present residents and squatters have waited in vain for the government to expedite the process of building houses which has resulted in an appalling situation, as observed by Dayile and Stern, "(a) t the moment regardless of the measures used, Khayelitsha is among the worst social and economic developments in Cape Town and indeed in the country as a whole" (Dayile and Stern 2006: 6).

People live in shacks which are in poor condition and lack basic services. Half of the adults are unemployed, with one to three people having no access to on site water. There

is an estimated average of 105 people per toilet in site C and one toilet per seven households. It is also evident that the preliminary survey which was conducted by the Department of Health, City of Cape Town (2005) revealed that in each shack the minimal number of dwellers was not less than five while the government allocated houses accommodates between 5-10 inhabitants.

In a paper published this year by Dor, transformation in infrastructure (2006:4) in the American Journal of Public Health, Cape Town, Khayelitsha and Nyanga had the highest demand for housing. Saunders and Chopra (2004:17) argue that despite the large inequalities, local government policy makers and officials have found it difficult to shift resources from other wealthier districts to solve the housing crisis in Khayelitsha (Department of Health City of Cape Town 2005).

## 2.6 Houses and development in Khayelitsha

There are many different types of houses in Khayelitsha, Some are permanent as they are built out of bricks and cement blocks, while others are built from scraps of iron sheeting and old timber. Most inhabitants of Khayelitsha and in particular Site C live in informal houses called "Imikhukhu" implying that they are uncomfortable to live in. These houses or shacks leak during the rainy season and are too hot during summer. Because the shacks are built very close to each other, fire outbreaks have resulted as most people use candles, paraffin lamps and stoves for cooking (although some "imikhukhu" are serviced with electricity).

#### 2.7 Government Initiatives

The government's initiative is the construction of approximately 2.5million units for low income families. This initiative will not only help the housing shortage of low income families, but also will stimulate the local construction sector through expanded job opportunities, including opportunities for constructors who have historically disenfranchised. The initiative is expected to provide shelter for up to 60.000 people and Site C taking 14,000.

The provincial government has begun to implement its housing programmes where Khayelitsha has also benefited but these houses are too small (two bed roomed) to accommodate a big family. They are really only suitable for bachelors or single parents (htt://www.capegateway.gov.za) (accessed 4th aug.2006).

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

#### 2.8 Policy framework

Besides duplication and inequitable policy approaches for different race groups, the housing policy framework in South Africa suffers from the following constraints among others;

• The overall housing strategy lacks a clear definition of roles and responsibilities. In addition, the lack of a coherent overall housing strategy have contributed to the current confusion and break down in delivery.

- Specific areas of concern include continual marginalization of workers and families who are effectively trapped within the hostels, particularly those in the public sector.
- Inadequate definition of roles and responsibilities of all role players in the housing sector.
- There is also multiplication of legislation governing housing, land and services, a number of pilot projects have been initiated to develop and up grade informal settlements, but tenders are at times awarded to dubious construction companies, which leads to substandard houses not fit for occupation.
- There is inadequate supervision by government in promoting the residential property market. This includes the development of low cost housing, medium density accommodation and housing for rent.
- The Housing Development Bill which is expected to put in place a broad framework for residential development, facilitating spatial restructuring and setting aside certain proportions for all housing developments has been very slow. Mary (1998:136)

The Rental Housing Act, 1999 (Act 50 of 1999), which came into being on August 2001, defines the responsibility of government with regard to the rental housing market.

Among other things, the Act prescribes that:

- The lease may be oral or in writing, tenants can demand a written lease.
- The landlord may require the tenant to pay a deposit before moving into the

premises (www.idasa.org) accessed (27.04.2006).

In 1994 the ANC adopted the reconstruction and development program (RDP), an integrated social economic policy framework which is now the policy of government. The RDP was set to a goal of 300,000 houses to be built with a minimum of one million per anum. The Western Cape provincial government has formulated a holistic approach to housing as a way of improving urban development. The aim is to establish 200,000 housing opportunities over a period of five years (Western Cape Housing Consortium, 2003.11).

#### 2.9 National Housing Strategy

The government White Paper on Housing (1996) established the national long term strategic framework within which institutional, funding and delivery arrangements for housing can be structured and planned. The immediate task of the 1994 government was to put in place a national housing framework for all citizens, hence the "slogan housing the nation" the approach which started with the white paper process was to create a partnership between various tiers of government not only to get houses on the ground, but also to give meaning to a notion of people's centered development.

The strategy set out seven definite actions, some of which have already been implemented:

- To deliver one million houses in the next 10 years
- Establishing a culture of bond and service payments. Development and housing assistance will now be provided in exchange for increasing levels of fiscal responsibility by communities

- Rapidly reforming the land delivery process
- Formulating a system of subsidies to support project based developments, individual transactions on new and existing residential properties, social housing schemes, rental housing schemes, and in certain instances, retrospective subsidization on previous site and services schemes.
- Demarcating foundations and authorities between the national, provincial and metropolitan/local government levels as well as between the government, parastatal/statutory advisory and private sectors as a basis for the rationalization, consolidation and repositioning of existing institutional capacities in the housing sector
- Encouraging savings for housing
- Providing housing support to communities

Thirteen years have past and the government has performed exceptionally well in a very difficult and challenging environment.

(www.info.gov.za/whitepaper/1994/housing.htlm).

#### 2.10 Provincial strategy

The Western Cape provincial government has set in place a process that will collate information on the housing need in the province and proposes a procedure for the prioritization of the housing budget (IDP, 2004/2005). In order for the provincial administration to play a leading role in the formulation and coordination of a holistic approach to housing and urban development, organizational restructuring to create clear guidelines lines for decision making are necessary. The province has in place a housing

policy unit, staffed by suitably skilled personnel to fulfill this purpose. They are responsible for a data bank of quality housing and development information, not only for policy formulation, but also as a source of information for all interested parties. The use of the latest computer technology has been considered as a very cost effective method of information dissemination. A developmental institution at provincial level has been established, to facilitate and support development for poor urban communities. However, it is a pity that the provincial strategy does not really depict what is enshrined in their strategy, perhaps one would argue that some intervention measures be introduced and communicates to the public as most people have little or no knowledge about the province's role regarding housing delivery. It is ironic that majority of our communities are fully aware that issue of housing is basically the work of local government, therefore it important for provincial government to clearly pronounce their strategy to the public. However, the strategies in place are among others:

- To restore the dignity of people who live in undignified conditions,
- To promote integrated planning and development of human settlements
- To build capacity of municipal and provincial officials and other role players
- To communication with communities, sister departments (National and provincial) and other stakeholders in housing delivery
- To accelerate housing delivery
- To provide social and medium density housing
- To eradicate informal settlements

(www.Housing.gov.za).

#### 2.11 Local government strategy

Local authorities are primarily responsible for the housing of the lowest income households in their communities. The identification, together with the facilitation of housing developments for lower income group is also their responsibility. Local authorities do play a vital role in making submissions to the housing board. The local authority should be directly involved in all social agreements formed for submission to the Housing Board. Local authorities must be empowered to take responsibility for the housing of the residents of their areas of jurisdiction through;

- Capacity building, to enable them to play a developmental role
- Legislation, to remove doubt about their responsibilities, and
- A return to the recognition of consultative decision making (<u>www.housing.gov.za/contents</u>).

# UNIVERSITY of the

#### 2.12 Problem Areas

The new housing policy at all the three tiers of government has revealed a number of problem areas and these include among others:

- Limited delegation of powers from central government
- Lack of integration
- Until legitimate local governments are elected, local authorities are hesitant to take their share of the responsibility for housing in their respective areas
- The perception by local authorities that they act as agents for the provincial government and not as responsible and accountable authorities
- Political turmoil, instability and civil unrest in many residential areas

- At a provincial and local level there is not the same awareness of, and commitment to the national housing goal, and especially the policies based on incremental housing
- Government maintains services but fails to work within budget, thus people must pay for services
- Most communities do not understand or know how the subsidy system works
  and expectations of the form of housing that will be developed do not reflect
  the reality of what the subsidy can supply (ANC today, 2003:6).

#### 2.13 Challenges

According to Fish (2003:404) social features of the South African society particularly Khayelitsha, pose a big challenge and constraint to future housing policy:

- Poor consumer education and low levels of consumer education are on the increase and this leads to misunderstandings which are exacerbated by development and housing issues and the number of unscrupulous operators in the housing environment
- Many communities still have a negative view of housing and have not realized
  its full potential as a means to increase equity and security. This negative view
  is undoubtedly partly due to the backlog itself

Other important sociological considerations complicate the ability of the housing policy to reach all targets such as:

- Hostel accommodation
- The prevalence of single households

- Circular migration and dual households and
- Traditional tenure system

#### 2.14 Housing and RDP

According to (www.capegateway.gov.za)(accessed on 4th Aug 2006) the Reconstruction and Development Programme sets out a clear vision for housing in the future, it is therefore noted that future housing policy and strategy be developed in accordance with this vision and guideline. The provision of housing and services is a key component of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Apart from being seen as a national priority in its own right, future-housing strategy has direct bearing on the success of all five key programmes of the RDP.

These are:

- Meeting basic needs UNIVERSITY of the
- Developing the economy
- Democratizing the state and society and
- Implementing the RDP

However, the implications of a successful housing programme, or of its relative lack of success are the subject of constant interaction between the department of the RDP unit and local government. Housing needs to be correctly located within the overall frame work of the RDP.

# 2.15 City of Cape Town housing strategy

The City of Cape Town has a strategy to upgrade and improve the living conditions and opportunities in all settlements through an integrated programme of settlement upgrading and renewal. This will involve a wise use of public space. and the encouragement of industrial and commercial development. This strategy is linked to the 2020 goal where the city wants to ensure that less than 50 per cent of its population lives in informal settlements (IDP 2004/2005:24). While new housing development will be encouraged within the urban core, it is recognized that a substantial number of people will continue to live in existing townships and peripheral areas such as Delft and Atlantis. This strategy recognizes that even where people live in tiny box houses or shacks, it is possible to create a dignified pleasant living environment that is serviced and through ensuring that there is public space that people can be proud of (Department of Housing report 2005).

2.16 Key programmes

According to IDP (2004/2005) the informal settlement upgrade aims to reduce the number of persons residing in informal settlements and to improve the dignity and quality of all life within settlements, as well as to instill a sense of pride within communities affected. The following interactions are key to achieving this aim;

WESTERN CAPE

- Provision of basic services
- Upgrading of services
- Relocation of settlements located on encumbered land
- Institutional framework.

#### 2.17 Institutional Framework

According to Warwick (2006:1) the institutional framework governing housing has resulted in various constraints on housing delivery in the Western Cape, particularly Khayelitsha. Duplication of housing institutions and funding mechanisms, fragmentation of the housing function, **racially** and geographically, has resulted in a large amount of overlap, duplication and confusion within and between housing institutions, which results in significant inefficiencies, and wastage. Authorities in Khayelitsha have been inadequately resourced and politically unable to undertake certain responsibilities, which has resulted in delays to the housing delivery process (SABC News, Morning Edition Wednesday 27/2006).

The slow process of local government transaction is already resulting in significant delays in the housing delivery process as reported in Housing Atlas (2002:23).

UNIVERSITY of the

New legislation and procedures need to be developed so that the problems associated with the collapse of local government in many areas under the previous dispensation should be addressed. Because of the mutually reinforcing relationship between the housing process and the local government process, a high level of policy coordination is essential between the relevant provincial departments (Department of Housing 2006:13).

#### 2.18 The right to adequate housing

According to the Development Action Group (2004:5) in the City of Cape Town, housing as a social and economic right, like the right to food and the right to work. It is not a right that can be implemented immediately, but a right that has to be worked towards. The

right to adequate housing is in the South African constitution but is phrased as in the right of access to adequate housing; Article 26 of the Bill of Rights in the constitution states that:

- Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing
- The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right
- No one may be evicted from their homes or have their homes demolished.

What is adequate housing? Housing is a broad term that includes houses, flats, infrastructure, roads and other community facilities. The quality of housing has a great impact on the quality of life, especially for women. The RDP White Paper (1999:4) defines housing as follows: "(a) t minimum, all housing must provide protection from the weather, endurable structure and reasonable living space and privacy. A house must include sanitary facilities, storm water drainage, a house hold energy supply and convenient access to clean water. Hence it must provide for secure tenure in a variety of forms". Other related clauses state that: "(1) and for housing must be suitably located and must geographically and environmentally allow reasonable access to economic opportunities and social amenities" (ibid).

#### 2.19 Housing Finance Corporation

Tait (2003) notes that, the housing White Paper's endorsement of a national housing finance corporation ignores the crucial RDP provision that the housing bank must lend public and private funds to reduce interest rates. The White Paper's emphasis on

mobilizing consumer savings is misplaced, given the very limited disposable income of poor people and the extremely high cost of housing.

#### 2.20 Interest Rates

Delivery (2005:4) concludes that the most crucial determinant of housing market affordability is the interest rates. This is completely missing from the Housing White Paper's list of economic issues. One should note that the interest rate for housing bonds rose from 12,5 percent from early 2000 to 14 percent in late 2005, causing an unprecedented affordability crisis and leading to massive numbers of involuntary defaults. The Department of Housing permits banks to discriminate against low income borrowers by raising the market interest rate. In real terms, the low income housing bond interest rate of roughly 15 percent is unprecedented in South African history. Moreover, the Housing White Paper's commitment to the "upfront capital subsidy" approach is a direct violation of the RDP, which insist "government funds and private sector funding must be blended in order to increase housing finance" (Delivery, 2005:5)

#### 2.21 Housing Subsidy

According to the Development Action Group (2004:5), the main subsidy programmes are the housing subsidy scheme, the Public Sector Hostel Development Programmes and the discount benefit scheme. Subsidies are provided for households with income of up to R3500 per month to assist them in acquiring housing. The various types of subsidies are:

 Project linked subsidy (Project funding for the acquisition of land and the provision of infrastructure and housing)

- Individual subsidy (to purchase a house, to buy a plot and build a house, and can be linked to housing credit)
- Institutional subsidy (for rental or cooperative housing owned by housing institutions (Development Action Group 2004:6).

Housing process established grants are also part of the housing subsidy scheme as depicted in the table below. (Housing subsidy amounts)

Monthly joint income	Project linked	Consultation	Institutional
(Rand)	individual (Rand)	subsidy (Rand)	Subsidy (Rand)
Old age, disabled, indigent	22800-26220	13400-13410	-
0-1500	20300-23345 ERN	10900-12535	20300-23345
1510-2500	12700-14605	-	20300-23345
2501-3500	7000-8050	-	20300-23345
3500 +	-	-	-

Source: Development Action Group 2004:7

Note: The lower amount is the basic subsidy amount and the higher amount includes the 15% increase for specific site conditions or location. The Housing White Paper endorses a bank charge on higher interest rate on bonds than the prevailing bond rate, which is an unprecedented form of class discrimination. Moreover, the National Housing Finance

Corporation confirmed in 1996 that low market interest rates are not being considered (Gilbert, 1997:8)

The International Development Review Report of (July 2004) indicated that the social features of South African society, particularly Khayelitsha, pose a big challenge and constraint to future housing policy:

- Poor consumer education and low levels of consumer education increase misunderstanding of development and housing issues and this is exacerbated by the number of unscrupulous operators in the housing environment
- Perception of housing. Many communities still have a negative view of housing and have not realized its full potential as a means to increase equity and security. In addition, this is undoubtedly partly due to the backlog itself.
   Increased housing production will provide an opportunity for the creation of a viable secondary housing market street.
- Non-payment for services constrain the long term viability of sustainable housing production, as well as limiting the amount of resources available for the provision of new houses

Other important sociological considerations that complicate the ability of the housing policy to reach all targets such are:

- Circular migration and dual households
- Hostel accommodation
- The prevalence of single households and
- Traditional tenure system (International Development Review July 2004:46).

#### 2.22 The End User

According to the White Paper on Housing (2005:15) the government has committed itself to making housing delivery as people centered as possible. Government policy is aimed at achieving meaningful and structural participation by communities in the following processes; policy formulation, needs identification, prioritization, planning and implementation of housing development projects. Community participation is realized even at high levels of implementation through community elected representations. The Bathobelo Housing convention attests to the efforts by facilitators to allow as much input as possible by the potential end users in housing (IDP, 2004/2005:14). The RDP Policy framework (ANC Today, 2003:5) includes the need for wide consultation with and input of all interest groups in the implementation of housing delivery as a whole and particularly in the provision of housing for previously disadvantaged groups. Nevertheless, policy implementation on housing delivery through community participation has been very slow and hence has resulted in delays as far as delivery is concerned (Delivery May/July 2005:2).

#### 2.23 End User Finance and Subsidies

According to Khan and Thring (2003:161) constraints in the structure and availability of end user finance for housing and housing subsidies have exacerbated the housing problems:

 Poor use of housing funds. Housing funds have been used for diverse purposes, which have resulted in an inadequate use of state expenditure

- Duplication and poorly targeted subsidies
- Lack of end user finance, especially for low income households impede the ability to access adequate funds for housing.

#### 2.24 Land and Planning Issues

According to Didiza, (July 2005:16) it is stated that the existing patterns of land use and allocation and the policy framework being associated with land, provides an immense challenge. A fundamentally different approach will be required to make the housing programmes in Khayelitsha a sustainable reality. However, the impact will have to reach far beyond purely legal and institutional matters, which the provincial government can rectify overtime. It is further stressed that a new approach to land use and planning is required, impacting both on the professions and communities. People in Khayelitsha may view land as an infinite and cheap resource, whereas the opposite is generally true (Muzondo 2004:7).

The municipality's approach to land will have to change, allowing for higher densities and innovations in its use. A different approach to land use not only promises the possibility of social cohesion, but can also have dramatic and beneficial impact on costs and the efficiency of other resources utilization such as energy and water.

The inability and unwillingness to release sufficient suitable land for housing continues to be a constraint to timeous housing delivery. There is a lack of coherent policy on land, and no clear outline of responsibilities for the identification, planning and release of land for low income housing.

Inconsistent positions also exist between different government departments and spheres of government:

- Legislative controls, limited access to land and the fact that land was
  previously made available to those who could afford it, led to insufficient
  land being granted for low income housing
- The present planning legislation and approaches are burdensome and inappropriate in the Khayelitsha context
- Increase in informal land invasions hamper efforts to timeously release adequate suitable land for human settlement in a planned manner and may result in certain people attempting to jump the housing subsidy queue (Khayelitsha official interview 2, May-July 2006).

Many different tenure arrangements complicate the registration of secure tenure. This complicates the land registration system and most citizens are forced to acquire accommodation out side this formal system (City of Cape Town, 2003).

# 2.25 Housing Policy Objectives

The housing policy's objectives is to give the local governments the capacity to fulfill their constitutional obligations. The objective of the RDP is the fostering of people centered development. Belatedly a few small pilot projects such as the People's Housing Project have been launched but this is apparently limited to the very poor in slums (Western Cape Housing Consortium 2003:14).

#### 2.26 The role of communities

Civic associations and other community groups (street community, neighbourhood watch, housing financial corporation, SANCO) are completely ignored throughout the Housing Working Plan. This is in glaring contrast to the RDP, which states that communities should be involved at all levels of decision making and in the implementation of their projects. Communities should benefit directly from programmes in matters such as unemployment, training and award of contracts. Important to such participation is capacity building and the availability of funds for community-based organizations. Policy makers continue to ignore community organizations, with the exception of a vague proposal to target community interest on the boards of housing corporations (www.pmg.org.za) accessed 2/08/2006).

Over the past ten years the approach to allocating new housing in Khayelitsha has been largely based on cooperation with communities. However with the introduction of accelerated housing delivery across Khayelitsha and the need to better integrate the area, there will be a move to a system of allocating of houses based on a database (Housing News, May 2005:3). According to the Housing News (May 2005:4) the database will contain the details of those in need of housing and will indicate where they currently live, where they would like to live, their preference for rental or ownership, size of family, ability to pay and other pertinent information.

# 2.27 Incremental Housing Subsidies

A sustainable housing delivery programme in the Western Cape has to be located within the supporter paradigm as history has proved that both the traditional private and public sector programmes have failed to provide shelter in adequate volume at prices the poor can afford. The housing policy is therefore formulated around the enabling approach scheme, where the state acts as supporter rather than provider of housing, by providing assistance in the form of a capital subsidy grant to households within a predetermined income range. The subsidy amount is meant to secure a site, basic services and a starter house. The majority of the poor would then take over the housing process and build permanent dwellings through incremental house building. Subsidies have therefore been used to encourage participation of low income groups in their housing. This in essence carves out a role for individual consumers to make some form of contribution to enable the government to expedite delivery. There is an inherent contradiction in this case. The sustainability of housing delivery in the Western Cape continues to be dependent on the individual households' contribution to the housing process. Yet, lack of finance continues to undermine the achievement of this goal. For many people in the Western Cape, the concept of affordable housing means housing costing no more than R16 000 in total (the subsidy amount), which is not sufficient to build decent accommodation (Barman 2005:14). There is therefore a great need to institute mechanisms allowing for greater affordability of housing by the poor in the area of access to employment opportunities as well as affordable credit to allow the poor to augment their subsidy amount. At this point, an increased informal sector role is called for, as are housing finance mechanisms suited to the conditions of the poor and affordable to them. Locating the poor within easy access

to employment, social and other opportunities will optimize their chances to generate a regular income.

#### 2.28 Affordability

For households with low and irregular incomes, adequate housing needs to be affordable. Government subsidization of the infrastructure facilities and a contribution to providing a basic housing unit is essential. The affordability of ongoing cost is also significant, for instance, rated service charges and maintenance costs (<a href="www.housing.gov.za/content">www.housing.gov.za/content</a> accessed 26.07.06).

However, housing affordability remains a key hurdle preventing large scale delivery of housing in the Western Cape. In most housing projects, starter houses have remained as they were for more than five years (Adebayo 2003:3). It would seem then that with no possibility of an increase in the subsidy amount, for those people unable to afford to build onto their starter house, the goal of a permanent complete dwelling remains an elusive one. In addition many of the poor people, who have benefited from capital subsidy programme, are unable to afford the range of ongoing water, electricity and rate charges associated with formalized owner occupation(Adebayo2003:4)

Affordability is central to the poor's efforts to translate the starter house into a complete dwelling. There is a contradiction in the current policy's market-oriented approach to low income housing delivery when unemployment and poverty a bound in the Western Cape and Khayelitsha in particular. Two areas need to be addressed. First, as defined by Agenda 21 of the United Nations conference on environment and development, high

priority should be given the to employment and income generation needs of the poor and the growing number of people without any income (UNCHS – Habitat, 2002:8).

Second, even among households that generate some form of income, many are still not concerned about housing given their present financial circumstances. Credit will need to be made available to augment their limited resources. Such credit will only be desirable if it did not cause excessive financial strain. There are still other innovations that government can institute to promote increased affordability to the poor. More honest building codes and shelter standards and the use of indigenous building materials and technologies have the potential to reduce the ultimate cost of housing and lend themselves better to the individuals' participation in the self building process. These components have the potential to cumulatively make housing more affordable by the poor (UNCHS-Habitat, 2002:8-9).

WESTERN CAPE

#### 2.29 Location

One would argue that the location of dwellings/shacks should be chosen carefully, for it may considerably influence the ultimate impact. The capital subsidy entitles low income households in South Africa to a product consisting of standardized serviced plots with free hold tenure and a core housing structure, thereby conferring upon the poor a legal frame work within which to operate. The poor view this 'home' space as more than just a family dwelling, it is a piece of potential real estate, a potential site for income producing activities and a base for participation in the large urban economy. Such sites should therefore be provided in locations that maximize these aspects.

A key element of the South African Housing Policy is to ensure that low cost housing is located close to areas of economic opportunities. The importance of accessibility to employment and services is universally recognized. Individuals, who are located to outlying sites where land is cheap and easily assembled, but where job opportunities are limited, have sacrificed access to jobs. In the same way situated formal workers may also be deprived of work opportunities, for example, in cases where they can not be incorporated in work shifts outside normal working hours (Burns and Ferguson 2005:5).

#### 2.30 Conclusion

Housing delivery in the Western Cape particularly Khayelitsha's Site C has been undermined by a slow pace in policy implementation and failure to curtail rural-urban migration. It is hoped that the new policy framework commissioned by President Mbeki in 2004 will enhance the provision of houses to the city to overcome the backlog. Proper provision of housing would serve as a stimulus for other developments such as schools, and dispensaries among others. In this chapter, the holistic connotation of housing delivery and implementation approaches has been examined. An alternative approach which focuses on utilizing stakeholders and community participation in the policy process, as well as finance and subsidies, has been discussed. How finance for housing and subsidies has exacerbated the housing problem has also been focused upon. Major policy instruments such as integrated development planning and research information applicable to metropolitan government systems are being utilized to address housing delivery problems in Khayelitsha site C. While Site C does not have vast tracts of land

for development, there are pockets of land that can be used to address the housing shortages that currently exist. The situation in Khayelitsha Site C is now turned to by focusing on the perceptions and opinions of interviewees in the following chapters.



#### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### DISCUSSIONS OF INTERVIEWS AND ANALYSIS

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the background for the study and discussions of interview materials collected from the field through surveys and interviews as well as providing results. It also provides information about services rendered by the City of Cape Town local council, and perceptions of housing services, crime and people's views about the environment among other issues. It was important for the research to give a brief account of the area of study and in this case, the chosen area is a small location called Site C, which is part of the greater Khayelitsha Township.

# 3.2 Background to Case Study Area.

Yin (1994:16) refers to the case study as a careful method of collecting information or UNIVERSITY of the evidence about a certain unit of analysis which may include individuals, groups, communities, organizations or even countries. Dencil and Lincoln (1999:436) also points out that what is important in a case study is what can be learned from the single case with emphasis on "designing the study to optimize understanding of the case rather than generalization". Arkey and Knight (1999:58) support the argument of non-generalization but point out that some findings from case may be generalized to some extent but that depends on the readers' own interpretation whether, according to their understanding, they find any information that they can generalize about. The advantage of a case over other research techniques is that it attempts to conduct an in-depth inquiry of the subject matter. Therefore the essence of a case study is that it broadens the researchers' understanding of the subject under investigation

.

# 3.3 Khayelitsha Case study Site C

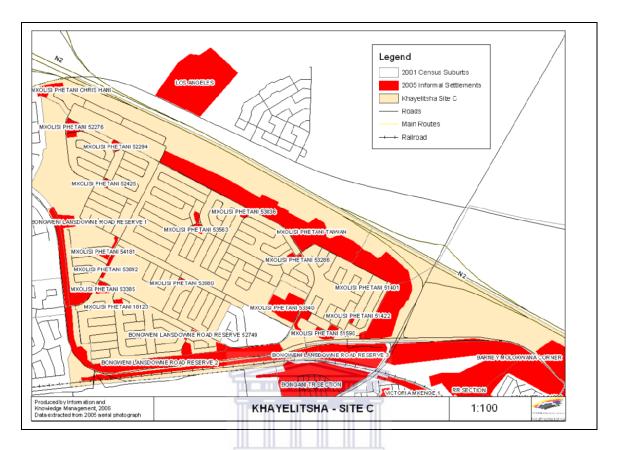
Khayelitsha (meaning "new home") is regarded as one of the largest and well organized concentrations of the poorest of the poor in the Western Cape and this includes the area called Site C. Almost the entire area displays a lack of bulk infrastructure and community facilities. There is also over crowding, a high HIV/Aids rate, poverty and over 70% of the entire population live in informal houses (Department of Health, City of Cape Town, 2005:2).

Khayelitsha's Site C is a sprawling urban township of approximately 100 540 people situated thirty kilometers south east of Cape Town. Built in the 1980's as a segregated residential area for African workers and a growing number of migrants from rural areas, Khayelitsha in general, and Site C, in particular quickly became a site where there was dense informal housing, high rates of unemployment, and social unrest. It was also massively under serviced in terms of the provision of water, electricity, refuse collection and other basic municipal amenities. Current estimate indicate that over 8 800 families live in temporary or informal houses with approximately 7 100 living in polythene made shacks.

After more than ten years of democracy, the township is still under serviced with tens of thousands of people living without adequate access to potable water, electricity and sewerage systems. Efforts have been made since 1994 to upgrade and extend services to the area by local government, but this effort has proven to be slow and the standard of

service is generally well below that enjoyed by historically white areas. The case study area is made up of a huge number of shacks with very few formal houses. These shacks are made up of zinc and wood and from used materials such as cardboard, planks and corrugated iron sheets that are easily obtainable from informal traders.

Some of these shacks are very small and poorly constructed and can hardly withstand the frequently inclement weather of Cape Town. Others are quite big with 3-5 rooms with well arranged interiors with furniture and TV sets (City of Tygerberg undated). Timber is the most basically used building material, while many of the shacks are made up of corrugated iron sheets, with cardboard used as insulation.. Heavy polythene and plastic are used to cover the rooftops to prevent water leakage in the rainy season. There is also low-income housing provided in Site C, private developers have built about 800 units. And residents have been encouraged to buy these houses through bonds obtained from financial institutions. These houses are built with bricks and have two rooms including kitchens and bathrooms but residents have to install their own baths, ceilings, flooring and electrical appliances. The houses are very small and cannot accommodate larger families. This has resulted in shacks being built behind the formal houses, which makes the place look untidy and unpleasant (City of Tygerberg undated).



**Source: City of Cape Town, Department of Housing (2006)** 

WESTERN CAPE

# 3.4 Perceptions of Housing Services

The research was conducted in the following areas; Bongani street section, Victoria Mxenge 1 and Mxolisi Chris Hani areas respectively (see map above). Fifty respondents were interviewed, 25 from informal settlements and the other 25 from formal settlements. Other people interviewed included area councillors and officials in the Housing Department within the City of Cape Town.

#### 3.5 Relocation

Thirty four percent of the people interviewed said they would relocate to any place within Khayelitsha provided that better housing conditions were in place. 66% of interviewees

opposed relocation, arguing that it would undermine their social status, and claim that Site C is a place where they have lived over the years. They further argued that they have strong family ties and being parted would affect their communal way of life. They suggested that government should develop their area and provide them with the basic services such as water and sanitation among others. Officials from the City of Cape Town said that it is the government's policy that people should stay where they voted in order for the government to have a clear view of the residents and also for statistical purposes in order to plan and provide efficient service delivery. The councillors suggested that people should not be allowed to move to other areas without the consent of the government. It was further suggested that people should stay in the constituency where they normally vote. This however, looks more of a political issue which needs to be addressed by both political office bearers and service providers. Ultimately relocation is seen as a means of reducing congestion and improving on service delivery, this process is influenced by the political environment and hence this will continue to impact on the process of housing delivery unless an alternative is found.

Among those living in formal houses, 20% feel relocation would be an opportunity for them to get bigger plots where they can build bigger and better houses to accommodate the ever increasing number of households from the countryside. Beneficiaries claim that the so called formal houses are too small and have little space for expansion; where as 80% said they are comfortable but only need improvement in the provision of services such as electricity, sanitation, refuse collection and health facilities etc.

#### 3.6 People's Views and Feelings about the Environment

Beneficiaries in both formal and informal settlements have more or less similar views and feelings about the environment in which they live. 90% of people in informal/ shacks have negative views about the overall housing services in Site C. They said that, the environment is unhealthy because they have little or no access to waterborne toilets (no sanitation), they instead use a bucket system which is very common to almost every house hold, the area is very dirty and rubbish takes a while to be collected and this results in sicknesses such as diarrhea. Social infrastructure such as schools, recreation facilities and clinics are inadequate in these areas. 10% of the residents believe there will be an improvement in the delivery of housing services in near future.

Meanwhile, beneficiaries in formal houses are not happy either. 65% said they are quite satisfied with the environment but what they do\ not like is the manner in which the houses were constructed. The houses have no ceilings, showers, baths, storm water drainage and running water. They argue that shacks are better because they are quite spacious and can accommodate quite a sizeable number of people. 35% had the feeling that the situation will improve and that it is just a matter of time. They are also of the view that it would have been ideal for the government to visit the area regularly and interact with the people so that they can amicably decide on the size and appearance of houses. They also felt that it would be fitting for the government to allocate plots, build infrastructure and leave the construction of houses to individuals themselves.

Ward councillors' had similar views, they said the government was working hard to ensure that there is an improvement in the delivery of services but unfortunately the process very slow. In the meantime, officials indicated that it was not possible to deliver services overnight, people need to be educated about the processes that are undertaken in this regard. However, on the whole, there is progress and people just need to be sensitized about the overall processes regarding housing delivery as a whole. What is more fundamental is to eliminate all political constraints that impede progress in implementing priority decisions. The government should relate its programs with prevailing commitments, political will and with the economic realities on the ground level. This is only possible if the preparation, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of programmes are properly managed. If politicians, government decision makers and planners recognize this, they will more readily support the preparation of NGOs and CBOs in the process of delivery.

# 3.7 Government Assistance

Residents of Site C do appreciate the services government is rendering to them but they argue that a lot is still yet to be done and the pace at which services are provided is very slow. They also argued that most of their problems are social and therefore they felt that government should provide services such as foster homes for orphans, provide more assistance to school children, sanitation, decent houses, access to pension funds for the elderly, etc. However, 50% of Site C residents are unemployed and have no income and hence are unable to pay for services, therefore they argue that the government should provide employment opportunities so that people are able to sustain themselves and contribute towards the services rendered to them. Residents felt that government should interact with the department of social services in order to be able to address some of the social problems that have been mentioned above.

Regarding the issue of subsidies, 80% of residents in both formal and informal houses are not quite happy the way in which subsidies are allocated. According to research findings people feel it would have been better for the government to identify land and give them the money and they build houses of their choice. Meanwhile councillors argued that people don't use the resources government give to them and this is due to poor implementation and monitoring, and therefore continuous evaluation is required in order to improve the services provided

#### 3.8 Residents' perceptions of Ward councillors

Findings from the study revealed that 45% of the respondents perceived councillors and officials as corrupt and not supportive enough to address the delivery of housing services. Thirty percent of the respondents said that the councillors are slow to address the housing problems and therefore improvement is needed. Meanwhile others appreciated the effort and expected that delivery problems will be improved once housing policies are properly implemented. The arguments for engaging Site C residents at all stages of policy process are un clear and overwhelming, Residents demand a more meaningful role in policy development and agued councilors to support communities in the campaign to gain local government support in land acquisition and other issues regarding housing delivery.

#### 3.9 Residents role in Housing Delivery.

The community of Site C in general believed that their participation would bring about significant improvement regarding initiating, planning and implementation of housing policies and delivery of services. They indicated that working as a team they would easily

identify what has contributed to some of the failures in the policy process. According to the findings of the study, it would be ideal for government to allow the beneficiaries take part in general council meetings particularly on issues that concerns them because they are better informed about their environment and needs. The role of the community in site C would bring new ideas and opinions to the process of improving the housing infrastructure. Importantly, their role should be realized at ward meetings because this is where issues concerning delivery of services are identified.

#### 3.10 Informal Housing

According to Nabutola (2004:6) informal housing refers to housing that does not conform to land tenure system in a particular place or country and this includes:

- Building on land intended for another use (though the building itself may conform to the standards laid down in regulations)
- Not conforming to all of the standards laid down for that part of the city
- Not being subject to planning permission (though it may be eligible)
- Building on land not owned by the occupier and without permission of the owner.

On the other hand, formal houses can also become informal through illegal extensions and alterations. This is common in Site C as residents expand their dwellings to accommodate the ever growing number of households from rural areas and elsewhere. However, housing is described as informal when it does not conform to the laws and regulatory frameworks set up in the environment in which it occurs. It can be informal at various levels. Housing can be provided through construction firms that are not licensed and whose work is not subject to guarantees.

#### 3.11 Description of housing environment.

Despite the fact that Khayelitsha is not developed, some areas have decent houses which were built during the apartheid era to accommodate black civil servants. A number of civil servants still live within this area. Other buildings have been built under the current housing scheme and some by individuals who have the means. In the past Site C had few informal structures but as time went by more people have continued to come and settle in the area, which has added to the housing crisis.

#### **3.12.1 Health**

Site C has one public hospital and several private clinics which are run by the University of Cape Town and community health projects. There are two clinics in Site C one of which is a mobile tuberculosis clinic and registers between 400 to 600 people that seek medical services from this clinic. The hospital is running under the management of cape provincial administration. Approximately 15 private Doctors operate from clinics mostly located in more affluent areas as well as Dentists and pharmacist. Private practitioners do not adequately service the community simply because of financial constraints (Mangokwana, 2004:155)

#### 3.12.2 Physical Infrastructure

Site C has quite a good internal road network which is well constructed and maintained. Site C is connected to the N2 highway at Mew way and Spine road, Lansdowne road which is a major metropolitan activity links Site C via the cape flats to Claremont, spine road provides a significant east-west link, and connects Site C with Michelle's plain and strand fontein. The R300 freeway provides an import north-south link to the northern suburbs. The road leading to Site C from N2 is very close; it is approximately 200 meters away.

#### 3.13 Community Organization

Site C has a civic organization commonly known as a street committee which forms a significant part of the township society. The street committee deals with township problems such as housing, electricity, water and other related services. The term street committee refers to any group of people staying in the vicinity of one another. Street committees can be about 4-6 people who come together and form a SANCO branch (South African National Civic Association).

# 3.14 Community Participation UNIVERSITY of the

Participation gives true meaning to the word democracy, enabling people to make meaningful decisions (Peters, 1996:123). Community participation or involvement in decision making regarding issues of housing is a cornerstone in creating a sense of community ownership of the intended project, which will make local communities more willing to take part, or even contribute towards certain costs bearing in mind that the return is to their benefit (Shaefer, 1996).

Participation does not only entail decision-making but may also involve training and reorientation on how a housing project evolves, so that management is done by the beneficiaries themselves. Valley (1998) points out that the unprepared ness of the local authorities and a poor planning approach brings about poor housing service delivery to the community. Historically, since the transformation process started in 1994, the township life has not changed much and people are still living in shacks because they have been denied representation and participation in issues affecting them.

Because the people of Site C have been denied direct participation in the housing scheme, endless wrangles have resulted between the community and the councillors which has demoralized the community. This situation is further worsened by newcomers in the area, who are allocated houses which leaves old community members wondering what criteria are applied to the allocation of these houses.

For example, during the recent 2005 local elections the people of Khayelitsha mobilized a mass rally of over 1000 people from townships and squatter camps all over Cape Town, protesting and demanding explanations from councillors. Many camped in Oliver Tambo hall in Khayelitsha to discuss why the housing process had not been fulfilled as promised. This demonstrates their frustration over present housing policies and a need for a concrete way forward. Some of the problems the community experiences included poor sanitation, congestion and crime

(http://southafrica.indymedia.org/news/2005/09/8797.php).

The mobilization of such a large number of the community shows that there is certainly willingness and a need amongst people to take action against poor housing policies and service delivery.

#### 3.15 Sanitation

Sanitation in Site C is very poor. The facilities in place are not serviced and the majority of the residents still use the bucket system while others prefer going to the bush (called 'rocket' meaning using polythene bags). In some areas two houses share one toilet and frequently water is disconnected for non payment of municipal services. The toilets are built in between the shacks so that residents can have easy access but unfortunately many are unusable because of the condition they are in. Sanitation in this area is largely affected by imbalances in quality and quantity of service. However, the constraint on public provision of services is largely a mixture of financial and institutional inability to adequately operate and maintain existing systems in low income areas like Site C. Water born sewerage only exists in the formal houses of Site C and it has inadequate stormwater drainage which makes the area prone to flooding, particularly during the rainy months of winter.

# 3.16 Economic Activities in Site C STERN CAPE

Economic activities describe how the local people sustain themselves in such an environment. Many of the residents in Site C survive on either handouts from charity organizations, doing petty jobs or engaging in small businesses involving things like the making of clothing or selling raw foodstuffs, cigarettes etc

#### **3.17 Crime**

A high crime rate is one of the major problems facing Site C. In order to understand and eradicate crime in Site C there is need to address the root causes. These include but are not limited to greed, inadequate policing, poverty, lack of education, homelessness, lax

gun laws etc (Lindilwe, 2006). The crucial point in her argument is homelessness where the majority of the people are living in poor conditions or with no home at all which drives them to engage in criminal activities. In Site C there is a neighborhood watch which deals with the security of the area but this is a voluntary organisation whose primary goal is upliftment of the area. Unfortunately they do not get sufficient support from local councillors and ward members.

#### 3.18 Officials' involvement

Recent meetings between the ward councilors, city of Cape Town officials and community members of Site C have been discussing the way forward to solve the problem of housing needs. Housing needs can be defined as the number of families /residents without adequate shelter. This concept is not related to affordability. The definition of adequate shelter is dependent on societal and economic dictates. A family without any shelter can be regarded as inadequately housed for example: people living in a shared shack, people without any protection, or a family whose shelter is substandard in respect of a descent living. (Busisiwe, 2002:15). In this regard the officials responsible for the housing scheme seem to be ignorant of the peoples' plight, because they don't provide the relevant information to people about housing, such as what is involved in order to be allocated a house and a realistic estimate of the waiting period.

Secondly, disagreement arises because of corruption among the officials. The community perceives the officials as cheats and unreliable especially in cases where they have allocated houses to their relatives or to themselves. This raises the question of "who are

right beneficiaries of this housing scheme". However, the officials state that the slow allocation of houses is because of financial implications and squeeze.

Thirdly, the new entrants into the housing market represent an additional need that has not been catered for and yet the law guarantees anybody who has stayed in an area for six months onwards a right to housing.

Similar studies carried out by Busiwe (2002) revealed that ward councilors have been perceived as liars and cheats but Billie the ward councilor of Site C disagrees with this statement saying that people want help from the government in various ways and expect government to address their problems concurrently which is not possible. Billie however points out some of the issues that are demanded by the communities for example, foster homes for orphans, sanitation, schools, social grants etc. Councilors Billie and Bottoman agree with the communities that there are some gaps in housing allocation but sometimes government works hard to address some of the problems but people don't use the resources given to them. On the similar note the council interacts with the department of social services to note priority areas says Billie and Bottoman. The isnterview material highlight that most problems are very social of which government tries to help but with little effort. In addition officials admitted that the housing environment had not been satisfactorily created this is due to poor alignment of housing plans and funding streams at all levels of government as well as generally poor quality and peripheral location of low income housing projects. Billie also pointed out that limited participation from the financial sector in financing of low income housing to beneficiaries has contributed to the housing crisis.

.

3.19 Land Question.

The housing crisis has changed the attitude of the government, who now feel this is the

time to address the housing backlog. Land must be allocated to expedite the process.

3.20 Conclusion

This chapter has elaborated on the wide spectrum of the study, the case study area as well

as services rendered in Site C by the councillors and the local government of the City of

Cape Town. As noted throughout the chapter, the City of Cape Town has carried out

various activities in Site C which appear to have a significant impact on the beneficiaries.

However, there are also challenges that Site C faces that require attention from respective

institutions. Against this background, the following chapter investigates the problems and

potential strategies in addressing housing delivery and approaches to overcome the

backlog.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

58

**CHAPTER FOUR** 

HOW COMMUNITIES IN KHAYELITSHA PARTICIPATE IN

SERVICE DELIVERY: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings on the current housing backlog in Site C, in

Khayelitsha in the Western Cape Province. The findings are discussed in relation to the

aims and objectives of the study, in particular: community participation, institutional

frameworks, stakeholders and lack of capacity.

4.2 Duration of stay of participants in Site C

The study assessed the duration the respondents had lived in Site C in order to understand

the context of issues of housing allocation. Respondents were asked how long they have

lived in Cape Town and Site C. The period lived in the area ranged between 2 years to 30

years. However, the largest number of respondents had lived in this area for 8 years.

Approximately 65% of the respondents had lived in Khayelitsha Site C for more than 10

years and they believed that the allocation of their houses was long overdue. Hence 50%

are in formal housing and 50% still live in shacks. Due to delays, planning of houses

and other services are erratic, because there is no proper format used in service delivery

regarding shack dwellers.

4.3 Tendering

59

The tendering system should give an opportunity to the local residents to play a role in the provision of such services to the people as well as a means of creating income so as to improve their standard of living. Unfortunately this system seems to have been mismanaged. The local residents are given a minimal opportunity to take part in the building process while most jobs are managed by companies outside Khayelitsha Site C. At the same time tendering is a lengthy process taking between three and six months and this leads to further delays. The government should consider using local residents who are capable of providing such services to thus avoid unnecessary delays.

# **4.4 Community Participation**

It should be noted that the end users of these houses are the residents but in Site C but, according the interviews, they are not given the opportunity to make decisions on certain issues, for example, the selection of contractors, size of the house to be built or who qualifies to get the house when complete. Consultation is very vital to avoid bickering and other forms of mismanagement.

#### 4.5 Lack of suitable housing credit

Lack of suitable housing credit to supplement housing subsidies has become a crucial problem to the people of Site C. The reason for this being that banks have not made housing loans easily accessible to subsidized households and have very strict eligibility criteria, redlining certain parts as high risk areas.

#### 4.6 Lack of capacity

Currently, the City of Cape Town is faced with a manpower shortage to drive and implement the housing demands and this has partly contributed to the housing backlog. At the same time, according to the findings of the study, local authorities and developers do lack the capacity to plan and design good quality urban environments in new housing projects.

The Councillors of site C have not accepted the responsibility for this delay, instead they have shifted the blame to local government who have been slow in allocating finance for the housing scheme. The reason for the delay is attributed to insufficient funds being made available to meet the overwhelming housing demands by the ever increasing numbers. According to those interviewed, most of the subsidized houses that have been completed are inadequate both in terms of size and quality, and are often smaller than the average shack.

# 4.7 Institutional Framework

Local government transition has also resulted in significant delays to the housing process. Despite the new legislation and procedures being in place, the problems associated with the collapse of local government under the previous dispensation are still being experienced especially in areas like Khayelitsha.

WESTERN CAPE

However, as part of integrated development plan; every municipality must make sure that with in the frame work of national and provincial legislation and policy, constitutes with in their jurisdiction regions have access to adequate housing. Municipalities must initiate, plan, facilitate, and co-ordinate appropriate housing development within their boundaries, either by engaging developers to undertake the project or by playing the role of a

developer. Municipalities must also set aside, plan and manage land for housing development. The national housing Act sets out responsibilities of local government for providing housing in section 9(1) of the Act (Housing Act of 1997). Change in the institutional structures and do as much as necessary would provide an opening and the realization of the gaps that exist. It is important to note, the three tiers of government must from time to time review the framework and see if it is compatible the demands on the ground.

#### 4.8 Financing

Financing procedure, duplication of housing institutions and fragmentation of the housing responsibilities have resulted in a large amount of overlap, duplication and confusion within and between housing institutions. Inability to carry out responsibilities by many officials and councillors has also caused some delay in the housing process.

WESTERN CAPE

#### 4.9 Stakeholders

The lack of definition of roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders in the housing sector, as well as no coherent overall housing strategy have contributed to the present confusion and breakdown in current housing delivery in Khayelitsha and Site C in particular. Specific areas of concern include the exclusion of some residents who were transferred from Langa as a result of the new housing allocation procedure where those who did not appear on the initial list were transferred to Site C awaiting house allocation.

Housing funds have been diverted to other projects or purposes by housing officials, for example funding for bulk infrastructure, community facilities, interest rate and rental subsidies, which has resulted in either some funds being embezzled or misappropriated. In Site C, some councillors were accused of using the housing fund to build their own houses (Khayelitsha Community Watch, 2004).

# 4.10 Product quality

The housing subsidy only provides for certain aspects of new residential development that is, land, internal infrastructure and top structures. In so doing, the required expenditure by local authorities on land infrastructure costs and the provision of facilities is often equivalent to the total housing subsidy. There has also been inadequate funding for capital and operational costs of facilities to accompany housing projects, such as halls (Development Action Group, 2004:8)

#### 4.11 Effects

In South Africa, the effect of the previous regime created many imbalances, which have remained a big challenge to overcome within a short period of time. For example, the lingering effects of Apartheid economic policies have prompted powerful arguments in favour of economic re-distribution whereby the trend towards equalization should be accelerated. Shepherd (1998:43) observes that balanced distribution of income creates accelerated development. Shepherd (1998) further argues that many South Africans live below the poverty line because their expenditure outweighs their income and this has vastly affected their ability to afford adequate housing using their own resources.

The current political dynamics, some of which have roots in the previous regime's policies, still champion personal wealth on the expense of the poor. In Khayelitsha's Site

C there is a division among political parties who keep on undermining each other. The increase in the population of Site C coupled with unemployment has led to escalating crime as most of the youth have no income. If the housing backlog was handled as planned, there would be fewer shacks, which have become a haven for wrong doers in Site C and in Khayelitsha as a whole.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, poor services have also contributed to poor health. For example with regard to access to water, one tap serves about ten to twenty households. There is a similar problem with toilets with no less than ten families sharing one toilet.

It is equally apparent that the housing sector has an enormous role to play. An increased income to lower income groups would have a major impact on the housing sector by converting latent demand for housing into effective demand. It would be easy for the people to look for alternative accommodation if they had a reliable and constant income but unfortunately most of the people of Site C do not fall into this category and thus rely entirely on the government housing subsidy.

Corruption is on the increase, due to greed and poor remuneration of civil servants, (Khayelitsha official interview 2, May-July 2006). Furthermore, interviewees who have lived in the area for more than six years complained that unless you give a token of some kind, assurance of getting allocated a house is almost zero.

The Department of Housing, like some other departments, is faced with the problem of inadequate funding from the central government. The yearly budget is always over strained to compete with the ever-increasing housing backlog. Since 1996, the housing

crisis has remained a major issue to be addressed by all levels of government. So the issue of funding is critical in addressing the housing backlog, not only in Site C, but the entire country. Relevant to the above issue, informal urban settlements in the entire country are overwhelming - reaching to over 2, 5 million units with Khayelitsha taking a share of +-60,000 and Site C alone with over 14,000 informal houses (City of Cape Town Annual Housing Report, 2003) it therefore means that all these huge demands will have an impact on the economy.

Also the current policy on black economic empowerment which gives opportunity to the previously disadvantaged groups, has led to some fake and incompetent companies being given the opportunity to engage in the construction of some of these houses. (City of Cape Town Annual Housing Report, 2003).

Non-Governmental organizations operating in Site C are not adequately supported by either the government or local councillors, (Khayelitsha Official Interview 2 May-July 2006). Funds have been allocated by these NGOs to supplement government efforts but unfortunately due to corruption and greed, materials are stolen from their sites or they are denied land to construct these houses. Constant bickering amongst the departments and officials involved in the housing schemes has created an uncompromising situation with councillors and officials vying for control of the housing process and detrimentally affecting its progress, (Sharply 2000:14).

Sharply (2000:14-15) further argues that development of an area can be divided into two approaches, that is, growth centered and people centered approaches. A people centered

approach has to be done in conformity with the desires of the people. This approach suggests that there should be a bottom up involvement at all stages which will create a sense of self in the project. In Site C, the beneficiaries and even other local residents are just passive participants in the housing process. (Khayelitsha Official Interview 2 May-July 2006). They are not involved in most decisions that are made and this has caused disagreement and sabotage to the housing scheme. Since they are not consulted on most issues, they have left the entire process to the ward councillors who have in turn been challenged by the municipal housing officials, (Khayelitsha Official Interview 2 May-July 2006).

#### 4.12 Approaches

The study has shown that there is need for improvement in the delivery of houses and other services by the City of Cape Town to ensure that the basic needs of the poor are met. These include:

- Improved housing credit;
- Savings;
- Rapid release of land with rudimentary services to address over crowding problem;
- Improved bucket toilet removal services;
- Improved access to water by those reliant on communal water supply;
- Providing education to consumers of housing;
- Health education drives to minimize the health problems which occur when basic services are inadequate;

- Involvement of community groups such as SANCO to monitor the
  extent to which council is providing an improved level of service to the
  community and to be able to provide feedback to the council service
  departments so as to help them to improve their services and
- Targeting the needs of vulnerable groups especially the unemployed,
   women and children in low income households.

It is suggested that efforts need to be made to:

- Consider how the delivery of housing can be fast tracked in such a way as to maximize the limited financial resources available to housing projects;
- Design innovative approaches to helping the poorest of the poor to be accommodated in less overcrowded housing with improved levels of services need to be encouraged and explored;
- Deepen the culture of service amongst officials in The Department of Housing, so that the services provided are undertaken in such a way as to respect the dignity of the residents in Site C;
- Economic activity is seen the only impetus to help council to address the
  problems in a sustainable manner. All avenues should be explored to encourage
  the generation of employment and economic activity.
- Explore mechanisms to adopt an inter-sectoral approach to service delivery.

## **4.13 Conclusion**

The research findings presented in this chapter demonstrates the current housing backlog in Site C in Khayelitsha in the Western Cape and other issues related to housing such as employment, poverty, tendering procedures and community participation. These are discussed in greater detail in the concluding chapter.



#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### **CONCLUSION**

#### 5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research paper has housing delivery and strategies to overcome issues surrounding slow housing delivery. To achieve sustainable housing development, government must improve on what it has already achieved recognizing that a productive nation is one which is well housed, (Adebayo 2003). The national government together with both local and provincial governments should be encouraged to develop solutions to the housing problem.

Material from interviews shows that informal settlement dwellers need facilitation more than promises. The Western Cape provincial government has to work around creating the necessary infrastructure for shack dwellers. Therefore, emphasis should be placed on training informal settlers in entrepreneurship as this will afford them a better chance of earning a living.

The provincial government should have a policy that avoids relocation as much as possible and instead regularizes the stay of the settlers, and enables them to upgrade their houses. Wholesome and potable water should be made available and affordable. Right now the water in Khayelitsha, in particular Site C, is problematic, as water is mostly communal. Each household should have its own individual water connection.

#### 5.2 Community Participation

The communities in the respective areas should be involved as the main role players, especially in the designing of policies intended for them, so that they can take ownership. If given the opportunity and a level playing field they are capable of making informed decisions and embracing the outcomes.

#### **5.3.** Housing Allocation and Financing Schemes

In the CCT Newspaper ( CCT, 2005) it was revealed that policies about the allocation of houses were clearly spelt out but all these have been high jacked by officials responsible for housing service delivery, by first of all allocating houses to themselves under fake names or allocating them to their relatives and friends. Thus many genuine old residents who have lived in Site C from its inception have never been allocated houses. Decision making at local level is totally in the hands of the councillors and city housing planners within the city, while the community is excluded in the planning and implementation process. A holistic sustainable human settlement approach needs to be adopted, focusing on building communities and creating a dignified liveable environment rather than just houses. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (2004/2005) which was adopted from a single integrated housing data base has not been followed which means a new data base needs to be created.

Interviews with residents of Site C revealed that the national government has tried to provide the money and the necessary materials for houses but the list of names of

applicants were compiled long ago. Currently officials take money in order to provide a house. It is evident, as mentioned earlier, that some "new comers" have already been allocated houses and old residents still reside in shacks. Another set back in the housing delivery process is the lack of commitment by some stake holders who take time to implement decisions made in terms of when to start the construction, who will be administering and other responsibilities.

Over and above infrastructure, Khayelitsha should be made safer and more conducive to live and grow uninhibited by the stigma associated with crime. Consumer education should be seen as a tool to sensitize communities on general housing programmes and the necessary steps to access land, as well as houses. This would help people take charge of themselves.

The rapid delivery of housing should be supported by a revised housing subsidy system.

UNIVERSITY of the

Beneficiaries with a household income of less than R1500 per month receive a smaller subsidy and must make a contribution of R 2479. People earning between R3500 and R7000 per month will qualify for a deposit subsidy on their first housing purchase. The City of Cape Town has also increased the establishment grant for people's housing projects to R800 per beneficiary from R570 enabling greater efficiency and technical support to the needy.

The CCT housing newspaper (CCT, May 2005) revealed that like any urban setting world wide with a housing demand, is a long term project, as long as people keep on moving from city to city and place to place in form of migration process.

In the last ten years, it was revealed that the approach of allocating new housing was largely based on co-operation with the communities. However with the introduction of housing delivery across the City of Cape Town, and entire Cape Metro zone, it is was decided that a new data base be instituted to keep a record of all residents of each area site C inclusive to avoid overlapping and double allocation of houses.

A national data bank should be developed to deter those who have already benefited or on the waiting list of another housing scheme elsewhere in the country. As was previously mentioned individuals move from place to place in search of better lives and employment opportunities and therefore end up settling in places where they find employment. Because there is no data in place, migration will continue to affect housing delivery in Site C and else where in the country. Hence, this problem must be addressed soon.

#### **5.4 Public and Private Partnerships**

Public and private partnerships should be promoted by local government through greater accountability, participation and transparency at local government level to improve housing delivery and overcome the crisis of informal settlements and housing backlogs.

#### **5.5** Role of Municipalities

The People's Housing Process must continue to recognize the efforts and initiatives of those who prefer to build their own houses and are prepared to commit their resources, skills and energies to this task. The Department of Housing should determine, finance, promote, co-ordinate, communicate and monitor the implementation of policy for housing and human settlement. Access to housing and secure accommodation must be an integral part of government's commitment to reduce poverty and improve the quality of people's lives in Site C.

#### 5.6 CONCLUSIONS

The Housing Act of 1997(Act 107 of 1997) states that: every municipality must, as part of the municipality's process of integrated development planning, take all reasonable and necessary steps within the frame work of national and provincial housing legislation to ensure that:

- the inhabitants of its area of jurisdiction have access to adequate housing development on a progressive basis
- conditions not conducive to the health and safety of the inhabitants of its area
   of jurisdiction are removed
- services in respect of water, sanitation, electricity, roads, storm water drainage and other means of transport are provided in a manner, which is economically efficient(Housing Act 1997Section 3(6))

Housing delivery in South Africa and Site C in particular face enormous challenges and it will require a concerted effort from all parties to implement policies effectively. It is evident that the housing policy has various shortcomings in the process in which it was formulated. Problems cited in this regard are lack of participation with the necessary stakeholders, and an inadequate knowledge on the part of communities as to their rights. The initiative taken by the City of Cape Town to provide low cost housing in conjunction with the Department of Housing and to make subsidies available to eligible households can be seen as an effort to reduce the housing backlog. However, the Department of Housing is constrained in the process for the following reasons:

- Lack of institutional and private sector capacity to undertake housing projects;
- Poor access to housing subsidies.
- Problems with land, etc.

It is also clear that one of the main reasons why South Africa has not been able to reduce the housing backlog is due to inadequate expenditure on housing. The inadequate expenditure rate of housing delivery has resulted in millions of people continuing to live in inadequate housing conditions. Working towards adequate housing for all remains a national goal. It is hoped that future national budgets will reflect this and that the housing policy framework will be able to facilitate the achievement of this goal. One of the major constraints that have been realized pertaining to housing delivery, if Khayelitsha is to be taken as an example, is the lack of government capacity. To rectify this lack of capacity entails an efficient working force and the installation of appropriate technology, equipment and systems for monitoring, evaluating and reporting purposes.

The Department of Housing continues to provide support to assist provinces to ensure effective and efficient implementation of national housing programmes. Housing must be built to standards that qualify, at a price that house seekers can afford. Our housing programme cannot afford to build dwellings that last only in the short term, and which soon becomes cracked and uninhabitable. Not only does this undermine the benefit received by the beneficiary, it also undermines government's plan for a normalized, vibrant housing market in which housing units are bought and sold among subsidized beneficiaries.

In regard to the fieldwork discussed here, the delivery of housing services is too slow and communities are discontented in a manner in which the delivery of housing is being administered. The research further revealed that the houses are too small and can not accommodate larger families which have resulted into people building shacks behind the formal houses which makes the place unpleasant and untidy. The levels of other services like water, sanitation are still very poor and coupled with congestions. Community participation in decision making process is not adequately utilized and this however should not be underestimated.

Banks have not made housing loans easily accessible to subsidized households and have strict eligibility criteria, this need to change otherwise people with low income and who can afford to pay the loan may not have access to housing, and therefore one concludes that banks considers a particular category of people who are perhaps of middle income to qualify for housing subsidies.

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

#### **Books**

Anso, T. (2006), Surveys conducted by the Department of Health, Provincial Government, Cape Town.

Arkey, S. and Knight, F. (1999), Research in Management, users guide, New York.

Babbie, E. and Mouton.J. (2001), *The Practice of Social Research*, Oxford University Press, Johannesburg.

Berg, B. (2001), *Qualitative Research methods for social sciences*, Pearson Educational Company, Dedham Heights, Washington DC.

Bryman, A. (2001), Social Research Methods, Oxford University Press, New York

Burman, T. (2005), Housing policy in the developing economy, in Firoza K. and Thring,

P. Housing Policy and Practice in Post Apartheid South Africa, Heinemann Publishers (Pty) Ltd Sandown.

Burman, T. (2005), "The Dynamics of Urbanization since 1980", in Swilling, M. and Humphries, R. Apartheid City in Transition, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Burns, N. and Ferguson, H. (2005), Settlement Policies in Developing Countries, Shelter Settlement and Development, East African Publishing House,

Busisiwe, M. (2002), *The Effects of Poverty in Khayelitsha*, draft Dissertation on housing policy, School of Government, UWC.

Chopra, S. and Chopra, M. (2004), *Social Housing*, Heineman Publications, Sandton, Johannesburg.

Creswell J.W. (1998), Qualitive Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among five traditions, SAGE Publications, New Delhi.

Dencil, Z. and Lincoln, M. (2000), *Methods in Social Research*. SAGE Publications, London.

Huchzermeyer, M. (2002), "Capital Subsidy and Informal Settlement Intervention in South Africa", paper presented at the *Urban Futures 2000 conference on issues confronting the city at the turn of the millennium*, Johannesburg.

Khan F. and Thring, P. (2003), *Housing Policy and practice in Post Apartheid South Africa*, Heinemann Publishers, Sandton

Mangokwana, M. (2004) "Development in rural communities" in Scharf, W. and Nina, D. *The Other Law Forms of Non-State Ordering*, Juta, Cape Town.

Mouton, J. (2001), *How to Succeed in Your Masters and Doctoral Studies*, Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria.

Muzando, T. (2004) Towards the Right to Adequate Housing, Urban studies, Durban.

Peters, P.G. (1996), Issues on Public Administration and Housing, SAGE Publication.

London.

Fish, M. (2003), *Social Housing*, Heinemann Publishers, Sandton, Johannesburg.

Keith, S. (2005). The status of Cape Town: Development Overview, Isandla institute, Cape Town.

Rosnow, C and Rosenthal, G. (1996), *Methodology of Social Science Research Programmes*, Cambridge University Press, London.

Shaefer, S. (1996), The role of Community Participation on Housing development in Kenya, Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

Stern, S. (1979), Tools and Case Studies, ACM Press, New York.

Tait, A. (2003), Strategies for Addressing Policy Gaps, paper presented on Housing Strategy, at the urban 21 Global conference on Urban Future, Pretoria.

Tait, A. (2005), *The crash of post Apartheid Housing policy*, African World Press Inc, Asmara.

Yin R. (1994), Case Study Research. Design and Methods: Applied Social Research Methods Series, SAGE Publications, New Delhi.

Valley, S. (1998), Chronology on Community Perspective in Developing World, Government Publication, London.

Warwick, J. (2006), *Housing in South Africa*, Crown Publishers, Johannesburg.

Watkins, K. (1996), *The Oxfam Poverty Report*, Oxford University press, London.

Werner, D. and Schoepfele, I. (1997) *The Limitations of Social Research*. Longman, London.

# Official Government Publications IVERSITY of the

City of Cape Town (2003), Annual Housing Report, Cape Town.

City of Cape Town (2006), Information and Knowledge Management, Department of Housing, Cape Town

Department of Health (2005), Informal Settlements in the Western Cape, City of Cape Town.

Department of Health, City of Cape Town. (2005). *Local Government Communications Conference Report*, Cape Town.

Department of Housing (2006), Urban Development Framework, Pretoria

Department of Housing. (2006), Local Government and Housing Provincial Budget speech(transcript), by Mr. Marius, Provincial Minister of Housing and Local Government, Cape Town.

Department of Local Government and Housing, *Newsletters* (2006) Provincial Government, Western Cape.

Department of Housing (2005). White Paper on Housing

Didiza, T. (2005), Executive summary of the proceedings of the Western Cape land summit, hosted by the Department of Land Affairs and Regional Claims Commission, July.

Integrated Development Plan. (2004/2005), *Our City, Our Future*, City of Cape Town.

International Development Review. (July 2004), *Government Net Communications*, London.

Mary, T. (1998), South Africa's Housing Policy: An Assessment of the first two years, 1994 and 1996, Center for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.

Mfeketo, N. (2005). *Integrated Development Plan for Cape Town*, City of Cape Town Republic of South Africa (1998) *Housing Act*.

Republic of South Africa (1999) Rental Housing Act.

Reconstruction and Development Programme White Paper Policy Framework (1999), Umanyano Publications, Johannesburg.

Republic of South Africa (1994), White Paper on Reconstruction and Development.

Republic Of South Africa (1995), White Paper on Housing 2nd Draft.

South African Government Information on Housing (2005). Housing Journal Vol. 14 (5)

Western Cape Housing Consortium (2003) *Housing Information and Management systems*, Provincial Administration, Cape Town (July).

Western Cape Housing Consortium. (July 2003), *Housing information and management Systems*, Provincial Administration Cape Town.

Nomatyala. H. (2003) MEC, Department of Housing, Western Cape Provincial Government.

#### Newspapers

City of Cape Town Housing Newspaper. (June, 2005), *The City Works for You*, Cape Town.

City of Cape Town News Paper (May 2006) Cape Town.

e.Township, Newspaper (June 2006), *Building Houses and Health Care for Communities*, Cape Town.

Mail and Guardian Newspaper,(4th June 2006) Analysis of South Africa's Housing Sector Performance.

#### **Magazines**

Delivery (May/July 2005), *The Magazine for Local Government*, string communications, Cape Town.

Department of Housing. (2002), Housing Atlas, Pretoria.

Housing News. (2005), *Policy Review in South Africa, The Challenge of Delivery*, Cape Town.

Khayelitsha Community Watch (2004), *Dynamics of Service Delivery in Townships*, Cape Town.

Lindilwe, S. (May, 2006), *Planning perspective, Township Community Watch Magazine*, Cape Town.

The Magazine for Local Government (July 2005), Migration and Settlement, City of Cape Town.

#### **Television**

South African Broad Casting Network Wednesday 27th (2006) Morning edition South African Broad Casting (SABC 3) (26.06.6, 9:30PM) Special Assignment

#### **Journals**

Adebayo, A. (2003), "Creating the Conditions for Housing Delivery in South Africa," Paper presented at *The Urban Futures Conference on issues of Housing*, Johannesburg. ANC Today,5-11, September(2003), 3 (35)

Dyantyi, R. (1999), "Housing Policy in South Africa", Journal of Housing and Urban Studies, Vol.23 No.9.

Dyantyi, R. (2006) *Budget speech 2006/2007: Vote 8-* Local Government and Housing, City of Cape Town

Gilbert, A. (1997): 'on subsidies and homeownership", Third World Planning Review19 (1)15-20

Dor, G. (May 1, 2006)transformation in infrastructure policy from apartheid to democracy vol.64(5)

Young. A. (1995) *Housing policy and Housing shortages* in Cape Town, African Perspective, Volume 18.

State of South African Cities (SACN) (2004) Migration to Cities, Big Media Publishers, Pretoria.

Urban Foundation (2005), Realities of Housing backlog in the Western Cape, Vol.

9.No.5, September -October

Sharply, R. (1996), Tourism Management, Vol. 17(1-7), Cape Town.

City of Tygerberg (undated), Community based refuse removal system for Khayelitsha: A Case Study. Mimeo

City of Cape Town. (2003), *Informal settlement handbook* prepared for The City of Cape Town, Blackwell Synergy, Cape Town.

#### Web sources

http//www.southafrican indymedia.org/2005/o9/8797.php (accessed on 16th Sep 2006).

Development Action Group (2004), Proposal for people's housing process course, Cape Town.

http://www.pmg.org.za accessed on 02/08/2006

http://www.capegateway.gov.za/eng/pubs/public_info/p/86406(accessed on 4thAug 2006) http://www.Housing.gov.za/content accessed 26.07.06

http://www.info.gov.za/whitepapers/1994/housing.htm (accessed on 26.07.2006)

www.idasa.org (accessed 27/04/2006)

www.Housing.gov.za /contents (accessed 14/07/06)

#### **Conference Papers**

Nabutola, W. (2004), "Affordable Housing, a Case Study of Informal Settlements", 3rd Regional conference on Housing, Nairobi.

Nomvuyo, D. and Ruth S., (2004) Paper presented at urban development, Johannesburg. Nontobeko, N. (2005), "South Africa's Approach to Housing Challenges", paper presented at the *Urban Sector Network, National Urban Development Conference*, Johannesburg.

Shepherd, W. (1998), "Housing Provision in Metropolitan Cape Town", report prepared for the office of the Executive Deputy President and the Interministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality. Praxis Publishing, Durban.

South African Human Rights Commission, (SAHRC), (2004), the *Right of Access to Adequate Housing*, Johannesburg.

UNCHS. (2002), Global Shelter to the Year 2005: Improving Shelter by Non Governmental Organizations: Nairobi UNCHS (Habitat).

#### **Interviews**

Khayelitsha Official Interviews (2006) open-ended interviews, May –June 2006 with 50 Residents of Khayelitsha Site C.

- -Ward councilors interviewed, Billie, N and Bottoman, T.N., (25.May 2006).
- -CCT officials interviewed, Mpuang, P. and Bandile, M. (May, 24th 2006)

## Appendix 1

## Questionnaire

Greetings to you all. My names are Fred Bidandi. I am a student from the University of the Western Cape, School of government. I am not here to represent any political party or government. The University of the Western Cape is studying how housing policy affect you, your family, and community as whole. I would like to share your experiences pertaining to housing issues. Your input is critical to us and we want to learn from your experiences. The results of the study will help us to devise a means of improving housing problems in this area.

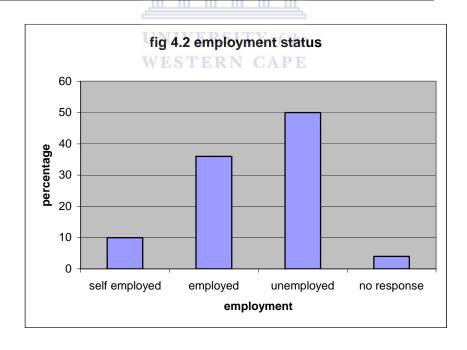
1.	Do you own the house you live in?
2.	How many rooms do you have in your house?
3.	Did you buy the plot onto which you built your dwelling/shack?
4.	What stages do you go through to access a plot?
5.	Do you own property elsewhere?
6.	If yes where
7.	Do you receive subsidies from government?
8.	If yes state how much R
9.	Would you like to be reallocated elsewhere?

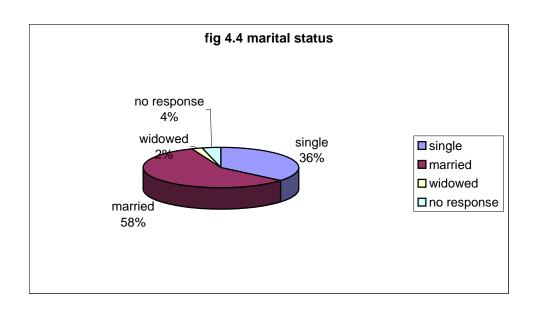
	Why?
10.	Do you have dependants living with you?
11.	If yes how many?
12.	Do they pay a monthly rental fee?
13.	If yes how much R
14.	Give reasons as to why rent is paid
15.	How long have you lived in this area?
16.	What are your feelings and views about this environment you are living in;
17.	How do you feel about the services you receive?
18.	How do you want the government to help you?

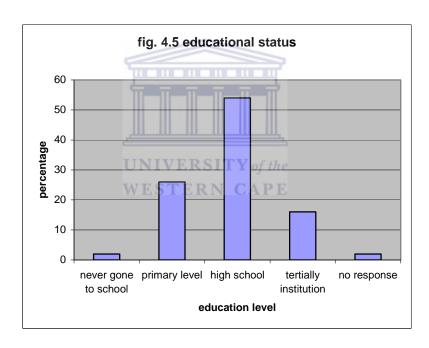
ing
ing 
•
••

## For statistical purpose would you please provide the following information?

Age	e:
Wh	nere are you from?
Но	w long have you lived in Cape Town:
Но	w long in Khayelitsha:
Edu	acation:
Ger	nder:
Ma	rital status:
No	of children:
Но	usehold income:
No	of people living in a dwelling:
Rel	igion:
Em	ployment status:
Eth	nic group:







## Appendix 2

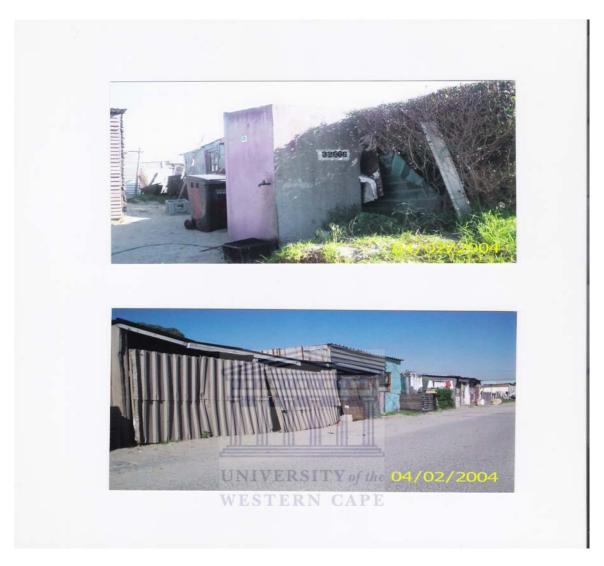
**Table 4.1 Table for gender of participants** 

# **Frequency Percent**

Male		23	46
Femal	е	26	52
No res	ponse	1	2
Total		50	100



Picture of a Formal House Taken from Site C



Picture of the toilet in the middle and the shack at the bottom

Map of Cape Town indicating the area of study

