HOUSING DELIVERY IN THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LANGA AND MFULENI TOWNSHIPS.

BY

BUSISIWE IRIS LETOMPA

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

A DISSEIRTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE, IN PARTIAL FULLFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

MAY 2002

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the following people and the Institution that made this thesis a reality:

The staff of Langa Community Office and Mfuleni Councilors, in particular Mr. Trevor Tokwana and Lonwabo Mgudlwa, for sharing your knowledge and experiences with me.

My supervisor, Prof. C.J.J. Mphaisha, for providing me with the academic substance and guidance throughout this period;

And my family: Mom (Nomsa), Children (Siphiwo and Butsha), thank you for hanging in there. I appreciate your love and support.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report is my own original work and has not
Previously in its entirety been submitted at any other University for a degree.

Ms. Busisiwe Letompa

10 May 2002

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

Abstract:

The South African housing policy in the 1950s until 1990s was shaped by the ideology of apartheid and the belief that the State should play a major role in the provision of social welfare including housing. Housing delivery was structured around State control of the production, allocation and administration of housing. The housing policy was not economically sustainable, had created living environments that did not suit the needs of the people, and had led to social problems.

Housing is a long-term undertaking for our country and will take the government and the people of South Africa many years to deal with the backlong, not only because of the matter of financial resources, but also of technical skills and *include* materials. Secondly, the delivery process should be designed in such a way that it promotes a system that will ensure that as many people as possible have access to housing in order to promote what is called width or depth.

The other problem associated with the housing delivery in South Africa is the problem of urbanization, which is increasing and between 2001 and 2025, urban population is expected to double, placing a huge strain on both resources and infrastructure. In recognition of this the Minister of housing (Sankie Mthembu) reiterated the need for urban renewal and rural development as a complementary strategies and focus areas, as stated by the President Thabo Mbeki in his year 2000 opening of Parliament speech. If one understands the nature of housing

1

holistically, a further argument is then raised for governments to increase

resources to housing rather than decrease them, with an understanding of the

critical role that housing plays in economic development in both the formal and

informal sectors.

UNIVERSITY *of the*

WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Housing is a basic need of all often an emotional issue dependent on personal taste, traditions and a host of interactions between national, local and individual role-player. While technology is advancing throughout the world, so also is the number of homeless. Rapid population growth and urbanization in developing countries such as South Africa, has forced governments to find increasingly more effective housing delivery systems. Usually the response is to initiate house-building programs.
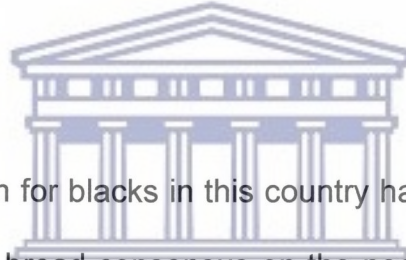
The housing delivery system for blacks in this country has been flawed for many years. There is therefore a broad consensus on the need for the housing policy and housing delivery to be changed. The central thrust of the housing policy is the delivery system and delivery mechanisms. That is why the challenge for housing policy-makers, given the countless ways in which delivery can be organized, is to design a system which is appropriate to people's needs and is economically, socially, politically and environmentally sustainable. It is with the urgent need for a clear policy that deals with housing as an Urbanisation problem that housing delivery can be progressively dealt with. How well has the South African housing sector performed since the new policy framework was inaugurated in 1994? Government's stated goal was to increase the housing sector's share of the national budget from its current 1% to 5% (to increase

3

delivery incrementally to 350 000 units per annum within five years), and to produce at least one million houses for low-income people over five years. The low-cost housing project is part of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) of the African National Congress (ANC). It was started in 1994 with the main aim of providing one million houses within the period of 5 years. In times of apartheid there has never been a census inside the townships, so the real size of the population could only be approximated. When the South African government managed to get an overview the result was that the real existing population in the townships was bigger than estimated and so the demand for affordable housing has to be adjusted. The actual need for housing is now somewhere between 1-5.5 million units.
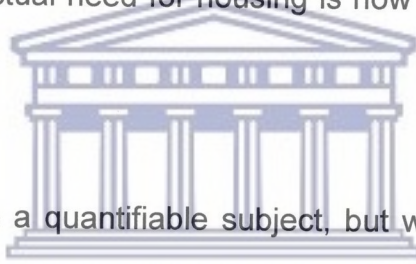
The demand for housing is a quantifiable subject, but within the context of the inaccurate data that exist of the urbanisation of African people in the South African Urban Centres, nearly dealing with housing numbers does not solve the urbanisation problem that Africans are facing in the big cities of South Africa. According to the department of housing by March 1999 a total of 745 717 units were either completed or under construction not far short of the million units promised. There has been a very slow start and then the delivery rate had escalated dramatically averaging between 200 000 per annum and in 1998 approached the 350 000 per annum target. The allocated budget for the housing sector in 1999/ 2000 was averaging between R3.74 billion and dropped to R3.6 billion in 2000/2001. Housing budget should be growing at an increasing rate

4

before slowing and stabilizing and failure to do so is already leading to the demobilization of capacity, which has been so hard to build.

Disregarding the delivery figures indicated by the government, the recent land invasion's in South Africa has shown that the real issue is not only housing, it is effective management of the Urbanisation of African people's in the South African Cities.

land

A reduced budget allocation is an indication that not all of those in government are satisfied with the housing delivery process. Less money means less faith and criticism over the quality and size of homes delivered is affecting government's faith in the entire process. On a more positive note there should be policy measures to mobilize private sector in terms of capital building.

Funds
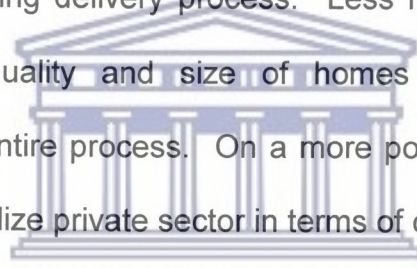
Statement of the problem:

Forced removals of blacks from white areas into segregated Dormitories and to Bantustants and into the peripheries of the "White areas". This policy gave birth to sprawling black Townships like Soweto in (Johannesburg), Kwa-Mashu in (Durban), Mdantsane in (East London) and Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa in (Cape Town). To administer those townships the apartheid government set up Black Local Councils. The emergence of these Black Local Authorities was met with resistance by the black masses.

5

As opposition, structures intensified other organizations from the communities sprung up and the National Council of African Women, the South African Council of Churches, the Roman Catholic Bishop's Conference and the Black Sash. Prompt individuals also came to the force. People like the Rev. Beyers Naude of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Archbishop of the Anglican Church- the most Rev. Desmond Tutu, Dr. Nthanto Montlana of the Soweto committee of ten, Dr. Ellen Khuzwayo and many prominent Black Businessmen and Academics including Dr. Manas Buthelezi of the Lutheran church.

The student uprising of 1976 was also in part with protest against local councils who were then led by Rev. David Thebehadi, Lenox Mlonzi and Ephrahim Tshabalala. The official launching of the United Democratic Front in the 1980's was the final knot in the coffin of these local authorities. Most of these resigned, while others collapsed under protest from the masses. In the Western Cape some of these councilors formed themselves into Vigilante Groups which further sprawled the existing townships by establishing informal settlements in the rural areas of these cities (Crossroads, KTC, Site C and Greenpark). These councillors joined the government forces of the day and decided to fight against the masses. Warlords such as Johnson Ngxobongwane, of Crossroads and his rival Mr. Nongwe together with Mali Hoza from Site C in Khayelitsha and Njoli from Langa joined forces to assists the Apartheid Government in trying to stop the progresive forces who were seeking change from these systems of Local

government. In the meantime the housing backlog grows in the Western Cape and squatting becomes the only alternative for poor families, but is associated with poor health standards and lack of social amenities and they are subject to fire hazards.

The understanding of the presence of African communities in the cities (White areas) of South Africa progressed very slowly over the years from 1960 until 1990 because African's presence in the city was viewed mainly a point of control. Africans were allowed to work in cities but their family lived in the established Bantustans. As a result of this housing for Africans in the city was in the form of hostels and other mail quotas. Female working Africans although very few at the time lived in the outhouses of their masters.

The establishment of Urban (White areas) African families became a criminal practice that was under taken in private in the informal settlements that developed in the peripheries of these cities (in most cases the same areas that were developed by war lords), in the years 1970s and 1990s, African worker families were allowed to live in cities (their "white areas) only with their working husbands. During this period it was expected of the children of these families to reform to the homelands, as a result of this there were no education facilities provided in these areas for the children. The growing number of African children was not accommodated for in the housing provided in the cities. The houses were mainly for working parents. The inability of the houses provided by the

7

state to cater for the growing African families and the increase pressure from these African's on government to stay in those townships, led to the increase into backyard sharks which latter led to the development of areas like Koornoof Transitional Camp (KTC) and others. People were not properly planned for and housing was provided as a reaction to increase pressure from African urbanisation.

Literature review:

These materials relate to the policies and the history of South Africa. Most papers collected in my literature survey discuss definitions and new policy mechanisms put in place by government and the implementation strategy of these policies. Interviews were conducted with a range of stakeholders who could illuminate and add a deeper understanding to the work of Local authorities. However the case study does not offer an empirical or scientific impact assessment, but rather a qualitative interpretation of two communities' experiences. Few questions were presented to the interviewees especially the local staff during workshops held in these communities. The approach was directive with structured question but allowed for flexibility in terms of probing and pursuing issues raised.

Objectives of the study

The aim is to evaluate the long-term effectiveness and the affordability of the shelter projects in the squatter communities. The study analyses the nature and extent of the housing crisis with particular reference to the poor in South Africa; provide an overview of the theoretical perspective of the housing crisis in developing countries and South Africa. The main focus is on the development of housing policy and legislation in South Africa, provide an overview of housing alternatives, which are available to the squatters, with particular reference to the affordability of accommodation. We will also investigate the acceptability of this housing to some recipients as well as the surrounding communities. The upgraded informal settlements and the acceptance by the community of the upgrading process is discussed. It is also important to identify some guidelines that could be used to avoid creating unacceptable urban ghettoes for the very poor people.

Research Methodology

Any academic study requires a methodology to reach its conclusion. A research must have ways of producing and analyzing data so that a theory can be tested, accepted or rejected. The methodology is concerned with both the detailed research methods through which data are collected and the more general philosophies upon which the collection and analysis of data are based. For the

9

purpose of this study the researcher choose to use qualitative method which is descriptive in nature and based essentially on a study of literature regarding various aspects related directly to the research objectives. The literature study was complemented by discussions with representatives of the Mfuleni and Langa communities. We examined various reports presented by the governmental institutions like Cape Town Central, the City of Tygerberg, Oosternberg. Comments that were received from members of the communities as well as new paper reports on the housing crisis particularly in the Western Cape. Recent land occupation, which clearly highlight the huge problem in the Western Cape.

Significance of the study

The study traces the urbanisation of black people in the South African Cities in the context of housing policy and legislation and examines the understanding of the housing question for black people as a question for Urbanisation. Housing alternatives and the affordability to squatters are discussed. Issues surrounding squatter communities are viewed as urbanisation issues and it is argued that until Black people are fully integrated into the urban landscape of the South African Cities, their housing shortages and attempts to deal with it will continue to put them at a disadvantage position. In exploring this argument a comparative study between Langa and Mfuleni, is done.

This study explores the historic issues that lead to the establishment of these settlements by examining the policies and legislation's that dictated the urban forms that are currently eminent in South Africa. The argument also states that the housing problem is an urbanisation issue. It is only with a clear Urbanisation strategy aimed at restructuring the South African Cities that will help us deal with the housing problem. Highlight the underlying problems of the informal settlements in order to come up with some kind of solutions to eradicate squatters. Finally some guidelines are proposed to avoid creating more urban ghettos for the poor. The study concludes that the delivery of houses as opposed to "squatter settlements" is necessary.

Structure of the Study

The chapters will be organized as follows:

Chapter 1 Introduction: introduce the research topic and provides an overview of the area of research. It describes the analytical and research methodology used in this report and discusses the various forms of literature reviewed to arrive at the analyses.

Chapter 2 housing perspective/ theoretical framework (International perspective and South African perspective

Chapter 3 Historical background before 1994 and after 1994

Chapter 4 concentrates on the case study. It analyses the development of the housing policy in South Africa. A comparative study is viewed to outline the housing crisis in Langa and Mfuleni.

Chapter 5 provides the recommendations with regard to the housing crisis, conclusion

Definitions of terms:

- Warlords: a military commander, especially an aggressive regional commander with individual autonomy.

- Vigilante groups: a member of a self-appointed group of people who undertake law enforcement in their community without legal authority, typically because the legal agencies are thought to be inadequate

- Urban Cities: a group of urban communities governed by an elected council

- Demarcation: the action of fixing boundaries or limits which is a dividing line

- Backlog: an accumulation of work or matters needing to be dealt with

- PWV: name given to the Gauteng Province by the former government

12

CHAPTER 2

**HOUSING PERSPECTIVE: SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE**

Urban population in South Africa is expected to triple the existing number, placing a huge strain on both resources and infrastructure. Currently 90% of South Africa's GDP comes from the urban areas, 80% of the country's poor live in rural areas. In recognition of this there is a need for urban renewal and rural development as complementary strategies and focus areas. The African cities hold the key to large-scale development in the continent, and that despite Africa's problems; the continent of villages has some lessons to offer the world in terms of sustainable development strategies.

The Statistic South Africa estimated the de facto population of South Africa at 43 million people in 2001 and is estimated that these figures will increase to nearly 47.7 million by the year 2010.

South Africa will have to look forward at least 30 years before reaching a state of population equilibrium **(Urban Foundation: 1990 Vol 1)**. This indicates that South Africa is in a position typical of a developing country in the process of establishing a healthy equilibrium between birth and death rate.

13

A specific relationship also exists between population and economic growth rates for developing countries. In general the population growth rate exceeds the economic growth rate for a period of time. Thus even though the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) may be increasing due to increased working population, the GDP per capita will be declining. Whilst the economic growth rate lags behind the population growth rate, the country is becoming poorer. Only once the population growth rate drops, and equilibrium is achieved between labour force and work opportunities, can benefits be felt. Eventually the economic growth rate exceeds the population growth rate and GDP per capita begins to increase.

South Africa has an unfortunate record of poor economic growth (an average annual GDP increase of 1.5% from 1999 to 2001) and a relatively high population growth rate, which is expected to be 3% per annum until the year 2010.
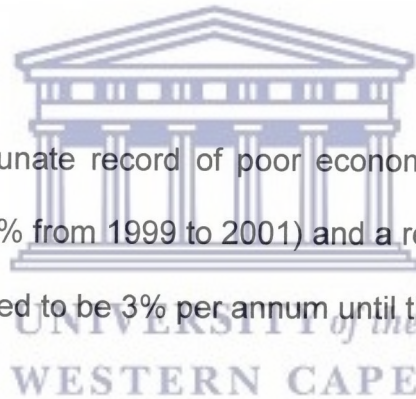
Housing Needs

Housing need can be defined as the number of families without adequate shelter. This concept is not related to affordability. The definition of adequate shelter is dependent on societal and economic dictates. Broadly there are two ends of the adequacy spectrum. Firstly, a family without any shelter can de defined as inadequately housed. An example of this would be families living on sidewalks without protection against the element. Secondly, a family whose shelter is

substandard in any respect or illegally occupying any land can be defined as being inadequately housed. Previously the criteria used to assess housing standards were rigidly based on European standards. The second definition ignores a large number of substandard and illegally situated shelters, which form a substantial percentage of the national housing stock. The individual initiative of many low-income families in providing their own rudimentary shelter cannot be overlooked. Housing need has two sources. Firstly, there is the formation of new households as a result of population growth. New entrants into the housing market represent an additional need that has not been catered for. Secondly, the existing housing backlog needs to be eradicated.

New Households:

In South Africa, people are divided into four categories which is Whites, Coloureds, Indians and blacks and the estimated average annual housing needs of the four population groups is determined by an average linear basis until 2000. Given the fact that the poorest communities have the highest rate of natural increase and will comprise the ever-increasing proportion of the total population.

To resolve the housing crises it is important that the rate of housing supply is able to keep pace with the rate of the population growth and housing requirements and failure to do so will mean an ever deepening housing crisis

which will never be easy to resolve and majority of those families that require houses are very poor.

Housing Backlog

Current debate indicates a backlog of at least 5 million houses in South Africa, but this is probably an underestimate. In addition, continued migration from the rural areas is adding to the problem daily. What is being done about it? Now a massive housing crisis abounds in these ghetto homelands and similar squatter settlements. The current situation is bleak. The Housing Department reports a 150 million housing backlog. 70% of the dwellings being built today are still for whites **(Cape Business News Jan 96).** And in the Gauteng province, home to the bustling city of Johannesburg, some studies show that there are as many shacks for houses in black townships **(EnviroFacts)**.

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 backlogs **(Urban Foundation;1995;Vol 9).** The housing crisis is not new in South Africa and in order to determine the backlog the stock must be quantified. The quantititative description of housing stock in functional urban area in the 1990 until 1995 was as follows according to **CSIR: Boutek; 1995:**

- Formal housing: 1755975 for whites; 210 473 for Indians; 483 909 for Coloured; and 1 225 827 for Blacks with a total of 3 676 184.

- Informal housing: illegal 184 812 in total of which 177444 is for blacks only; legal in total 768438 of which 760764 is for blacks; Backyard in total 377719 of which 345670 is for blacks.

The criteria used to differentiate between formal and informal housing was that formal houses provide separate living quarters for parents and children, and separate living quarters for children of different sexes once this becomes necessary. Private ablution and kitchen facilities were also deemed a necessary part of a formal house. The above table 2.5 shows that in 1990 there were approximately 1.3 million informal houses and shacks in the South African functional urban areas, of which 185 000 belongs to illegal squatters. In the case of black population, there were more informal than formal housing units (Parker,1995).

Housing Demand

Housing demand refers to the number of families who are willing to purchase accommodation, but are unable to do so because of a shortage in supply of the type of accommodation required. This is different to housing need with regard to the aspect of affordability. Housing need is determined by predetermined minimum standards, which are dependant on social and other norms, while demand is a direct derivative of affordability. This implies that housing demand is
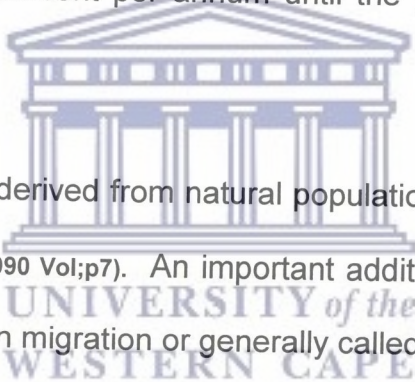
17

determined by the ability of households to pay for their own housing. Where the standard of an affordable house is much lower than the socio-politically-acceptable minimum standard, then it becomes necessary for intervention by the Government. This intervention usually takes the form of subsidies. The extent of this assistance is dependant on what the Government can afford and the number of families needing assistance.

Assuming that 50% of the shelters constituting the housing backlog need to be upgraded, then the annual demand will increase to 263 000 units. If the total backlog of units needs to be upgraded, then the annual demand would be 328 000 units per annum until the year 2002. The financial implications of these housing demand estimates vary considerably. If housing/shelter assistance is provided at R10 000 per shelter, would cost the government respectively R415 million and R600 million per annum. If the standard of housing is raised to R25 000 (4-roomed house with a bathroom), the annual cost would be R3.9 billion and this will lead to a situation whereby the government of South Africa would not be able to afford.

International perspective

Demographic trends: South Africa shares many of the demographic characteristics of developing countries in South America and South East Asia. Common to most developing countries is the phenomenon known as

"demographic transition". This transition is the result of improvements in the availability of health technology and civil engineering services. A specific relationship also exists between population and economic growth rates for developing countries. In general the population growth rate exceeds the economic growth rate for a period of time. The economic growth rate lags behind the population growth rate, the country is becoming poorer. Only once the population growth rate drops, and equilibrium is achieved between labour force and work opportunities, can benefits be felt. South Africa has an unfortunate record of poor economic growth and a relatively high population growth rate, which is expected to be 3 percent per annum until the year 2000 **(financial mail-1998).**

The bulk of urban growth is derived from natural population increase in the cities and towns **(Urban Foundation:1990 Vol;p7).** An important additional constituent to the urban growth is rural-to-urban migration or generally called "urbanisation". Whilst we observe the world enter the new millennium in the midst of an economic revolution and globalisation, which affords Africa the opportunity to realise its rebirth, strategically housing has been located as an integral part of the Africa Plan objectives of providing basic social infrastructure for the development of Human settlements. Africa should use the housing as the central point for the mobilization of resources to finance development including promoting Community Reinvestment of the African continent.

19

Urbanisation

Rapid urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon, which cannot be avoided. Research in developing countries has shown that migration to cities is based on people's long-term expectations of a better quality of life in urban areas (Todaro; 1971). These expectations lead people to migrate even when they know that they will be unemployed and have to live in squatter areas for some time. The decision to migrate is based on rational economic grounds. It depends on migration costs, the perceptions and prospects of finding a job, and wage differentials between urban and rural areas. Urban incomes are practically always higher than rural ones (Preston 1998;28) and migrants to cities generally seem to do relatively well in acquiring jobs and improving their standards of living.
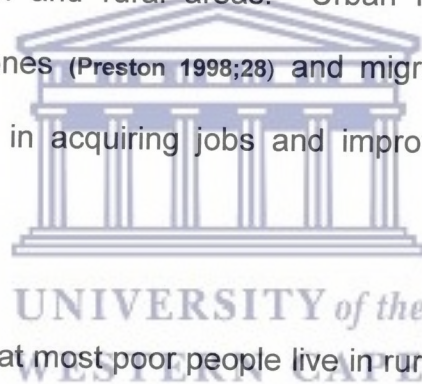
' World Bank (1991:3) found that most poor people live in rural areas and that urban areas offer more opportunities for higher-paid work. Dewar (1990:1) points out that people come to cities to utilize the economic, social, cultural and recreational opportunities and facilities generated by the physical agglomeration of large numbers of people. According to the Urban Foundation (1990:1), the level of urbanization in South Africa is close to average by comparison with other countries with similar levels of economic development. The Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) as quoted by De Loor (1992), states that approximately 63% of the total population was urbanised in 1990.

20

These urbanisation levels are witnesses to the dramatic population shifts in the past eight years, and much more change is anticipated in the near future. In 1911 at the time of the first census in the Union of South Africa, 52 percent of the white population and only 13 percent of the black population was urbanised (Cilliers and Groenewald 1982, quoted by Wall 1988). In 1985 the black population was 53 percent urbanised. The Urban Foundation (1990:1) predicts that by 2010, 73 percent of the black population is expected to be urbanised. This prediction will have a profound effect on the future of South African cities and metropolitan areas. The black population sector is the largest and fastest growing in the country.
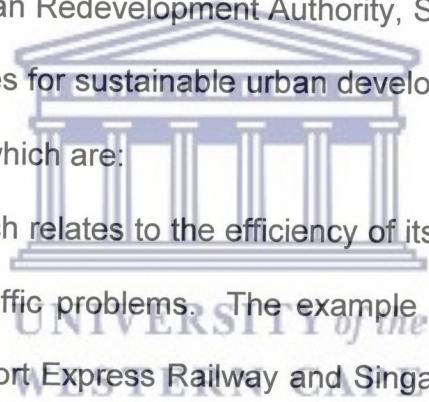
City Size

According to the World Bank (1991:3), developing countries have over the past thirty years been transformed from a world of village into a world of cities and towns. Since 1950, the urban population of the developing world has grown from approximately 300 million to 1.3 billion people. Annually 50 to 55 million new urban residents are added to this total. Cities in developing countries will accommodate the majority of the population growth. South African cities are small by present international standards, but are expected to rank among the largest in the near future. In 1960 Shanghai was deemed to be the only city in the developing world with a population of more than 10 million people (World Bank: 1991). By the end of this century, it is estimated that 17 cities in the

developing world will have reached that population size. By the year 2001 the population of Mexico City and San Paulo should have grown to 26 million and 25 million residents respectively - equal to the world's entire urban population at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. If the Gauteng (PWV) region is thought of as a single metropolitan complex, its total population by the year 2002 will be close to 12.3 million people amongst the largest cities in the world. Although not quite as impressive regarding size, the other metropolitan areas in South Africa are also growing quickly and are absorbing many new immigrants from rural areas.

Dr. John Keung of the Urban Redevelopment Authority, Singapore, in April 1999, noted that the best practices for sustainable urban development should be based on the three key aspects, which are:

(a) An accessible city: which relates to the efficiency of its transportation network and the extent of it traffic problems. The example of good practice given were Hong Kong's Airport Express Railway and Singapore:s Electronic Road Pricing System, which maintains a smooth flow on major roads even during peak hours and Barcelona was cited as a good example of pedestrian-friendliness, a further key requirement for accessibility.

(b) An attractive city enhances its sense of identity through its cultural and built heritage, open spaces and environmental conservation.

(c) A city conducive for community living relates to adequate housing and a sense of community, ownership and social cohesion for citizen and also good

22

practices in this regard were given as Singapore's home-ownership scheme and Curitiba's civic participation in the planning process.
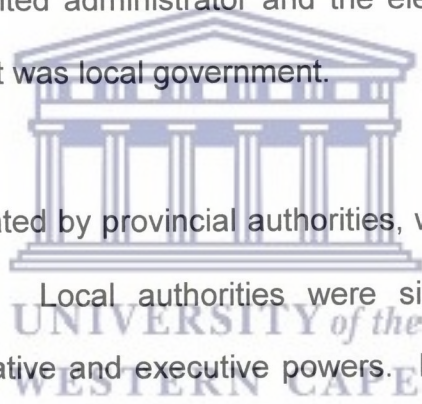
The greatest challenge for national and city governments is the burgeouning population living and working in informal settlements, which now constitutes the majority of the urban population in developing countries. Governments and city managers will have to take radical decisions to acknowledge the all-inclusive nature of the developing city and develop management strategies that take into account the informal city.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: BEFORE 1994

South Africa became a union in 1910 as a result of the South African Act of 1909, which created a three tier unitary system of government.   South African Parliament was based on the British Westminster system in terms of structure, procedure and practice.   The second tier consisted of four provinces (Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Cape Province) whereby powers were shared between a centrally appointed administrator and the elected provincial council. The third tier of government was local government.

Local Authorities were created by provincial authorities, which defined the scope of their local jurisdiction.   Local authorities were single-tier, multi-purpose authorities with both legislative and executive powers.   No metropolitan form of local government existed, and this led to fragmentation of urban areas, which caused disparities in the standards of service provision and expenditure, particularly on racial lines.

Major functions of local authorities included the construction and maintenance of roads, the supply of water and electricity, provision of housing, traffic control, refuse collection, health services, public library services, fire fighting services, ambulance services, sewerage and stormwater drainage etc **(Cloete; 1986 p.45-6).**

24

The sources of revenue of local authorities were rates on fixed property and income derived from trading services such as electricity; water and gas supply services (Solomons; 1983 p23). The most distinctive feature of South African local government has been the existence of a racial division of powers, which has co-existed with the geographical division of powers. Only whites could vote for and stand for election at local government level.

Blacks since 1913 were not allowed to own property in the 93% of the country that was designated as White South Africa and they could only acquire land in the 7% of the country termed reserves. In 1936 African reserves was increased to 13.7% and this land allocation was seen in the context of census, which showed that South Africa had an African population of two million. Since 1923 Blacks were only allowed to White areas for labour purposes and that they had to live in segregated residential areas. The reason for this policy was the denial of political rights for Blacks at all levels of government. There were various advisory bodies, some nominated and some elected were set up for Black Townships though they proved to be ineffective (Welsh 1979,p.132, 1982, p152; KaneBerman 1979, pp.69-70).

There was a principle of financial self-sufficient, which applied to Black townships. White local authorities were required to keep special accounts called the Native Revenue Account for Black townships under their control. The major source of this account were sorghum beer production and retailing, liquor sales in the townships, levies on White employers of Black labour in certain areas and the

payment by townships residents to local authorities for various services rendered mainly rentals and fees (Bekker and Humphries 1985, p.119; Evans 1969, p. 19, 112-113). The finances raised in this manner were minimal and the fundamental problem was the dormitory town status of Black urban areas, because of the lack of freehold and could be consequently no tax on property. Most of the rented housing was low-income due to the fundamental problem of poverty among Black people.

After the Nationalist Party (NP) was voted into power in 1948 racial segregation in respect of Coloureds and Indians intensified. Group Areas Act of 1950 made provision for separate residential areas for Coloureds and Indians. Advisory bodies, Management Committees and Local Affairs Committee (LACs) were created for Coloureds and Indians. The intention was to make such bodies independent local authorities and out of that only four Indian LACs have evolved into independent local authorities and no coloureds management committee has done so because of the lack of economic viability, lack of trained staff, and political opposition by Coloureds and Indians to these apartheid structures (Craythorne 1982, p35,60).

In 1948, the NP with its ideology of apartheid that brought an even more rigorous and authoritarian approach than the segregationist policies of previous governments won the general election. It did so against the background of a revival of mass militancy during the 1940s, after a period of quiescence in the 1930s. The change was marked by the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1943, fostering the leadership of figures such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo

26

and Walter Sisulu, who were to inspire the struggle for decades to come. In the 1940s, squatter movements in peri-urban areas brought mass politics back to the urban centres.

The 1946 mineworkers' strike was a turning point in the emergence of a politics of mass mobilization. As was the case with the First World War, the experience of the Second World War and post-war economic difficulties enhanced discontent. For those who supported the NP, its primary appeal lay in its determination to maintain white domination in the face of rising mass resistance, to uplift poor Afrikaners, to challenge the pre-eminence of English-speaking whites in public life, the professions and business, and to abolish the remaining imperial ties. The State became an engine of patronage for Afrikaner employment. The secret society, the Afrikaner Broederbond, coordinated the Party's programme, ensuring that Afrikaner nationalist interests and policies attained ascendancy throughout civil society. In 1961, the NP Government under Prime Minister HF Verwoerd declared South Africa a republic, after winning a whites-only referendum on the issue. It also withdrew from the British Commonwealth, and a figurehead president replaced the Queen (represented locally by the Governor-General) as head of state.

In most respects, apartheid was a continuation, in more systematic and brutal form, of the segregationist policies of previous governments. A new concern with racial purity was apparent in laws prohibiting interracial sex and in provisions for

population registration requiring that every South African be assigned to one discrete racial category or another. For the first time the coloured people, who had always been subject to informal discrimination, were brought within the ambit of discriminatory laws. In the mid-1950s, the Government took the drastic step of overriding an entrenched clause in the 1910 Constitution so as to be able to remove coloured voters from the common voters' roll. It also enforced residential segregation, expropriating homes where necessary and policing massive forced removals into coloured 'group areas'.

Until the 1940s, South Africa's race policies had not been entirely out of step with those to be found in the colonial world. But by the 1950s, which saw decolonization and a global backlash against racism gather pace, the country was dramatically opposed to world opinion on questions of human rights.

The architects of apartheid, among whom Dr Verwoerd was pre-eminent, responded by elaborating a theory of multinationalism. Their policy, which they termed 'separate development', divided the African population into artificial ethnic 'nations', each with its own 'homeland' and the prospect of 'independence', supposedly in keeping with trends elsewhere on the continent.

This divide-and-rule strategy was designed to disguise the racial basis of official policy-making by the substitution of the language of ethnicity. This was accompanied by much ethnographic engineering as efforts were made to resurrect tribal structures. In the process, the Government created a

28

considerable collaborating class. The truth was that the rural reserves were by this time thoroughly degraded by overpopulation and soil erosion. This did not prevent four of the 'homeland' structures (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) being declared 'independent', a status which the international community declined to recognize.

In each case, the process involved the repression of opposition and the use by the Government of the power to nominate and thereby pad elected assemblies with a quota of compliant figures. Forced removals from 'white' areas affected some 3,5 million people and vast rural slums were created in the homelands, which were used as dumping grounds. The pass laws and influx control were extended and harshly enforced, and labour bureaux were set up to channel labour to where it was needed. Industrial decentralization to growth points on the borders of (but not inside) the homelands was promoted as a means of keeping blacks out of 'white' South Africa. In virtually every sphere, from housing to education to health care, central government took control over black people's lives with a view to reinforcing their allotted role as 'temporary sojourners', welcome in 'white' South Africa solely to serve the needs of the employers of labour.

The Early 1980

In the 1980s there was a realization among the Nationalist Party government and its reformers that there had to be both political and economic reform to ensure

29

greater stability in the country. The constitution of the Republic of South Africa replaced the Westminister system with a Tricameral Parliament in 1983, which made a provision for limited power sharing for Coloureds and Indians. It was premised on the need to incorporate significant elements of the Coloured population into the ruling White minority camp and to wean them away from future alliances with Blacks (**Giliomee, 1984, p11-12; Cameron 1991,p.160-163**).

Different parliamentary chambers were created for Whites, Coloureds and Indians and each respective chambers had the power to decide exclusively on 'own affairs',(matters deemed to affect one group specifically, for example Housing, Education, culture, health and local government). Those three houses would decide jointly on matters of common concern however the voting representation of the three houses was such that the dominant party in the White chamber retained overall control over general affairs which included strategic functions such as macro-economic policy, defence and labour **(RSA Constitution Act No.110 of 1983).**

The 1983 Constitutional changes affected local government in that this function technically became the responsibility of central government. In each chamber a department of local government was created for the constitutional control of these ethnic local authorities and theoretically this means that Coloureds and Indian authorities should be created throughout the country. There was however a caveat (process to suspend proceedings). One of the guidelines that underpinned thee Constitution Act of 1983 was that separate local authorities be

30

constituted for the various population groups wherever possible but subject to the requirement that effective financial arrangements should be made to ensure the viability of these authorities (RSA Constitution Guidelines, 1982, p.9).

This followed the report of the president's council (PC), whose brief was to look at local government policy options for Whites, Coloureds and Indians only, with Blacks being excluded from the ambit of the investigation (RSA, President's Council, 1982, p.4-9). The council also accepted that there was a need for a metropolitan body of some form to solve the uncoordinated planning caused by fragmentation on racial lines. This fragmentation had led to the unnecessary duplication of functions, infrastructural services and manpower and such body would also facilitate multiracial decision-making (RSA President Council 1982, p.59-60).

To compensate the exclusion of Blacks from the tricameral parliament a bill was introduced and there were political developments whereby Blacks were given Black Local Authorities (BLA's) with fairly extensive powers and no extra sources of revenue were provided to finance these new Black local governments. It has already been pointed out earlier that the sources of revenue were inadequate prior to the introduction of BLA's.

The state was not prepared to offset the shortfall through subsidization instead rent and other service charges were to be increased even though many of who were already living on the breadline. Civic Associations spearheaded the

protests against rent increases and this escalated into violence in many areas and often in the form of physical attacks on councilors. Popular of these protest led to the resignation of many councilors and the collapse of many BLA's, revenue was also affected by a boycott of rent and service charges by township residents especially in Transvaal townships (Swilling 1987,p13-16). This collapse of BLA's affected the final form of RSCs (Regional Service Council).

The beginning of the new political era 1990

Apartheid began to collapse in the 1970s due to economic stagnation and the massive revolt from below of the workers and the poor. Charged with anti-capitalist sentiment, the resistance also often exhibited forms of self-management. For example, mass trade unions based on shop-floor organization and committed to socialism were established, and in the Black townships there were attempts to replace the rule of the State with the rule of democratic and participatory community-based "civic associations". It was against this background that the Apartheid regime chose to negotiate a new political dispensation with African National Congress -aligned moderates in the 1990s.

The 1990s were seen as the beginning of a new political era in South Africa. Major Black organizations such as the ANC (African National Congress), and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were unbanned in February 1990 by the then State President F.W. De Klerk administration.

The NP has also scrapped major apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act and separate Amenities Act, and is committed to negotiating a political settlement with all major Black organizations in the country. These changes have undermined the apartheid basis of local government and 1990 has been characterized as heralding the search towards non-racial local authorities. During this process so many debates took place where major investigations was done on the issue recognition of local government as an independent tier of government with legislative and executive powers. Others argued that local government should provide for inter alia democratic political participation, elimination and prevention of domination, effective participation of minorities, free and independent community life and a commitment to negotiation as a method of change **(RSA; 1990, p14-18)**.

Council members developed several reports and this report was called Thornhill report. This report made no provision for the introduction of a metropolitan model, but did mention that the second and third constitutional options could be applied on a metropolitan basis. The report also stated that the process of negotiation should bring about the outcomes of the metropolitan government and should also weighed the benefits of metropolitanization against the need for self-determination at community level and historical development **(RSA; 1990, p10,47-8)**.

In 1991 they also took another investigation on metropolitan government. In their report differences between metropolitan and a RSC (Regional Service Council)

was spelt out. The regional type of local authority created to obtain joint decision-making and the redistribution of revenue. The former body would be an extension of local government established in densely populated and highly urbanized areas to obtain coordinated action (RSA; 1991,p7-10). The report also states that the functions of RSC's can be taken over by the metropolitan bodies and in such instance such RSC may be abolished or transformed and its income source will be transferred to the new metropolitan area.

The report also stated that boundaries should be drawn in a way that prevents local authorities from opting out of metropolitan governments while continuing to enjoy the benefits of being in metropolitan areas. However in response to the state of chaos in many Black townships such as the resignation of councilors, rent and service boycotts and the impending collapse of certain services, the government decided to pass the Interim Measures for Local Government Act in 1991. The objectives of the act are to promote negotiations between local government bodies between and across races and to make provision for agreements binding on local government bodies to improve efficiency (Act No. 128 of 1991).

There are a number of significant principled objections to the Act among major Black political and civic organizations. Important issues of concern are that it was not negotiated with major black organizations. It provides for the continuance of existing racial local government structures. Too many powers are vested in the provincial administrators, government appointees and there are no

acceptable guiding national principles on which new local government structures can be based. There are particular concerns that the act will lead to the balkanization of cities with White Local Authorities reaching binding agreements on a non-racial local government system with non-representative, racially based structures on terms which favour the status quo and such piecemeal agreements would enable authorities to largely escape the costs of funding metropolitan-wide responsibilities.

White local authorities are rushing out to make agreements with non-representative racially based structures and in fact the first non-racial local authority in the country, that of Citrusdal in the Cape, was as a result of an agreement reached between the WLA and the Coloured Management Committee (The Argus 10 March 1992). The council's coordinating annual report of 1991 states that 70 Transvaal local authorities, 28 Cape local authorities and 12 Natal local authorities are using the formal negotiations in terms of the Act (RSA: 1991 p8).

The policy of Metropolitan Government

In 1992 ANC had a national conference where the policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa was adopted. These guidelines stressed the need for strong and effective local government to replace existing apartheid structures. The organizations policy with regard to the Regional Service Council and other racially based organization is unequivocal and they want all racially based local authorities to be abolished and each city and town will be unified under a single

municipality **(ANC 1992 p14).** They also stated clearly that no meaningful restructuring can take place at local level unless it is part of the national transformation and as a result of the large disparities among local areas/regions the report stated that there would be a need for a strong central government to alleviate the legacy of apartheid which caused gross inequalities in resources and service provision among various local authorities.

To facilitate this objective of equalizing past inequalities, it proposed that boundaries be redrawn by a national delimitation commission after taking local submissions into account. The national legislature would have the final say over the demarcation of local authority boundaries and functions and powers should be determined by national legislation. The ANC is promoting metropolitan government vigorously and believes that the distortions caused by apartheid such as disparities in service provision, inadequate resources and housing shortages cannot be addressed effectively by locally based lower tier authorities. They believe that all areas in a metropolitan region should be functionally linked to form a single tax base and would end the unequal form of local financing whereby the revenue from commercial and industrial areas derives mainly to WLAs. Their proposal was that the metropolitan level should be the focus of revenue collection in metropolitan areas and this tier will control the primary sources of urban finance and be responsible for allocating funds for development and services **(ANC 1992 pp13-18).**

The rise of 1993 forum

A committee consisting of representatives from the three levels of government and the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO formed in 1992 when civic throughout the country joined together to form a nationwide civic structure) reached an agreement, which led to the establishment of the Local Government Negotiation Forum. The aim of this body is to contribute to the democratization of local government and the bringing about of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and financially viable local government system (LGNC 1993,p-2).

There have been many attempts to negotiate new forms of metropolitan government in some areas and the most significant settlement was in Greater Johannesburg where the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, consisting of representatives of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, WLA's, BLA's, and certain civics was formed (political parties were excluded). Their long-term objective was to negotiate a non-racial local government system and a single tax base for the greater Johannesburg region. Their short-term objective is to improve the quality of life for the people of greater Soweto, which entails negotiation over urban service issues such as affordable service tariffs and the upgrading of services (Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber; 1991, Friedman 1991). The need to deliver to our people now rather than in some future dispensation is the most crucial challenge facing local municipalities and we can do this

effectively only if we are part of the structures that determine policy on land use, use of funds, rates and taxes.

In the Western Cape, the Cape Town City Council has released a report proposing a metropolitan authority for the region. However this report has been received with little enthusiasm by many other local authorities in the region (**The Argus, March 9, 1992**). The Western Cape is the most fragmented region in the Country with more than 60 local bodies in the metropolitan area. Politically White local authorities are resisting attempts to be incorporated in the same metropolitan structures as the liberal Cape Town City Council (**The Argus 7 March 1992**). The idea of involving all interested bodies and authorities was mooted in 1991 and was intended to be on similar lines as the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (**Cape Times 29 February 1992**). In the Western Cape there has been no substantial local negotiations have occurred and there is a strong political tradition of non-collaboration which manifests itself in a refusal by the disenfranchised to participate in apartheid structures created by the government.

A democratic South Africa – Post 1994

After a long, bumpy negotiation process, marked by much opportunistic violence from the right wing and its surrogates and in some instances sanctioned by elements of the State, South Africa held its first democratic election in April 1994 under an Interim Constitution. The ANC emerged with a 62% majority. Its main opposition came from the NP, which gained 20% of the vote nationally and a

majority in the Western Cape where it was strongly supported by coloured voters. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) received 10% of the vote, mainly in its KwaZulu-Natal base.

South Africa was divided into nine new provinces in place of the four provinces and ten 'homelands' that existed previously. In terms of the Interim Constitution, the NP and IFP participated in Government of National Unity until 1996, when the NP withdrew. The ANC-led Government embarked on a programme to promote the reconstruction and development of the country and its institutions. This called for the simultaneous pursuit of democratization and socio-economic change, as well as reconciliation and the building of a consensus founded on commitment to improving the lives of all South Africans, in particular the poor.

Converting democratic ideals into practice required, amongst other things, initiating a radical overhaul of the machinery of government at every level, towards service delivery, openness and a culture of human rights. A significant milestone of democratization during the five-year period of the Mandela presidency was the exemplary constitution-making process, which delivered a document that is the envy of the democratic world. So too were the local government elections that gave the country its first democratically elected municipal authorities. From the start, emphasis was placed by the Government on the meeting of basic needs, through various programs for socio-economic upliftment such as provision of housing, piped water, electricity and rural health

39

care. Also a priority was the safety and security of citizens, requiring both transforming the police into a service working with the community and overcoming grave problems of criminality and a culture of violence posed by the social dislocations inherited from the past.
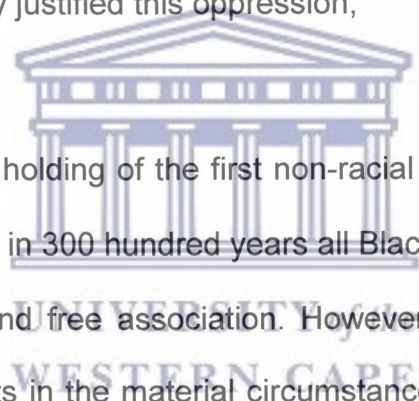
The second democratic election, held on 2 June 1999, saw the ANC increase its majority to a point just short of two-thirds of the total vote. South Africa was launched into the post-Mandela era under the presidency of Thabo Mbeki. The 1999 election also saw the sharp decline of the NP, which had ruled South Africa from 1948 to 1994, and its replacement by the Democratic Party, under the leadership of Tony Leon, as the official opposition in the South African Parliament. The two parties (New National Party and Democratic Party), recently merged to form the Democratic Alliance. President Mbeki promised a tough, hands-on managerial style, geared to efficiency and delivery. In particular, the Mbeki administration was committed to the African Renaissance based on democracy and development, and a co-operative approach to resolving the emerging political challenges across the continent.

Historically, South Africa epitomized the poverty and oppression associated with capitalism and racism. The first non-racial elections to parliament in April 1994 gave many hopes for the redress of the injustices of the past. The holding of elections open to all people and the replacement of racist laws by basic democratic and civil rights were a big victory for the struggle in South Africa. But

the new government of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress (ANC) has consistently failed to address the demands of the Black working class for equality and the redistribution of wealth.

In South Africa, 47% of Black African households live on, or below, the poverty line **(DBSA-1996)**. Yet the ten richest South African families are together worth R18 billion. In South Africa there is an unemployment rate of 30%, but managers in big companies earn up to R900, 000 per year. 5 big companies control 801@, of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and 120,000 (mainly White) farmers own 87% of the land. Inequality in South Africa does not only follow racial lines **(Parker –1995 document)** . While most poor people are Black, not all Blacks are poor. Over the last twenty years there has been the rapid expansion of a Black bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. This expansion has accelerated since the April 1994 non-racial elections. Between 1975-199 1, the richest 20% of Black African households increased their real incomes by over 40%. At the same time, the poorest 40% of Black African households' incomes fell by nearly 40%. A similar decline in the incomes of the poorest 40% of White households also took place in this period. These patterns of race and class inequality indicate that the Black working class - the majority of the population - is the chief victim of South Africa's heritage of racism and capitalism. It is only this mass which can sweep away the causes and beneficiaries of exploitation in South Africa.

41

The suffering of the Black working class has its roots in South Africa's specific form of capitalist development: "apartheid-capitalism". Apartheid was not just the product of fanatical racism, as is claimed by the bourgeois media. Instead, the forms of social control of Apartheid laid the basis for capitalist development in South Africa. The pass laws, the migrant labor system, the lack of the most elementary political rights, and the ban on Black trade unions, the housing of workers on barracks-- these created a very cheap and vigorously controlled labor force to service the mines, farms and factories of South Africa. In many cases, such mechanisms allowed workers to be paid wages below the level of subsistence. Racist ideology justified this oppression,

The negotiations led to the holding of the first non-racial democratic elections in April 1994. For the first time in 300 hundred years all Black people got the right to vote, freedom of speech and free association. However, this political advance has not led to improvements in the material circumstances of the Black working class. Although the ANC campaigned under the slogan "A Better Life for All" in 1994, it has now firmly committed itself to a neo-liberal form of capitalism in the form of the "GEAR" ("Growth, Employment and Redistribution") macro-economic strategy released in June 1996. GEAR calls for the privatization of State assets, the liberalization of international trade and capital flows, a flexible labor market, and a minimal role for the State in economic activity. More concrete examples of the ANC's commitment to neo-liberal policies include

(i)   Current moves to privatize State assets such as water

(ii)   A land reform program based on the principle of land being redistributed through the market

(iii)   Cuts in social spending

(iv)   The Masakhane (Build Together) campaign to enforce payment for electricity and water in the townships

(v)   Closures and downgrading of non-economic hospitals

Across the world, such neo-liberal policies have exacerbated the sufferings of the poor, leading to falling wages, unemployment, cuts in social spending and attacks on workers' rights. The ANC's rapid capitulation to such policies reflects a variety of factors. Foremost here would be the integration of the ANC leadership into the structures of ruling class power in South Africa. The ANC always regarded the State as an instrument of progressive change, failing to recognize that the State by its very nature can only defend and entrench privilege. As State functionaries, ANC leaders are now acting to maintain capitalism in South Africa, and are subject to pressures from international institutions (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund...) and local monopoly capital to implement neo-liberalism.

But it would be a mistake to think that the ANC has simply been forced to adopt such policies against its will. The ANC has long been committed to the capitalist economic system and its leadership and officials have long been a central part of

the growing Black bourgeoisie. As such, they identify with the class interests and privileges of White capitalists. They do not suffer from the exploitation of the working class but instead benefit from it. In this situation, progressive social change must be the task of the Black working class, which has nothing to gain and everything to lose under the current social relations. A consistent struggle requires a break with the united front of both Black and White bourgeois, in favor of a program of mass struggle and workers autonomy. Ultimately, it is only a social revolution that can break the shackles of racism and capitalism. Only international libertarian communism can uproot racism and capitalism, and usher in a reign of equality and self-management. Resistance to the neo-liberal assault has already begun, with student protests, two general strikes 'n 1997 against _"flexible"_ conditions, and street battles against electricity cut-off recently in Soweto and in the Northern Cape.
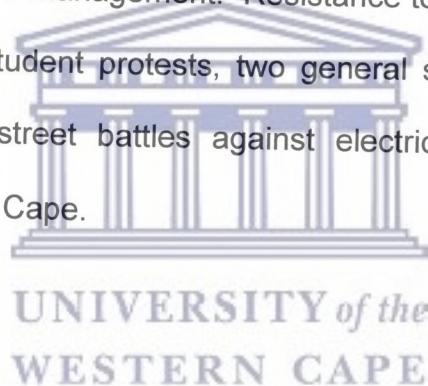
CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: LANGA AND MFULENI

The objective of this chapter is to give a brief overview of housing policy in South Africa. At all levels of public policy there have been changes in favour of the more realistic approach to accommodate the increase in the numbers of squatters. The private sector has also undergone a change in outlook prompted by the actions of organizations such as the Urban Foundation.

History of Langa Township

Cape Town is dominated by the colour cleavage, which exists between black and white in Southern Africa and confines colour groups to separate areas and occupations. Langa is a township on the periphery of the city, very poor by comparison with most of the suburbs, and reserved for occupation by black Africans, most of them Xhosa-speaking. They are not the original occupants of the Western Cape, but they have been there in appreciable numbers for a hundred years, mingling with the "Coloured " people of mixed descent, and working along with them and white South Africans. The Africans come mostly from the eastern part of the Cape Province, where the Portuguese found them in the sixteenth century and the Coloured people count among their ancestors the oborigines of the Cape, the Khoikhoin people or so-called Hottentots. The White settlers established themselves in 1652. Xhosa-speaking people worked on the

45

roads in the Western Cape from the 1840s and by 1879 many of the men had wives and children with them. Until 1926 there was no restriction on the entry of Africans into Cape Town. After that successive regulations empowered the government to exclude them, and since 1955 large numbers of men and women have been compelled to leave. A man is endorsed out if he is without employment and has not lived in Cape Town for at least fifteen years, or been with one employer for at least ten years; a woman if she is neither employed nor the wife of a man exempted because of the length of his employment in town. The avowed policy of the government, reiterated since 1955, is that Africans must gradually and systematically be withdrawn from the Western Cape.
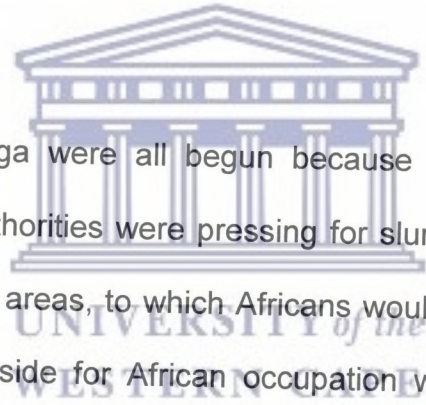
What drives men into town is poverty: they must earn or their families in the reserves go hungry. Poverty in the town is bitter also, and the real wages of Africans are not increasing. It was calculated that in 1961 the income of 50 per cent of the African families in the Cape Town municipal area was less than is necessary to keep a family at a minimum level of health and decency, and the figure for the Peninsula Africans as a whole is estimated by an experienced social worker at over 80 per cent.

Langa is not as poor as the African settlements outside the municipal area, but there is acute malnutrition even in Langa. The African labourers who first came to Cape Town were housed by their employers, some in compounds especially designated for them, such as that for dock-workers which was already in

46

existence by 1890, but others were scattered throughout greater Cape Town on their employers premises or wherever a room could be found near by. Repeated attempts have been made to separate them from the rest of the community, and confine them to "locations". In 1902, after an outbreak of plague had attracted notice to the condition of the slums, a government reserve was established on the outskirts of the city, at Ndabeni.

Natives who were living under insanitary conditions in the slums of Cape Town were offered accommodation at a low rental in Ndabeni and some moved out, but between 5000 - 6000 continued to live within the city. The influenza epidemic of 1918 again drew attention to the slums and the City Council first took over Ndabeni and then proceeded to establish a new township, Langa which was to be a model in housing and planning. The chairman of the Native Affairs Committee of the City Council visited a number of towns in South Africa and made recommendations to his council on the type of location, which they should build. Greater stress was laid on providing married quarters and it was suggested that families should be allowed to buy their own houses, but the council finally decided against this. Besides the houses for families, "Barracks" were built for single men, with large dormitories, and a limited number of "flats" providing double rooms for men who wanted something a little better than the barracks. Langa expanded fast, and for the first twenty-five years the married men with their wives made up a third to a quarter of the total. Since 1954 the government has refuse to allow the building of further houses for families in

Langa, but additional single quarters, known as the "zones", have been built and the proportion of men to women has risen, and is now over periphery - Cook's Bush, Hout Bay, Elsies River, Kensington and Windermere. In 1956 an emergency camp was established at Nyanga, and thousands of Africans were compelled to move there. No houses were provided; they were required to put up their own shelters in a specified area where water and latrines were provided, while their claims to live in town were examined. Those accepted as having a legitimate right to the in greater Cape Town are gradually being provided with houses to rent; those not recognized as having such a right are compelled to leave the area.

Ndabeni, Langa and Nyanga were all begun because people were living in squalor and the medical authorities were pressing for slum clearance, but were also planned as segregated areas, to which Africans would be confined. It was stated that the areas set aside for African occupation would be permanently assigned to them, but in fact they have been required repeatedly to move. Ndabeni was originally well outside the city boundary, but Cape Town was growing fast and by the 1920s new houses for whites were impinging upon it, and the Ndabeni site itself was judged most suitable for factories that is why a new location was build in 1923 which is much farther out. Thirty years later the process was repeated and new townships for white and for Coloured people are impinging on Langa. A proposal by the City Council to extend Langa was rejected by the Bantu Affairs Department. Thereafter a new township called

Nyanga was established which was still farther out. Only single men and no further families are admitted to Langa and it is the expressed policy of the Bantu Affairs Department that families already in Langa, though still in occupation of their houses, will be required to move to Nyanga. This process of removal of each generation is inevitable if a city is expanding and complete territorial segregation between racial groups is insisted upon. The policy of segregation means that the poor are pushed farther and farther from their places of employment and the journey to work becomes longer and longer by day.

Langa is still the most middle class of the African communities in the Cape. Its inhabitants think themselves a cut above their fellows in Kensington or Retreat or Nyanga. But it excludes very diverse types and houses are so scarce that people must take whatever they can get. There has been much greater security of life and property in Langa than in the township of Johannesburg, but with growing restrictions on entry, and the increase in the disproportion between men and women, disorder has increased. It is said that in 1961 Langa, was rapidly losing its peaceful atmosphere due to the influx of bachelors from Windermere and similar slums. These men were quartered in the flats, barracks and zones so that it is unsafe to go beyond the married quarters after dark. The police usually go to the zones or barracks only in a large group and there must be a white police who are armed among them. The friction with police is directly related to raiding for passes and as restriction on residence is enforced more and more rigidly to discover who is in the area illegally increases. Restriction on

49

residence cannot, in fact be effective unless an area is totally sealed off, or else the right of persons to be in the area is continually questioned, some form of raiding for passes is the inevitable corollary of control of movement into Cape Town.

Langa is administered by the city of Cape Town, but municipal action in relation to Africans is increasingly circumscribed by the central government. The people of Langa are represented neither in Parliament nor on the city council, and therefore they have no control over their administration. A superintendent who is always a white man is appointed by the city council and a staff of whites and Africans assists him. There is an Advisory Board, composed of elected and nominated members, whose function it is to express the views of the people of Langa to the "Native affairs Committee" of the council.

In Langa as in most towns of the Republic, the Africans have grown more and more impatient of the advisory boards, which can take no effective action. It has also repeatedly appealed to the administration against increased rents, police raids, poor sanitation and street lighting, the admission of girls to the zones at night, and other matters of public concern. The city council provides all the housing in Langa as already noted no African is allowed to own land there (or now else where in the Peninsula), and build for himself. The council supplies water and electricity and is responsible for roads and sanitation and maintains a health service with free medical attention at a number of clinics and a day

50

nursery in Langa. The administrative office is mainly concerned with the control of movement - issuing passes to seek work, registering contracts, or "endorsing out" those who are not employed or permitted to live in town, allocating accommodation and collecting rents. The African assistants employed in the latter tasks are each responsible for a section of the township and they are known as wardsmen.

Segregation and restriction on movement are not accepted as right and good by any of the people living in Langa. There is an all-pervading dissatisfaction with existing conditions and a conviction that they are growing worse and worse. The whittling away of political rights from 1936 onwards, the increasing restriction on movement and rights of occupation; reservation of specified occupation to certain racial groups; the rigid control of education by the Bantu Education Department and the prohibition on Africans more and more from the common life of the community. The policy of apartheid is rejected not only because of the misery it engenders through restriction of movement and employment, but also because, in the words of one informant, "the basis of apartheid is deeper than mere territorial segregation' its basis is inequality, between white and non-white". The mounting tension led to a riot in March 1960 when police fired on a crowd that had not dispersed when ordered to do so killing at least one man and wounding a number of others:(M. Horrel, Days of crisis in South Africa: Institute of Race Relations in S.A - 1960). During that time many African leaders were then arrested. Nine days later 30 000 men marched through Cape Town to the central police station to demand

the release of their leaders, and returned home peacefully after the discussion between their leaders and the chief of police on the understanding that their leader would be given an interview with the minister of Justice. Instead of an interview he was arrested and that night Langa was surrounded by the military. Subsequently it was raided by the police who seized what they classified as weapons and stolen property. In the view of the people the police conducted a systematic looting of property and beat up many men who were not at work or who were on night shift and at home during the daytime.

During the judicial enquiry, which followed the pass, system and low wages were repeatedly cited as causes of unrest in Langa (the enquiry was confined to the events which took place on the day of the riot, 21 March, but references were made by witnesses to the causes). The commission also found out that people living at Langa were anxious and frustrated because they felt that there was no constitutional channel through which they could make their grievances known to the State.

The semi-urbanised

There are two types of partly urbanised men living in the flats in Langa, and in lodgings. They are all would be townsmen who are trying to push in and be absorbed and trying to imitate townsmen. All of them are stigmatized as uncouth countrymen, (*iibari*). The iibari mostly have at least a little education-indeed

some of those living in the flats are much better educated than many townsmen but they come from the country and have not yet been assimilated. The iibari typically dress so flashy, but not so fashionable as that of young townsmen. They were suits and ties and their trousers have turn-ups. An iibari often has breakfast at an eating-house and lunches in town, and he spends far more on food than the migrant. It is said that the iibari spent R15 monthly on food as well as R7.20 on drink and R3.25 on rent. He earned R32 a month. In their walk and speech the iibari are more urban than rural their Xhosa is interlarded with English and Afrikaans words and they like to speak English in the street or on buses and other public places.

Territorial Separation

The Langa people distinguish themselves from those living in Nyanga or Kensington or Winderemere or elsewhere in the Cape. They regard themselves as somewhat superior and the majority of the middle-class Africans in the Cape live in Langa and the township itself is called snobbish by outsiders. The people from Langa and Nyanga visit one another constantly, though they have to secure passes to do so and again the territorial separation is consciously noted. Within Langa there is a division between barracks, zones, flats and houses but not by streets among the houses as in the larger townships of Johannesburg. A dangerous cleavage began to appear however when a large group of workmen came down from Johannesburg to build a new power station in Cape Town, and

they were billeted in the Langa flats. They formed a gang in opposition to the Langa boys and if a Langa boy alone met a group of the Johannesburg men he was likey to be beaten up. This was something new. In Langa tribal names are used; people will often say: I quote "kuhlala amaNgqika apho, amaGcaleka apho" implying that men of Ngqika section of the Xhosa (who were settled west of the Kei river) live here, and of the Gcaleka section (who were settled east of the Kei after the border wars) live there; Thembu, Mpondo, Bhaca, Xesibe and Zulu (amaTshaka) are similarly spoken of as units.

Economic Structure of Langa Township:

Langa is the oldest yet smallest Black Township in Cape Town established in 1927 and is the most densely populated area located off the N2 highway. Langa is situated between Athlone, Pinelands and Vanguard Estate. It is in close proximity to a large industrial area called Epping. The whole area has two inlets, one entrance point off the N2 Highway and the other entrance off Vanguard Drive. This is particularly notable to the apartheid type spatial planning as devised by the National Party regime. The Ikapa Town Council previously administered Langa but after 1994 elections was integrated into the City of Cape Town municipality. The unemployed gravitates toward Langa because of its proximity to Cape Town. It adjoints Pinelands and is South of Epping Industria. The population estimates in 1991 was 65 000 formal residents and 9 700 informal residents. Formal housing comprises one and two bedroomed council

dwellings. Two rows of single roomed hostel accommodation high-rise buildings greets visitors to this area. Langa from the Vanguard Drive entrance, life is dismal in these hostels, which have roomed flats. There is no electricity and residents share a communal bathroom.

The ablution blocks are unhygienic and present a pool for diseases to thrive. Families live, cook and entertain visitors in these one-roomed flats. The informal dwellers largely comprise of an influx of people from the ex-bantustan area like Transkei, Ciskei and others. They arrive in Cape Town and overnight the terrain in Langa changes as new shacks are erected both on the outskirts of Langa along the N2 highway and in backyards of current homeowners. This movement of people makes it very difficult to calculate the number of residents in Langa. About only 20 hectares of unserviced land is available for development (direct quotation from <u>Research report-1999-2000: UWC student report supervised</u> by Dr. Lisa Thompson).

History of Mfuleni Township.

Mfuleni is a community that was established in 1974. It began as a squatter site, linking with the areas of Somerset West, Eerste Rivier, Strand and Sir Loweries pass. The people moving from these areas were moved under the Group Areas Act (1950) of the then Apartheid government. However it largely served as a transit area for migrant laborers from the Transkei, Ciskei. It started out with 114 block hostels, which housed 2218 single male workers. In 1976, the first residential houses were built for permanent occupation for families. The hostels

55

have become incorporated as part of the accommodation available in the community. The name Mfuleni means "By the River", in Xhosa.

Geographic Location and Site:

Mfuleni is 8km from Blackheath, 24,5km from Stellenbosch, 10km from Kuilsriver, and 35km from Cape Town. It covers an area of 391 hectares. In the 1994 elections Mfuleni was part of the Ward T22 District, and now is part of Ward 18 with regard to the structural development in the Western Cape. This includes it in more industrial district, assisting with the unemployment that is rife in Mfuleni. Mfuleni is situated on the Cape Flats, and has many dunes in the area and much bush on the dunes, which offers cover for waste and crime.

The problem of African squatters was dealt with in terms of influx control and illegal squatting legislation and there were large-scale demolitions of squatter housing and the deportation of many of the occupants' back to the homelands. These measures proved largely ineffective, however and the government was eventually forced to build more housing for African people in Mfuleni and Eerste River. During that period Mfuleni was divided into two sections:

(a) Hostels for men only who were contracted by SA.Steel Worker, Lay-Land, Savage and Lovemore, Vianini Pipes, SuperRocla and Deepfreeze. The movement of inhabitants in this township was totally controlled and no women

56

were allowed during the week in the hostels although they use taxis together and buses.

(b) Township for ordinary people who live with their families. There were huge differences with regard to these people politically, socially, and economically. The apartheid system of divide and rule played a major role during the years of the struggle. In some other instances township children were not allowed to enter into the borders of the hostels, as they were regarded as troublemakers, who are preventing people from going to work. In this township the relationship became sour and there were some groups of hostel people who were organizing themselves to fight against the township boys (sort of gangsters). Apartheid government was working hand in hand with those vigilantes who were fighting against each other (black to black battle). Early 1990 some of the hostels were transformed to family units. The unbanning of political organizations gave birth to more and more squatter areas and people were moving from rural areas in numbers coming to the cities.

Population:

The population figures for Mfuleni, according to survey compiled by health workers in 1989; 2001:

- 13 000 people (in 1989)
- Families comprised of 2 adults and 8 children
- 60 000 people (2001)

The breakdown of the community was residents, migrant workers, and senior citizens. Factors that have impacted on the increase in the population, were the families of migrant workers moving down from the Rural Areas (Transkei, etc), political unrest in neighbouring communities, unemployment and poor health services in areas as far as the Transkei.

Housing:

Informal Settlements:

These comprise of the sub-areas of Shukushukuma, Congo and Burundi. There is no running water, no toilets and no electricity. The people who do have electricity allow their neighbours to borrow from them by connecting a lead to the mains. There also are cables being taken from the electricity poles, with networks of electric wires from squatters and poles. People in this area use wood and paraffin as their energy source and candles at night. With the use of paraffin and candles, the informal settlements are a constant fire hazard, and the cables extending from the electricity poles are also a hazard to community members, ie electric shock and the possibility of electric fires.

Formal Housing:

Area	Number of houses
Old location: Zwelitsha and Zwelidala 1974 until 1996	650 Total number of houses including hostels

* **Extension 3 (RDP -) 1996-1999**	**1 400**
* **Extension 4 (2nd structures of RDP) 2000-2001**	**2 200**
* **Extension 5 (3rd structures of RDP) to be build in 2002**	**4236**

RDP houses being built are 1-roomed houses, with a kitchen sink, a toilet and bathroom basin, clean running cold water (for hot water residents must purchase their own geyser) and electricity. The pay rates over and above the cost of the electricity and water are at R600 p/m. The RDP houses are in the area of Extension 3,4 and 5 and are built on the first come first serve basis. Once an application has gone through for a new house the people are relocated to a Transit Camp where they will still live in Shacks, but there is organization of where the shacks are built, and the residents have to pay for services (water and electricity). The advantages and disadvantages of living in the transit camp according to community developer, **Mr. R. Cock, 2001**:

| Advantages	Disadvantages
• Running water • Toilets • Electricity • High mast lights	• Communal taps outside shacks, and therefore the necessity to share water. • Pay for services

Hostels:

In the 1970's and 1980's 114 municipal hostels were built for the migrant laborers. Due to the influx of families, in 1997 the hostels were changed into dwellings and 6 hostels still remain. As a large part of the community lives in poverty, and in crowded, unhygienic conditions, the seasonal disease of diarrhea and scabies spread quickly and are hard to control. The fact that there is poor waste management and toilet facilities, also allows for the spread of disease in the area. Presently there is high influx of young people from the Transkei. The people stay for a while and move on again and this lead to instability in the informal settlements due to the state of influx in the communities. No real sense of community ownership of problems can take place, as the people are not around long enough to work together.
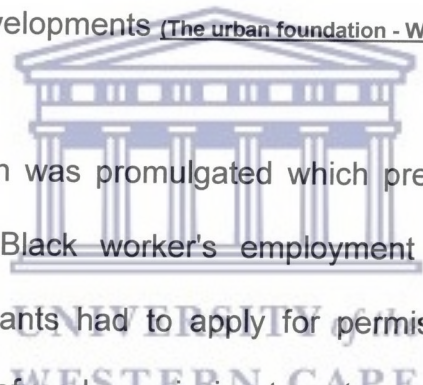
Pattern of Development

With regard to the African population in Cape Town, although no attempt is currently made to prevent their movement into the city, stringent controls are being placed on where in the city they settle. Any attempt on the part of African families to settle outside of land designated for African occupation is met with strong state action, as in the case of squatter in Kraaifontein (Bloekombos). With regard to the coloured population there has also been a change in official approach towards their urbanisation.

60

Previously attempts to force all new population growth to the new developments of Mitchell's Plain and Atlantis appear to have been abandoned. Restrictions on the development of new land for coloured housing close to the existing metropolitan area have been reversed and large-scale residential developments have been undertaken on the metropolitan periphery in the last few years. Residential development has to a large extent been occurring in the absence of an overall metropolitan development strategy. The tendency has been to choose locations for new development where large tracts of virgin land could be turned over to mass housing schemes. Inevitably these locations have been on the edge of the metropolitan area and city growth has taken the form of continual accretion.
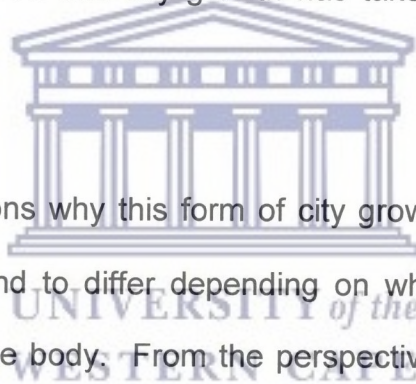
There are number of reasons why this form of city growth has been occurring, although these reasons tend to differ depending on whether the development agency is a public or private body. From the perspective of private developers peripheral land has a number of advantages. Firstly, land acquisition is generally easier on the edge of the city in the sense that large parcels of empty land are available and landowners have often been awaiting just such a demand in order to realise profits on land sale. Secondly, new residential developments are often marketed on the basis of their proximity to amenity (to natural areas, mountains, farmlands and so on) and by definition this is to be found primarily on the city edge.

61

Thirdly, current planning constructs have continued to be based on the concept of a single unit on a plot and the resultant low densities consume large quantities of land: such large land parcels are rarely to be found within the urban fabric of the city. Fourthly, current construction techniques are geared towards large-scale developments in order to realise economies of scale in housing production. Again this requires large parcels of empty land, usually on the city edge. From the perspective of public agencies the primary reasons for choosing peripheral locations have been the availability of large tracts of land suitable for mass low-income housing schemes, and the political desire to maintain a distance between white and black housing developments (The urban foundation - Western Cape- 1990, p92-3).

As early as 1923 legislation was promulgated which prevented the permanent urbanisation of blacks? Black worker's employment contracts had to be registered and new immigrants had to apply for permission to stay in urban areas. Migrants could be refused permission to enter an urban area. Thus by the time the Nationalist government took control in 1948, the basis of apartheid was already in place. This government then embarked on a campaign to effectively enforce the separation. In 1950 the Group Areas Act was promulgated which prepared the path for the establishment of separate residential areas and local government structures for whites, Indians and coloured. Soon further legislation was implemented which introduced the principle that all blacks must be regarded as temporary visitors to urban areas. Distinctions were drawn between black people who were allowed to enter urban

areas and those who could not.   Pass laws were introduced to control the movement of black males and later females.

The influx control policy had a strong effect in dividing the black population into three segments: a permanently settled population, rehoused in family housing units in residentially segregated townships; a temporary migrant work-force housed in single-sex hostels or as lodgers with urban families; and a large and growing illegal black population squatting around the urban centres (Cole: 1989). Since the 1940s government policy has been aimed at creating an exclusively white South Africa with all blacks being allocated to neighboring black independent states.
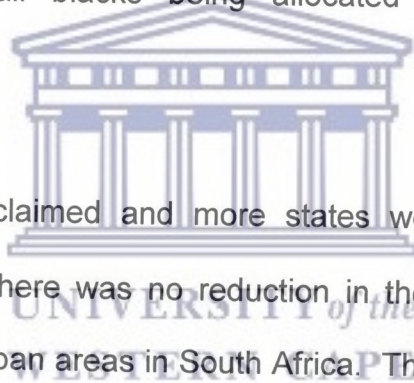
In 1976 Transkei was proclaimed and more states were proclaimed in the following years.   However there was no reduction in the number of squatters congregating on the large urban areas in South Africa. This policy had a marked effect on the creation of a black squatter problem in South Africa.   The overwhelming reality of a large number of black people emigrating from rural areas to the cities was unacceptable to the policy makers.   There were so many legal means that were designed to prevent blacks from coming to the Metropolitan areas.

Blacks were simply ignored as constituting a part of the Western Cape population due to the policy of ""Coloured Preference Area"".   This means that there were

63

no additional housing was built for blacks and that the housing stock for the black population remained stagnant and no official recognition was given to the black population, a steady process of urbanisation still continued. In 1921 there were ±14 000 black people in Cape Town, which constituted 4.3 percent of the total population. In 1950 there were ±75 000, which constituted 10 percent of the total population. After 1950 this has continued to increase to ±454 650 black people in 1991, which comprises 20 percent of the total population of Metropolitan Cape Town.

Eventually it was recognized that the problem was not specific to South Africa but part of an international trend in third world countries. A poor rural inhabitant inevitably moves towards cities in search of better opportunities and was not specifically a South African problem but a worldwide problem. The central policy makers had realised that the migration was and had to be accepted and was done by the publication of the White Paper on Urbanization in 1985 and this had for the first time the emphasis moved away from relocating and distributing the squatters in order to make the problem disappear.

The white paper constituted a radical departure from previous policy where squatters were seen as a problem to that of the urbanization being seen to be inevitable and considered as an opportunity. The primitive shelters squatters construct for themselves must be seen as valuable investment to be respected. Destroying and replacing these individual small assets has a large implication for

the national fiscus when the total number of squatters is taken into account. Subsidies and other forms of financial assistance are wasted when existing dwellings are demolished and then re-established. In 1986 the Act on the Abolishment of Influx Control (Act 68 of 1986) was promulgated. A sudden influx of black people from the rural areas was anticipated and this is speculated that this may be due to the migration peak having already been reached (Mabin: 1991). In the 1980s the issue of forced removals and demolition of squatter camps started to taper off. Even thou still illegal in terms of prevention of illegal Squatting Act 1951 (Act 52 of 1951), squatters were not evicted and the control measure were now intended to prevent new additions to the squatter camps and shacks were numbered and the erection of new shacks was prohibited.

The policy did not deter new migrants coming to urban areas even though the number of new shacks in the settlements remained constant. Newcomers moved in with existing shack dwellers or enlarge the existing shacks. In 1991 there was a publication of the white paper on Land Reform that brought about number of significant changes and additions to the housing policy. The policy was based on three principles (de Loor 1992: 113):

(a) Everyone must be able to obtain land on an equal basis,

(b) Everyone's rights to land must enjoy equal protection, and

(c) Land is a national asset belonging to all the people of South Africa and its effective utilization is in everyone's interest.

The final blow to the entrenched discriminatory system of apartheid was the removal of the Group areas Act from the statute books. This legislation had little direct effect on the squatters except the removal of unnatural restraints on where people could live based on skin colour made more land available to meet the development needs of all sectors of the population. Opportunities became available for squatters and people of other races to live closer to work opportunities. There is now no restriction as to where people may live and the primary limiting factor is affordability, not race. The only bureaucratic requirement remaining is that the land is zoned for residential use and that the occupancy is legal and this however still lives 60-80% of black people unable to purchase a house of their own (Bond: 1990, P49).

Current Housing Policy
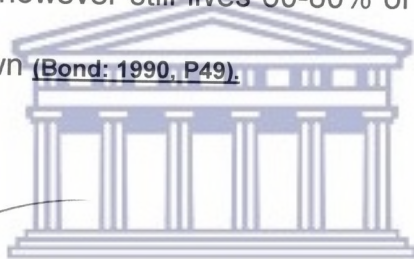
South African housing policy is in a state of flux. The new political realities of the land have left the old apartheid policies in disarray and economic realities will have to be played off against ideological aims. The Freedom Charter states that:

- All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

- Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

- Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

- Slums will be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social center's;

- Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws, which break up families, repealed.

The economic impracticalities of demolishing slums and providing a decent house for everyone will no doubt lead to amelioration of the Charter. **The South African Broadcasting Coporation (SABC)** reported that the latest white paper on Housing makes the provision of a house for every family a basic right. The paper is apparently very critical of incremental housing is where only starter houses are built and the resident then adds to the house as needed. The success on national housing policy has not been universally recognized, and has been criticized from several quarters, including orthodox Marxists, make-the-market-work lobbyists, and people-driven-processor support advocates and built environment professionals. **Bond and Tait; (1997)** see the housing policy as being too market-centred and the government's recent shifts have led to, unaffordable housing and inadequate subsidies
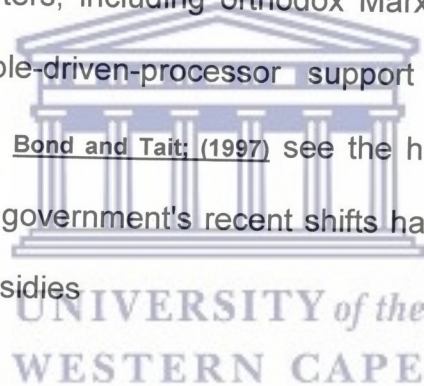
Empowerment of large developers over communities through joint ventures, failure to protect the poor against downward raiding (that is, a process whereby subsidies meant only for the poor are accessed by relatively wealthier individuals), absence of readily available land and reliance on the market for supply of construction and building materials. **Bond and Tait** argued that far from being market-driven and leading to state withdrawal, housing policy is actually quite 'statistical' in practice.

Turning to the issue of inadequate subsidies, one can argue that fiscal constraints are not so stringent as to disallow substantial increases to the housing vote because the arguments made previously in the white paper about a disappointing allocation of the state budget to the housing sector support our view. Whether any additional allocation to housing should be used to deepen subsidies or widen reach remains a fundamental policy choice.

The Peoples paradigm

Bolnick (1996) argues that new housing policy primarily serves private sector interests particularly financial institutions because of their disproportionate influence in the National Housing Forum and the policy appears insensitive to people-driven development, however nothing precludes peoples' organizations from applying for project-based, institutional or individual subsidies to finance community based initiatives. According to our understanding current policy is not opposed to community mobilization, but has not proactively pursued it either.

A key component remains community participation through a social compact that must be signed between key players, which is the community, the developer, local authorities and financiers, before the approval of project, and agrees individual roles and responsibilities. Unfortunately the incremental housing concept seems to have become associated with the previous government's desperate quick-fix solutions to the housing crisis. Denwar (1998) he believes

68

current policy actually exacerbates apartheid planning's sterile urbanism and aspects of British town planning embedded in it (e.g. Uni-functional zoning). Most low-income housing is confined to the urban periphery because of failure to vary subsidy with location in the city in the context of high inner city land prices. If current policy envisages incremental delivery, it is therefore unfair to judge the actual product delivered rather than what will emerge as individuals invest in their own housing.

Affordability

The basis to the affordability crisis is the inability of many families to meet the cost of their accommodation. (Viljoen: 1991) illustrated this crisis by looking at the spending pattern of an average black household and found that between 60 and 80 percent of black households throughout South Africa earned between R800 and R400 in 1991. These same families had an average of 6 to 10 dependants each. As the result the large proportion of the income is spent on food about (40% of the income). While the average income home buyer spends between 20 and 40 percent of their income on housing, the average black family only spends 9 percent and in real term this means that between R40 and R80 per month is available for housing or shelter in the broader sense and this includes associated costs such as bond repayment, rates and taxes, lighting and heating, water and sanitation. It becomes obvious why so many black people live in informal

housing because the small incomes of the majority of black people is absorbed in the general living costs and little money is available for housing.

The Urban Foundation in 1993 confirms the inability of black squatters to pay for housing. Leaders in Crossroads claimed that their people could not afford more than R15 per month per family on housing related costs. Accepting this and knowing that at that time service charges constituted R13.50 per month, this leaves R1.50 for the redemption of a bond and interest. With an interest rate of 19 percent on capital recouped over a 30-year period, the sum of money that could be borrowed would be just over R100 at a 3 percent interest rate the capital borrowed could increase to R350. This clearly shows the inability of most of the Crossroad residents to enter into the formal housing market. In 1991 the Western Cape United Squatter Association reported that in 1990, 59 percent of black families in the Western Cape could not make a market related contribution to a house bond. These families cannot even gain entry into the lowest end of the property market. This inability of a large proportion of the black population to enter into the formal housing market shows the need for shelter programs and financial assistance.

Private Sector Involvement

The government has for a long time been aware of its inability to provide sufficient housing to catch up on the housing backlog, and encourage private

sector involvement. The attempted privatization of the national housing backlog was unsuccessful, because of the high risk involved. Financial institutions are unwilling to grant very small bonds. Encouragement of private sector involvement in housing provision has taken place through the institution of guarantee funds specifically aimed at guaranteeing that development costs and a margin of profit are paid to the developer. These large-scale projects became exercises in cutting costs, fees, and the duration of the project.

The white Paper on Urbanisation (1985) contained the first indication that cognisance had been taken of the international experience showing that private involvement was the only way to resolve the housing crisis. Developers have been wary of entering the low-income market where repayment of bonds has not been secure. The last few years has shown that the majority of private sector participation has been in the market characterized by providing a house on an erf in the price bracket of R36 000 to R75 000.

Until recently financial institutions were unwilling to grant a bond with a value of less than R30 000. Subsidies were also coupled to the interest generated by a bond and thus no subsidy was available to people who could not afford a bond. A bond of R30 000 would realize interest of about R500 per month requiring an income of R1 500 per month, which is way beyond the means of really poor people, i.e the majority of the black population. The primary need is for shelter/homes with a value of below R30 000. The majority of South Africans

cannot even afford a combined house and plot price of R10 000. The result has been that all low cost housing provided by the private sector could not fully satisfy that primary need and was therefore not reducing the backlog in housing units.

Attention was then redirected to the high-income market, which remains relatively unaffected by the recession. The other new focus of attention was the low cost market, which consists mostly of housing for black people. The volume of the need makes this market well worth investigation by the developer. There are two fundamental problems, that is, the recipients are unable to afford property because of their very low and unstable incomes. Secondly, financial institutions have been unwilling to grant small loans. Funds have been made available for a loan guarantee fund, an ingenious privately administered mechanism, which can lower the minimum level at which provision of bonds are financially viable to a bank. The results are that bonds are now registered for as little as R10 000.
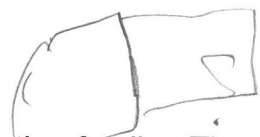
The white Paper on Reconstruction and Development (1994) lists the establishment of a Mortgage Indemnity Scheme as one of the programmes the Ministry of Housing will embark on. It will start off with a R50 million initial capitalization. The intention is to engage the private sector in areas previously financed by the public sector. Prior to the Government of National Unity, a new subsidy scheme was put in place to be administered by the private sector. The Independent Development Trust was created and made responsible for the new

72

scheme. The IDT was staffed by former employees of the Urban Foundation who had wide exposure to meeting low cost housing needs, through projects such as their Loan Guarantee Fund. The number of conditions which were laid down by IDT before accepting the task of coordinating the distribution of the subsidy funds. These conditions were aimed at making the IDT truly independent of Government control. In this it succeeded and set in motion a new subsidy scheme aimed at the really low-income market.

Land access

In South Africa illegal land occupations were because of a housing shortage and not demand for land as in neighbouring Zimbabwe. The people of South Africa are not looking for land as land, they are looking for a place to pitch a house, and this statement is *only valid to the Western Cape* where the study was conducted, although this situation might be different in some other provinces like North West, Limpopo, and Eastern Cape. If there had been houses somewhere else then that would not have happened. They were sending a clear and loud message to the government, although police were continually removing their temporal shacks and driving them back to the slums, the squatters persisted and eventually learned that there was greater safety in numbers.

This led to elaborately planned and secretly organized land invasion campaign. A site was identified taking care that it was not privately owned. The site were

visited at night and marked out with a plot for each participating family. The site was also set aside for streets, schools, churches and other facilities and much close to the freeway. As a result of the shortage of adequate and available shelter, people occupy any vacant land they find and put up shacks in areas without sanitation, infrastructure or social amenities. Others occupy old disused and / or abandoned structures, or prefabricated buildings of inferior material in advance stage of decay with very deficient safety or habitability standards.

Informal settlements have mushroomed mainly because of inadequate resource allocation for housing during apartheid, resulting in a huge backlog, inappropriate policies such as homeland policies and Group Areas Act, lack of adequate land for the majority in the country, lack of available land for settlement by the poor in the inner cities where there is employment and economic opportunities. That history is still with us **(budget vote no 16 - 19 June 2001)**. According to the minister of housing the land is not enough for low cost housing in the inner cities. Where it does the costs are exorbitant.

The Department of Land Affairs and other departments, which manage land, are currently looking at ways of dealing with this problem. Unique to our country is that most land is in private ownership and most land occupied illegally is unsuitable for development. This means that *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements is seldom-possible requiring acquisition of new land and relocation of communities. The budget report 2000-2001 - where land has been available in

74

the inner city the Department of Housing has implemented programmes that have drawn low income earners into the inner cities through the Institutional Subsidy, a sub-programme of Capital Housing Subsidy Scheme. It has been said that 70 medium density housing projects which comprise of 33 935 housing units have been concluded in the provinces. 16 638 housing units have been planned for the 2001/2002 financial year. The Department as an instrument to combine the government subsidy and private sector funding has utilized the Institutional Subsidy.

The implementation process for the institutional subsidy mechanism requires structuring of partnerships, which is normally complex and time consuming and additional investment by the Private Sector at project level with financial models unique to each project. Although it is difficult to establish the institutions and capacity building of new members on social housing issues to the extent that the institution is viable and fully operational. There are several housing Associations in the countries that are functioning at optimal level but more will be needed when more stock is delivered. The R16 000 subsidy is directly invested into the property and not linked to individual recipient to allow for the mobility.

Empowerment Processes

Providing a house with secure tenure assists the poor to establish a foothold in the urban economy. A house provides a place where people can study and

improve their lives whilst moving out of the web of poverty especially when the low-income areas are functional, the house can be put up as collateral to access credit. The construction of RDP houses has empowered emerging contractors to create jobs around their projects. Many of our people have now acquired skills they did not have before through our capacity building programmes run by tertiary institutions in every province and through our technical support of Support Centers. The multipliers of these projects have also boosted the local economies and SMME development.

Comparative Analysis: Langa & Mfuleni include
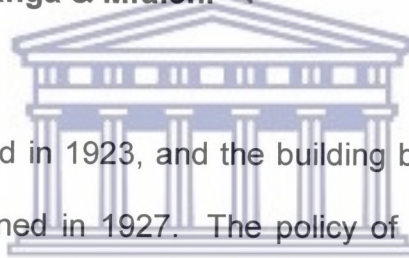
A new location was selected in 1923, and the building began at Langa, and the township was officially opened in 1927. The policy of segregation means that poor are pushed farther and farther from their places of employment. In Cape Town like in other cities of the Republic, each new African Township has been farther and farther away, and the journey to work grows longer. The area contained no industrial development and only limited provision for commercial development and residents had to continue to travel to work and shop in the already established areas of Cape Town.

Land was privatized or held by the state and areas were developed for a single income group. There was a steady worsening in the scale of the housing crisis facing Cape Town in 1931. By 1958 the Cape Town City Council had prepared

advisory guide plans controlling land sub-division all undeveloped areas within its boundaries. In 1966 only 3 868 family units were built for Africans in Cape Town (Gugulethu). Industrial expansion in Cape Town was constrained by limits placed on the expansion of employment of African labour in Cape Town.

Between 1964 and 1969, 18 000 (mostly coloured) families were removed from areas such as District 6, Mowbray, Newlands, Claremont and Wyneberg and resettled in newly built townships on the Cape Flats (Younge, 1982). Townships such as Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Heideveld, Hanover Park (coloured) and Gugulethu (African) were built at an ever-increasing distance from the city spines and the town centre.

Instead of developing Langa, the government has decided to introduce another Black Township (Nyanga) as well as Gugulethu. In 1992 a new upper class area was built (Settlers Way) by Garden Cities, which was mainly for people who can afford and acquire Bank Loans. This has not decreased the level of squatting in Langa. The study shows that Langa has little space /land available for the housing development. It has also been noted that the Cape Town City Council has been in a process of integration where people will be located to some other areas like Mitchell's Plain; Mfuleni; Delft and other places; this process is marked with resistance. It is also noted that with the amalgamation of all other Local municipalities the better results are expected.

Mfuleni:

Mfuleni was established in 1974 for hostel dwellers. Early in 1990 -1995 some of the hostels were transformed to family houses. Squatting became a major problem in the area. From 1976 until 1995 there were only 120 family houses in Mfuleni and most people were accommodated in some back yards. No further development has occurred in that area due to the financial and managerial incapacity. Organs of civil society have decided to join forces to fight the system of government. Several meetings were held, and people raised problems but no solution was reached, and under these circumstances residents are unwilling to pay service charges, which in turn undermine the capacity for problems to be dealt with.
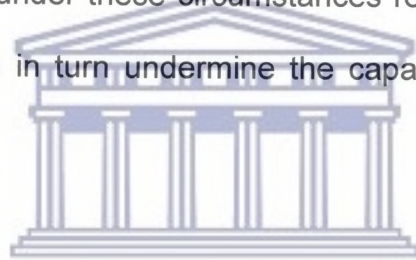
During 1985 until 1990, there were about 4 000 families in the waiting list for houses and their hopes were diminishing day by day, as they hear different promises with no real output. In 1991 they have decided to occupy land in elaborately planned and secretly organised campaigns, which started with the covert recruitment of a large number of families that would participate in the invasion. A site was identified not far from the rent office taking into account that the municipal office privately owned the land and immediate action will be taken either to remove them or to avail land to the needy people.

The site was visited at night and marked out with a plot for each family participant and erect shelters made from straw matting. Municipal workers were unable to enter the working place as it was fully surrounded with informal settlements, which were built over night. An immediate attention was considered to remove people and to clean up the place. Negotiations were held to avoid the situation. Land seizure is obviously an alternative when formal mechanisms for land delivery are unsatisfactory or nonexistent. However the negative implications for incremental upgrading make this way of accessing land undesirable. An affordable and efficient land delivery system should be in place.

After 1994 general elections, housing and social services were regarded as priority number one. In 1995 flats were build and existing hostels transformed to family quarters. First 500 RDP one-roomed houses were built although not everybody was happy with the shape; size and families with huge numbers of dependants were not seriously planned. Because of lack of co-ordination, houses were not allocated fairly and real needy people were left outside and youth occupied the houses.

Due to this problem the Tygerberg City Council has delayed development and new strategies were put into place to curb the new occurrences. Serviced plots were allocated to qualifying people and they were to occupy their own plots and houses were built thereafter. A total of 3 600 houses were made available to the people in the year 2000/2001 although they were regarded as other than poor

targeting, poor design, poor management, and periodic scandal. Owing to the discussion we had with the Tygerberg councilors, 5 000 plots were made available with attempts to eradicate slums, and to accommodate people from other local authorities because of the new process of amalgamation of other local authorities, for the next 3 years. The councilor Mr Tokwana mentioned that housing for the poor, pursue other seemingly noble goals, it should be obvious that government efforts often make urban conditions worse rather than better, because of the major problems associated with new construction that is deliberately targeted to lower-income occupants are:

(i)   Heavy government subsidies entail loss of local neighbourhood control

(ii)   New construction does not fit the character of an older neighbourhood

(iii)   The new construction must be denser than surrounding private housing in order to improve the high cost ratios involved.

(iv)   So-called "mini - ghettoes" of low - income persons may not fit into the local community.

The Reasons for Langa not being able to delivery new houses from 1994 until 2002: include

The problem with Langa is that people had to be relocated to some other areas because of insufficient space in the area. Secondly, the councilor's argument was that they do not wish to create another apartheid townships like in other areas of Cape Town eg Mfuleni, Delft etc where one roomed house is being

given to a family of 6 people. According to the Argus; May 10/02: the housing relief was on the way in Langa whereby the City of Cape Town has approved a R14,6 million contract to build new family accommodation and renovate buildings to accommodate 500 households in Nyanga, Langa and Gugulethu, and this form part of the Cape Town Hostels Redevelopment Programme.

Integration of Mfuleni - Non Racial Community

As we are all aware of our housing policy which provides access to housing opportunities to the poor on a non-racial basis. It is through the spatial planning at local level that our own housing projects can help integrate our communities and effectively undo apartheid planning to the benefit of our communities and the nation building process. In certain instances it is part of our communities who refuse to be integrated merely because of perceptions of property devaluation. Local governments must ensure that our housing projects integrate communities and specifically de-racialise our towns and cities. We do recognize, however, that whilst housing delivery is proceeding at a significant rate, it is generally not occurring in areas, which contribute, to the restructuring of the former apartheid cities and the building of non-racial communities. The prohibitive cost of land in many of these areas has undermined the viability of constructing affordable low cost housing.

What plan does the New Metropolitan government have to eradicate informal settlements?

Like other developing countries, the African continent suffers from the phenomenon of informal settlements which arise from a number of causes including rapid urbanization and population growth, unemployment, a skewed distribution of wealth, natural disasters and low economic growth. In South Africa, informal settlement were further exacerbated by scarcity of affordable land for development of low cost housing and the occurrence of informal settlements on undevelopable land in flood plains and riversides, dumping ground and dolomitic land. The result is that upgrading of some informal settlements is not always possible and necessitates acquisition of new land and relocation of communities. That is why South Africa is following global trends to relocate people from disaster prone areas and this can never be compared to apartheid's forced removals. Contrary to popular but ignorant belief, it is intended to remove people from dangerous areas and provide them with better housing in safe and secure areas and the major problem is the timeframe in this regard.

The Government of South Africa is also planning to embark on the new programme of Urban renewal which is aimed at improving and involving people and an approach in dealing with this is an inclusive one and is highly depended on strengthened consultation ties between the three spheres of government, the non-governmental organizations and most importantly, the communities affected. The main challenge is to clearly define the role of each sphere of government in

the eradication of informal settlements, and ensure that new informal settlements are effectively prevented. The government cherishes a process that will assist our planning towards the eventual eradication of informal settlements by giving clear definition of the responsibilities of each sphere of government (Trevor Tokwana-10/06/01).

Self-help: the face of the future in Mfuleni

Aided self helps programmes comprise the integration of public and popular housing initiative. The government provides support in the field of funding, training and access to land and affordable building materials, in an attempt to raise the standard of accommodation (Parker;1995). To the squatter the most popular project is in-situ upgrading which consist of either the improving of the materials that the shelters are made from or the provision of essential infrastructure such as sewage and water. The advantage of this is that the community is not disrupted by having to relocate, even if this is only on a temporary basis. The most important advantage of an in-situ upgrading programme is that the resources invested by the resident in their accommodation are respected although it is important to note that some of the sites are un-upgradable.

The second alternative is the site-and service schemes where a minimum standard infrastructure is installed, usually consisting of water, sewage disposal, stormwater and roads. The advantage of this type of scheme is that the resident can incrementally provide accommodation to match his needs **(example- Fedearation houses in Tafelsig)**, as the finances become available. There is an increased desire to upgrade the accommodation because ownership is secure. The primary criticism of site and service is that they tend to produce large ghettos of underprivileged people.

Housing options include

The question remains, can a squatter become a homeowner? The answer is yes and it is important that resources are expended in the upgrading efforts. In practical terms the magnitude of the problem makes it impossible to find sufficient funds to provide the ideal solution for everyone. Living with a situation were there are insufficient funds means making a decision between providing a few high quality homes or partially meeting the needs of a large number of people. The latter option is the most desirable. The ideal of providing the basic formal home as a starter option is unfortunately out of the question. This is not reflected in current Government of National Unity housing policy.

The laissez-faire approach would have the squatter provide his own housing. This is in fact partially the approach that was adopted by the IDT funded
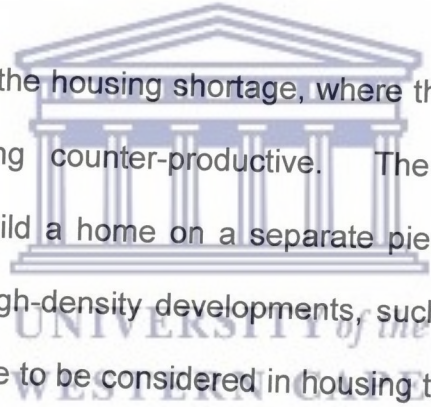
developments. Due to the fixed subsidy amount, it was often only possible to prepare the land for human habitation and provide services. At present there are many companies offering novel solutions at this construction level. There are a host of options ranging from igloo-shaped units to more standard looking single roomed buildings. The construction material used is usually of a hi-tech nature, such as interlocking panels, which are partially factory assembled. Another alternative is to provide walk-up flats. The advantage of this type of accommodation is that you utilize land more efficiently. This higher population density results in more cost effective use of engineering services and the advantage of this type of accommodation is that it is not acceptable to the low income community, due to the historical precedent of schemes such as are found on the Cape Flats.
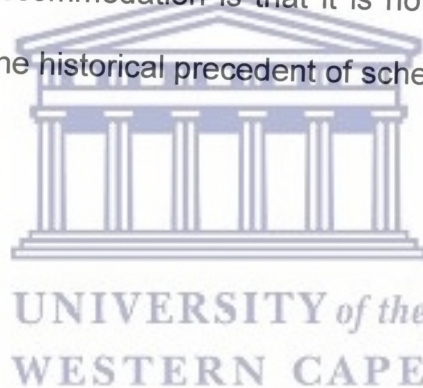
Summary

Self-help housing programmes are the future for developing countries. Developing countries are generally struggling economically, and can only afford the most cost-effective housing investment. The resources of each family will have to be directed or channeled into providing housing for themselves at an affordable standard. In situations where material and financial resources are scarce, and where the cost to the state of providing secure tenure is lower than that of providing structures and installations, it is unreasonable to base government policy on input at the expense of security. **(Turner-1967:128)** states that

85

paradoxically, the more houses governments build for low-income families, the fewer houses they will have, but if the government provide the tools for building - land , facilities and services, credits and technical assistance - the elements on which household and community security depend, then the maximum possible amount of dwellings will be built and in ways that the authorities can eventually control. Self-help is an autonomous approach to housing provision. Individuals should be given access to property and resources such as cheap materials. There is much evidence that the individual can provide housing for his family at a cheaper rate than the state can provide it for them.

The traditional response to the housing shortage, where the state builds houses, is now accepted as being counter-productive. The unfortunate side to encouraging the poor to build a home on a separate piece of ground is that it promotes urban sprawl. High-density developments, such as double and triple story buildings, will also have to be considered in housing the poor. The focus of future housing policies must be to create a framework, which will allow and even promote individual responses to housing need, and provide a strategy aimed at removing factors, which reduce the household and community security.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

Conclusion

The housing delivery system for Blacks in this country has been flawed for many years. There is therefore a broad consensus on the need for the housing policy and housing delivery to be changed. The central thrust of the housing policy is the delivery system and delivery mechanisms. That is why the challenge for housing policy makers, given the countless ways in which delivery can be organized, is to design a system which is appropriate to people's needs and is economically, socially, politically and environmentally sustainable. A delivery process should be designed in such a way that it promotes a system that will ensure that as many people as possible have access to housing.

It is a fact that development and delivery within the housing sector is a key indicator in assessing the level of satisfaction and progress in fulfilling the expectations and needs of our people, and is also true that the legacy of apartheid has left us with huge hiatus which necessitated the housing department to go through an exhaustive programme to establish a workable model to give effect to a credible housing policy. The South African Housing policy in the fifties and sixties was shaped by the ideology of apartheid and the belief that the State should play a major role in the provision of social welfare,

including housing. Housing delivery was structured around State control of the production, allocation and administration of housing. It reinforced the set of ideas which saw individuals or nucleus families as the passive recipients of bureaucratically administered welfare (2nd draft- white Paper on housing).

There are many changes presently taking place in South Africa. One constant is going to remain for at least the next few decades, the enormous demand for housing. South Africa is still trying to reach equilibrium between population growth rates and rural-to-urban migration. The sectors of the population most in need of accommodation are the poor. Many of these people already live in shacks, most of which are illegally erected and constitute a health and fire hazard. The building of houses to meet the need for shelter is counter-productive. This is because funds available for the provision of shelter are limited and must be used to assist as many people as possible. Funds should therefore not be used to build housing, which would only satisfy the needs of a very small section of the population. The answer is to first enable as many people as possible to meet their own basic shelter needs. This will require concerted government support for the provision of a serviced erf to every citizen. The provision of only a toilet on the erf is insufficient. At least a roof of 15 square meters in addition to the core should be provided on the erf. This is a more useful starter unit and will ensure that the family can easily take occupation of the new home.

Recommendations:

It is easy to criticize government policies without putting a stop to the improvement techniques. Elsewhere we have drawn up a list of specific recommendations for housing development for the poor in South Africa. The following is a summary of our specific recommendations:

Sustainable City form in SA

In seeking to improve understanding of solutions to urban form, there is a need to consider the structure of cities from the perspective of the poor, taking their needs into account. For instance, we should focus on how city form can reduce vulnerability and provide protection from natural disaster / hazards. Access to affordable public transportation is particularly important for the South African townships. To focus more on rural and peri-urban areas to reduce rural-urban migration and the associated demands on the urban areas and to promote local planning and management both decision-making and resources should be decentralized.

Land Provision

The ultimate policy of the National Housing Department is to make serviced land available to all South Africans. In this respect the capital subsidy scheme is an

89

effective tool and is counter-productive to try to provide a house for everyone that needs shelter. The land set-aside for residential purposes needs to be accessible and job opportunities should be close to the residential areas and the reliance on expensive transport options to get to work must be minimized. There should be a change in the capital subsidy which will allows an individual to claim the subsidy prior to purchasing a plot (erf) with an assurance that s/he has a certain amount of money to spend and able to exercise his own choice as to which plot (erf) to buy and that will encourage the development of a market for service plots. The individual will then have a right to choose the location at which they want to live.

Integration of communities

In the Development facilitation Bill -1994, it was mentioned that one of the important principles relating to land development is that, members of the communities affected by land developments should be allowed to actively participate in the process of land development. This is becoming more important as the population becomes aware of their democratic rights. The scrapping of apartheid laws has paved the way for a more economical urban morphology to evolve in South African towns and cities. The poor must not be forced to live in enormous ghettos far away from the sources of work and in consequence be denied social interaction within the broader urban context **(urban foundation:1993).**

90

Sizes of Development

The size of low-income developments should be reduced. The creation of semi-ghettos such as Mfuleni, Khayelitsha, Wesbank, Delft, Wallaceden, and Lower-Crossroads must be avoided. The development of land close to employment opportunities should be encouraged. Development size can be reduced by changing the subsidy from being project based to a personal subsidy awarded to the individual who intends buying property and this will encourage the individual to use initiative regarding where they want to live.

Residential Areas

Within residential areas, densities must be increased to conserve land, a non-renewable resource. By increasing residential densities the cost of installation and maintenance of engineering services can be reduced and transportation cost can also be reduced if these higher density areas are situated near to work opportunities and areas rich in social facilities such as city centers. In South Africa the acceptability of high-density housing such as 3 to 4 storey walk-ups and high-rise flats need to be researched. Low-income families generally perceive flats to be undesirable and are subject to the high crime rates and other social problems (Urban Foundation: 1993). The redevelopment of areas close to city centers for mixed uses including residential use must be encouraged, and old office blocks can be converted and new buildings erected on vacant land to

91

provide housing opportunities.   A policy focussing on high density housing options is essential for the fulfillment of the vision of a home for all.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Du Plooy, D.W. 1988; **Design of Low Cost Housing**; South African Institute of Civil Engineers: Juta Publication

Mabin; A: 1997 **The Dynamics of Urbanisation since 1960; Apartheid City in Transition;** Editors: M Swilling, R. Humphries and K. Shubane; Oxford University Press; Cape Town

Dept. Local Govt & Ntnl Housing (1994) Housing Subsidy Scheme: Implementation Manual; 11 April 1994

Cape Times, **(a)"Squatter Crisis**: Explosion as Influx Outstrips Predictions; The Cape Times: 11 June 1993

R.S.A. (1986) White Paper on Urbanisation

R.S.A. (1994) White Paper on Reconstruction and Development

R.S.A. (1994) Development Facilitation Bill

The Cape Argus, (June 1993**) Living on the Edge**... a Question of survival; 22 June 1993

Cape Times, June 1993 **(b) Administration Costs Swallow Two-thirds of South Africa Housing Finances**; the Cape times 15 June 1993

The Cape Argus; May 2002: **<u>Housing Relief on the Way</u>**: by Moses Mdewu; Mthetheleli Mackay

1st draft White Paper on Housing

2nd draft White Paper on Housing

No.6 Debates of the National Assembly (Hansard) Second Session – First Parliament   16 to 18 May 1995

Parker; M; 1995: **A case Study on Housing in the Western Cape**:

Saunders; C: The Creation of Ndabeni: Urban Segregation and African Resistance in Cape Town, in C Saunders (ed), Studied in the History of Cape Town, Vol. 1, 1993

Younge, A.; 1995; **<u>Housing Policy and Housing Shortage in Cape Town</u>**: African Perspective, No 21

T. Tokwana – Mfuleni Councillor

L. Mgudlwa - Urban City Planner (interviewed) in Khayelitsha and Mfuleni