



A **mini-thesis** submitted to the School of Government (SOG), the University of the Western
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Sciences

By

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Citizenship, transport and the working poor and unemployed in Khayelitsha since 2010.

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Declaration

This mini thesis is a submission in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters in Public Administration (MPA). I declare that “Citizenship, transport and the working poor and unemployed in Khayelitsha since 2010” is my own work, that it has not been previously submitted to any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

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Signed



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Date: April 2022

Dedication

All praise and thanks to God, your grace has indeed been sufficient.

This labour of love is dedicated to my loving wife Natasha, my blessings, Adam and Zach and our angel in heaven.

My parents, Martha and Robert, God bless you, here and in the beyond.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' below it.

Acknowledgements

I will forever be grateful to my extraordinary Professor, Dr Gregory Ruiters. Thank you so much, you opened your home to me, I will never forget that. Your patience and academic experience has been invaluable. I could only take it so far...please accept my sincere thanks and appreciation.

Key Words: Khayelitsha, City of Cape Town, citizenship, spatial inequality, councillor, public transport, exclusion, poverty



List of Abbreviations

AA	Automobile Association
ANC	African National Congress
CATA	Cape Amalgamated Taxi Association
CCT	City of Cape Town
CIPT	Comprehensive Integrated Transport Plan 2018 – 2023
CODETA	Congress for Democratic Taxi Associations
DA	Democratic Alliance
KCOI	Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry
MBT	Minibus Taxis
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NLSF	National Land Strategic Framework
NPL	National Poverty Lines
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASSA	Social Security Agency
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
TCT	Transport for Cape Town
TDI	Transport Development Index
TDMS	Total Demand Management Strategy
TMC	Transport Management Centre
UN	United Nations

Abstract

The largely peaceful, negotiated transition to a political democracy in South Africa was heralded internationally as a modern day miracle. However, the new democratic government also committed itself to equal citizenship, nation building and the social inclusion of all groups oppressed under apartheid. The dismantling of the apartheid state and the accompanying advancements in democracy have however not been matched by the redress of structural inequalities, elimination of separate development, land ownership, housing, migrant labour legacies and achieving inclusive socio-spatial changes. In this context, this mini-thesis examines transport and location as vital elements for building inclusive social citizenship among residents of Khayelitsha, Cape Town's most populated far flung informal settlement. Approximately 30-35 kilometres from the CBD, Khayelitsha from its inception, embodied the apartheid model. The paper examines the space-citizenship nexus focusing on daily reality of mobility for selected groups of residents of Khayelitsha in Cape Town. What are the lived experiences of citizenship seen from the point of view of transport and mobility? There are common threads in the way people in townships describe their daily existence: these commonalities are explored in the discussion around citizenship, transport and the poor. The research was designed on a case study, using mainly qualitative research methods – interviews and diaries. It seeks to bring an understanding of a complex issue of citizenship as a lived, imagined and physical reality. The research sample consisted of twenty-four participants; the participants include ten males and fourteen female respondents. Seven ward councillors from the Khayelitsha area were interviewed as part of the research process. The research highlighted the paradox of services that serve to exclude communities, instil fear, diminish citizenship, and impose massive economic costs on the poor and lower their standard of living. The participants are despondent and disappointed in the level of service delivery offered by all spheres of government.



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Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: AIMS, THE PROBLEM AND RATIONALE AND METHODOLOGY.	12
Introduction	12
Research Setting	13
Purpose of this Study	14
Research Design and Approach	15
Data Sample and Analysis	18
Structure of the Thesis	20
Ethical Considerations	21
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL AND LEGISLATIVE REVIEW: PERSISTENT SOCIO-SPATIAL PATTERNS IN CITY OF CAPE TOWN	22
Introduction	22
The South African Constitution	23
Road-based public transport policies.	25
National Development Plan (2012)	28
The Impact of Transport policies	35
Conclusion	36

CHAPTER 3: CITIZENSHIP, IDENTITY AND SPACE	38
Conceptualizing Citizenship	38
Citizenship, Space and Social Class	40
Citizenship in contemporary South Africa	43
Vukuzenzela – Active Citizenship	47
Conclusion	48
CHAPTER 4: KHAYELITSHA AND THE CITY	49
Introduction	49
History of Khayelitsha	49
The Geography of Khayelitsha	52
Demographics of Khayelitsha	53
Poverty	54
National Poverty Line	56
Poverty and equity statistics in South Africa	59
Social and Economic Conditions	61
Crime in Khayelitsha	63
Voices from the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry	65



Conclusion	68
CHAPTER 5. TRANSPORT IN CAPE TOWN	69
Cape Town Road Network Management	7172
Modes of Transport in Cape Town	73
My Citi BRT service	73
My Citi Bus Service	7475
Minibus taxis	78
Amaphela – The township taxi.	79
Conclusion	81
CHAPTER 6. KHAYELITSHA CITIZEN'S LIVED REALITIES: FROM COUNCILLORS TO COMMUTERS	82
Ward Councillors	82
Interview with Councillor Bongani Ngcani.	83
Interview with Councillor Patrick Mngxunjeni	86
Interview with Councillor Xolisa Ngwekazi	88
Interview with Councillor Phindile Maxiti	90
Figure 6.1 Commuters using Public Transport	93
Figure 6.2: Where research participants reside	94



Figure 6.3: Reasons for travel	94
Figure 6. 4: Types of transport	<u>9596</u>
Figure 6.5: Public Transport Costs	97
Figure 6.6: Daily Travel Time	98
Travel Diaries	100
Figure 6.11: Freedom to Explore	108
Conclusion	<u>109110</u>
CHAPTER 7: OVERALL CONSIDERATIONS BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION	111
REFERENCES	117
ANNEXURES	130



Chapter 1: Introduction: Aims, the problem and rationale and methodology.

Introduction

Apartheid was a system of violently reorganising space and creating new spaces. The creation of separate compartmentalised spaces increased physical and social spaces in exploitative and oppressive ways making mobility expensive. Forced removals, Bantustans, hostels, migrant workforces, townships and in earlier times land wars had major implications for transport. The rulers ensured that they constructed new system of socio-spatial control (highways, trains, townships with only one entrance, leafy suburbs, separate beaches etc.), with all vital spaces and resources firmly controlled by the ruling elite. The history and geography of transport and second-class citizenship and oppression was deeply entangled (Pirie, 2003, pg. 173

Transport and location are vital elements for building inclusive social citizenship among residents. Understanding the foundation of these dynamics, allows the City to progress. In contemporary democratic South Africa, the space-place-transport nexus is critical for understanding the everyday meaning of citizenship and participation (Sihlongonyane, 2015, pg. 83). Citizenship, however, is not only a legal category but lived experiences related to mobility and access and the form of the city. Relative places force us to think about how places are connected and how they derive the features through reciprocal interactions (townships and suburbs co-define each other). Transit or transport justice is especially relevant to overcome

distance-decay effects (Martens, 2016). But there are also issues around time spent (congestion) safety of transport, immediate and hidden costs and race and gender issues.

In order to gain a better understanding of the lived experiences of transport Khayelitsha residences (the focus of this mini-thesis) this chapter describes the research questions, the approach and process used to complete this research study. “The research process involves the steps followed towards identifying, finding, evaluating, and investigating the information to reach empirical evidence for developing ideas to support the research questions” (Moyo, 2020, pg. 58). This research thesis is based on a case study examining citizenship, transport and the working poor in Khayelitsha since 2010. The themes explored in this research seek to systematically explain the common threads in the way people in townships describe their daily existence: these commonalities are explored in the discussion around citizenship, transport and the working poor. The research is designed as a case study using mainly qualitative research methods; it seeks to bring an understanding of a complex issue adding experience and new knowledge to old problems faced by the community.

Research Setting

This research was conducted within the wider City of Cape Town context and the focus area is the suburb of Khayelitsha. This study was conducted over an extended period covering 2019 and 2020. Due to the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic some limitations were placed on researcher by the State of Disaster legislation although much of the planned fieldwork was still completed.

Khayelitsha is the largest township in Cape Town and ranks as the second largest informal settlement in South Africa, closely following Soweto. The township is nestled on the outskirts of Cape Town, one the most beautiful and picturesque cities in the world. The township reflects a

City with many stark contradictions: Cape Town is a first world city built with the forced labour supplied by colonialism and apartheid. The City has a formal economy, with an intricate relationship with its townships, bustling with an informal economy. In contrast, Khayelitsha is a racially homogenous black township filled with various settlement types, poor infrastructure and spatial planning, yet it is blessed with a simplicity found in generous people. Despite being marginalised, the residents willingly express themselves, they are able to articulate their concerns regardless of the language differences and their sense of urgency in the community aimed at addressing their challenges. Khayelitsha is 30 km away from the City centre of Cape Town making it ideal setting to conduct a research project on transport, mobility and citizenship.

Purpose of this Study

The purpose and importance of this study is restated as follows; the thesis is titled: Citizenship, transport and the working poor and unemployed in Khayelitsha since 2010.

The Main /Central Question for this thesis is: How does transport affect the mobility, economic status, perceived life chances and citizenship of the poor.

The sub-questions are;

- 1) What is the current status of the transport network in Khayelitsha as perceived by users?
- 2) How do ineffective transport networks affect the day to day commute and working lives of Khayelitsha residents who work and travel within the community as well as work seeking behaviours by the unemployed?
- 3) How is Khayelitsha residents' home life and social-spatial isolation affected by transport problems and high transport costs?

- 4) How do commuters try to cope with the daily problems?
- 5) How does transport affect trust and citizenship in Khayelitsha?

Research Design and Approach

The research will be designed as a case study and will be conducted using mainly qualitative research methods. “The fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is that it provides methods that adequately express norms, values, events and actions among other things”

(Bryman, 2004, pg. 61). The thesis will use a systematic interviews and direct observation to describe life experiences and understand socially constructed meanings. This will be done to gain insight; explore the depth, richness, and complexity inherent in the experiences of the people of Khayelitsha. The research is designed as a case study; it seeks to bring an understanding of a complex issue adding experience and new knowledge to old problems faced by the community. The Khayelitsha case studies will add detailed contextual analysis and insight. Yin (1984, pg. 23 in Zainal, 2007) defines the case study research method “as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used”. According to (Zainal, 2007, pg.1-2) “a case study method allows a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context”.

Several academics (Yin, 1984; Zainal, 2007) advocate for the use of the case study by highlighting the following examples; “firstly is that examination of the data is most often conducted within the context and within the situation in which the activity takes place. Secondly, variations in terms of intrinsic, instrumental and collective approaches to case studies allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data and the flexibility allows the

researcher to reach a conclusion. Third, the detailed qualitative accounts often produced in case studies not only help to explore or describe the data in real-life environment, but also help to explain the complexities of real life situations which may not be captured through experimental or survey research” (Zainal, 2007, pg. 2).

The research uses semi structured interviews with a host of Khayelitsha residents as a foundation for exploration and insight. The residents served as sources of truth for their communities, demonstrating a remarkable willingness to share their experiences. Khayelitsha has three sub councils and a number of wards who look after the interests of the residents of Khayelitsha. Seven ward councillors from the Khayelitsha area were interviewed as part of the research process. The councillors interviewed serve as elected councillors for the Democratic Alliance governing the City as well as the African National Congress, serving as the vocal opposition in the Khayelitsha area. The councillor interviews allowed the researcher to explore themes challenging community leadership and service delivery within the parameters of this project. The councillors naturally have opposing views in conflict with the opposition parties, The research was conducted at the height of the Covid pandemic, whilst a State of Disaster was declared by President Cyril Ramaphosa. The dangers posed by the Covid 19 pandemic created an environment where human interaction was regulated by national legislation and deemed to be dangerous and medically infectious. Very limited human interaction was allowed during this research project. All correspondence was submitted electronically via email, follow up questions were discussed via email and WhatsApp. Research participants were sourced from a range of residents connected to churches, NGO’s and community organizations with the ability to access email. All research participants participated voluntarily out of their own free will. Every participant’s right to confidentiality and privacy was respected. The purpose and significance of

the study was explained to the participants, specific reference was made to the academic nature of the research and its intended benefits for the Khayelitsha community. The councillors were interviewed using Skype as the only medium of communication. City of Cape Town councillors have all been issued with laptops and have access to Skype as an audio-visual communication tool. The audio from the Skype interviews was recorded on a dictaphone and later transcribed into text. The interviews allowed me to capture the raw emotion from the councillors, it also provided a glimpse into their thoughts, perceptions and experiences. The councillors were able to converse with me, clarify questions asked of them and reinforce their views. Open ended questions were asked in order to illicit thoughtful and meaningful answers based on their experiences. These types of questions also avoided automated “Yes” and “No” responses, which limits freedom of thought and expression. The aim of the questions and conversations was to provide understanding in relation to the research problem. To ensure fairness, uniformity and consistency, all of the councillors were asked the same questions. The questions were ranked in the same order, regardless of the nature of the responses received or the political affiliation of the councillor. Such an interview style is a standardised open-ended interview which allows multiple perspectives to emerge. The researcher's perspective is not imposed by rigid questionnaires.

The research was accompanied by a broad review of legislation, literature and City of Cape Town policies to provide a theoretical and conceptual base surrounding citizenship, transport and the working poor in Khayelitsha. This review provided context and legitimacy to the claims of the evolving problems faced by the respondents in Khayelitsha. The research could be guided by transparency, information asymmetry and clarity of purpose. In the context of this research, the City of Cape Town sets the tone for service delivery as the local authority responsible for service delivery, whilst they are burdened with the volatility associated with key economic, political,

legislative and institutional variables. These variables are not always understood by the research participants, their view on service delivery can be perceived as simplistic, without understanding of the nuances of governance. There are diametrically opposing views on the pace of service delivery, budgeting priorities and their general direction of the leadership. These arguments tarnish the good work done by the City of Cape Town as well as the frustrations felt by the affected community. Mediation or arbitration attempts in these environments are fraught with emotion and limited successes. The research aims to amplify the truths and minimise the distractive noise hampering service delivery.

Data Sample and Analysis

The research subjects will respond to the objectives of the research question and gather information from a sample of respondents. The research sample consisted of twenty-four participants; the participants include ten males and fourteen female respondents. The ages of the participants varies as follows; nine participants are between the ages of 18-30, eight participants are aged 31-40, four participants are aged 41-50 and 3 participants are aged 51 and older.

Research participants were randomly selected to remove the potential influence of external variables geographically dispersed within the Khayelitsha area to ensure generalizability of results. Khayelitsha has three sub councils and a number of wards who look after the interests of the residents of Khayelitsha. Seven ward councillors from the Khayelitsha area were interviewed as part of the research process. Interviews are inexpensive to administer, easy to compare and analyse, can target the entire geographic area and avoids interview bias. Closed-ended questions can provide the exact information needed and are easy to analyse. The information can be gathered whilst travelling with the respondent in a train, taxi or a bus, providing raw and honest feedback. The aim is to gather accurate data, representative of the realities and aspirations of the

18

Khayelitsha community. According to (De Vos, 2011; Musalwa, 2014, pg. 223) a sample “comprises elements or a subset of the population considered for actual inclusion in the study.”

The research will make use of a combination of Primary and Secondary data. Primary data will be sourced through interviews and research diaries to extract the raw data directly from the Khayelitsha residents. Secondary data used will include peer reviewed articles and information sourced from the City of Cape Town, Western cape Provincial Government, My Citi Bus services, Taxi Associations, Metrorail and Ngo’s working in the community.

Data triangulation will be used to validate the data and cross referencing the information to ensure credibility and validity. The triangulation of data will be used to join multiple theories, written materials, interviews, documents, public records and observations

A social constructivism approach will be used to extract information and gain a better understanding of the respondent’s responses. According to (Mascolol and Fischer, 2005, pg. 49-63) “constructivism is the philosophical and scientific position that knowledge arises through a process of interaction. This approach emphasizes the collaborative nature of learning based on peer interaction, cultural and social context”. Data will be collected through the use of questionnaires and face to face interviews.

The will be meticulously accessed, analysed and examined. Every effort will be made to track and trace trends in the data and highlight these factual findings in the research. The findings and conclusions will be captured, codified for ease of reference. The data will be stored in a safe and secure environment and will be password sensitive.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 introduces the research project by exploring the aims, problems, rationale and methodology. The chapter details the structure of the thesis and the Ethical considerations.

Chapter 2 presents the historical and legislative review, this includes the analysis of the persistent socio-spatial patterns in the City of Cape Town. The chapter gives a breakdown of road and rail based policies, the National Development Plan and the importance on municipal Integrated Development Plans.

Chapter 3 investigates themes related to citizenship, identity and space. It starts off by conceptualising citizenship and then goes on to explore themes involving social class and citizenship in contemporary South Africa. Chapter 4 introduces the suburb of Khayelitsha and unpacks its history and geography. An analysis is done of the areas demographics and highlights the socio economic dynamics in the township. The chapter ends with an analysis of the crime statistics in the area.

Chapter 5 summarises the public transport options available to the residents of Khayelitsha, with an analysis of the MyCiti bus network, minibus taxis and the informal amaphela sector. Chapter 6 examines themes around spatial confinement and marketised apartheid in the exploration of the working poor in Khayelitsha.

Chapter 7 focuses on the interviews of Councillors and the research diaries presented in the thesis. The results of the research is detailed and the findings are amplified. Chapter 8 concludes the research by exploring all the research findings.

Ethical Considerations

From an ethical perspective, all research participants will participate voluntarily out of their own free will. Every participant's right to confidentiality and privacy will be respected. The purpose and significance of the study will be explained to the participants, specific reference will be made to the academic nature of the research and its intended benefits for the Khayelitsha community. Participants will be able to anonymously participate to ensure that their personal information is not exposed.

The researcher is aware of the dangers posed by the Covid 19 pandemic. No human interaction was allowed during this research project because of the dangers associated with the pandemic. All correspondence was submitted electronically via email. Evidentially, all correspondence will be recorded and archived manually and digitally anonymously participate to ensure that their personal information is not exposed.

The research is intended for academic purposes and to enhance the community of Khayelitsha. The research is not influenced or funded by the City of Cape Town or the Western Cape Provincial Government. The research is not influenced by any government considerations, corporate influence or NGO bias.

Chapter 2: Historical and Legislative Review: Persistent Socio-Spatial Patterns in City of Cape Town

Introduction

This chapter presents the historical and legislative review of policies affecting the transport network. This includes an overview of the Constitution as the backbone of our democracy. The analysis seeks to understand the persistent socio-spatial patterns in the City of Cape Town and its impact on township dwellers. The chapter also analyses the road and rail-based policies, the National Development Plan and the importance of municipal Integrated Development Plans.

The legacy of apartheid legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, shaped the spatial landscape across South Africa. The current state of the transport infrastructure is a direct reflection of divisive legislative interventions, which legalized segregation and separate development. “In the post-war era, the city’s spatial structure was transformed by the new National Party government’s pursuit of ‘total apartheid’, resulting in the imposition of rigid residential segregation in the context of an expanding ‘Coloured’ and ‘African’ population. The implementation of the Group Areas legislation had a devastating impact, leading to the ... forced removal, by the end of the 1960s, of an estimated 150 000 people to new public housing estates or ‘townships’ built on the Cape Flats” (Wilkinson, 2000, pg. 197).

Municipal entities were created to oversee the areas where the different racial groups resided. In Cape Town the townships were managed by the Western Cape Regional Services Council, the

intention was for the council to raise revenue and provide basic services to the townships. These institutions services were curtailed due to capacity and funding constraints. As administration of Khayelitsha was shared between the under-capacitated Lingeletu West Black Local Authority and the Western Cape Provincial Government, there was no capacity to drive an investment program in an area that was very much a “no-go” zone during the era of political struggle pre-1994” (Ngxiza, 2012, pg.181-195). The effects of these apartheid and spatial planning decisions is evident in the traffic congestion and delays across the City.

Infrastructure development on the Cape Flats during the apartheid years was minimal. “The Khayelitsha node had received little public or private investment since 1990, apart from the construction of the Khayelitsha (terminus) rail station.

The South African Constitution

The constitution is the founding document and moral backbone of democratic South Africa. The constitution provides the foundation for human rights, our values and our aspirations. Unpacking the spirit of the constitution is vital within the context of our developmental state, where the aspirations rarely match the reality. The transition to democracy also ushered in the constitutional recognition of local government and positioned local government as a critical development agent “by listing the

‘Constitutional objects’ and ‘developmental duties’ of local government. These centre around democracy, sustainable service delivery, social and economic development, environmental protection, community participation, poverty alleviation and intergovernmental” (De Visser, J, 2009, pg. 9). These constitutional tenets allow for the examination of service delivery in the

public transport sector. The City of Cape Town is the key driver of the My Citi bus project and a pivotal stakeholder in the public transport sector.

The preamble text of the Constitution of South Africa is layered with depth, sincerity and idealism and centres on a non-racial, inclusive society and citizenry. It says that “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity”. The euphoria created by the enactment of the constitution and the new democratic order has not been matched by the implementation of its ideals. There is a direct correlation between the country’s persistent economic inequality and poverty and the pervasive political negligence. In truth, collective accountability must be taken for the failures imposed on communities like Khayelitsha, this involves all the spheres of government, civil society, the corporate community, politicians and the media.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa seeks to empower municipalities to govern within its own financial, political and administrative capacity. The authors of the founding document detailed the way in which all spheres of government should cooperate “Section 195 (1) (a) to (i) of the Constitution expects those in the public administration to behave in a manner that ensures: A high standard of professional ethics, efficient, economic and effective use of resources; service must provide impartially, fairly, equitably without bias; the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making; public administration must be accountable and transparency must be fostered by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information”. These principles are often referred to as the ‘spirit of the constitution’, as it sets the tone for leadership and governance practices.

Municipalities are at the fore front of the provision of services and infrastructure, this pivotal role is encapsulated in Section 152 of the Constitution “The Objectives of local government are as

follows: to ensure a democratic and accountable government, to ensure basic services are provided to the local community, to uplift the social and economic aspects in a sustainable manner, to provide a safe and healthy environment and encourage citizens to engage in the affairs of their communities”. According to Section 153 of the Constitution “the developmental duties of municipalities are: they must sustainably prioritize basic services while promoting the involvement of citizens in the planning and budgeting process of the municipality, plan in line as mandated by the legislature, with provincial and national programs”. Other forms of legislation seek to fuse the administration and the community through greater integration and cooperation, the Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 “provides for the core principles, mechanisms, and processes that are necessary to promote community participation as a means to make cooperative governance effective in-service delivery efforts. The act makes provision for the involvement and participation of communities in municipal affairs through the integrated development planning process. Guidance is also given to municipal office bearers within the Municipal Structures Act (117 of 1998) “it sets out the structural foundation for developmental local government. It defines the division of powers and functions of the different categories of municipalities and defines specifically their role in administering responsibilities.

Road-based public transport policies.

The evolution of road-based public transport policies for busses and mini busses is explained by Walters, for whom the process started in in 1996 with the adoption of the White Paper on National Transport. The paper “promoted the principle of competitive tendering for subsidized transport services...to create competition in the market” (Walters, 2013, pg. 35).

Then, the “Moving South Africa Strategy” in 1998 had a multi-modal transport vision. “This extensive study made a number of strategic recommendations regarding public transport, such as the establishment of a corridor focus, the densification of such corridors, optimizing modal economics (by promoting the mode that offers the best cost/service trade-off for a given corridor), and improving firm level performance and productivity by creating, amongst other, competition within and between modes of transport through tendering/concessions of services to private operators” (Moving South Africa, 1998, pg. 135). This also paved the way for the formalization of the taxi industry (Moving South Africa, 1998).

The National Land Transport Transition Act, 2000 (NLTTA) enacted in the 2000 defines “the functions of the respective levels of government in managing public, established the principle of transport authorities to manage public transport, legislated arrangements around competitive tendering, and also made provision for negotiated contracts under certain conditions, for transformational and empowerment reasons” (NLTTA, 2000) The National Land Transport Framework (NLTSF) was formed as part of a legislative requirement in terms of the NLTTA of 2000. The framework formalized bus and minibus taxi services and “all subsidized services had to be provided in terms of tendered/negotiated contracts that would be open to all road-based public transport operators” (Department of Transport, 2006, pg. 5). Walters notes that,

The adoption of the Taxi recapitalization program in 2006 formed the basis of an agreement between the Department of Transport and the South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO). The agreement set minimum standards for public transport vehicles “to begin a formal process of scrapping and replacing old and unroadworthy taxi vehicles with new vehicles that had to meet new national standards for the conveyance of passengers” (Walters 2013, pg.

36). Walters further explains that in 2007 the Department of Transport published the Public Transport Strategy and The Public Transport Action Plan.

The purpose of these documents was to give new direction to public transport management as well as to make provision for the introduction of bus rapid transit (BRT) systems. The Public Transport Action Plan details the Public Transport focuses on the six main metros and the public transport systems of the six secondary cities. It planned for the scrapping and replacement of 75 000 taxis by 2010, the refurbishment of 2000 rail coaches used for commuter rail services, and the replacement of 30% of the current commuter bus fleet of 7500 to be tender compliant by 2009/10. (Walters, 2012, pg. 36)

In 2009 parliament adopted the National Land Transport Act, this legislation succeeded the National Land Transport Transition Act (NLTTA) of 2000. This Act allows for the devolution of the management of public transport to local government, creating new structures for the management of public transport, infrastructure and operators.

Commuter rail services in the Western Cape are operated by the Passenger Rail Association of South Africa (PRASA) and is managed by Metrorail, a division of PRASA. The White Paper on National Transport Policy of 1996 specified that the Department of Transport owns the “commuter rail infrastructure, rolling stock and land associated with rail reserves” The National Land Transport Transition Act makes provision “for the inclusion of rail services in the development of transport plans” (WPNTP, 2006, pg. 6). The National Land Transport Framework (NLTF) proposed a five-year plan from 2006-2011 to improve rail infrastructure and operations. It envisioned a National Rail Plan that would create new priority rail corridors and

upgrades throughout the network. The City of Cape Town has publicly expressed their desire to take over rail operations in the City.

National Development Plan (2012)

The National Development Plan (NDP) is South Africa's long term strategic plan spearheaded by the National Planning Commission and is response to the mixed results of the post-1994 transition. Transport is specifically addressed in chapters four and eight of the National Development Plan. "The plan seeks to resolve South Africa's poverty and inequality quandary by 2030". (Luke, Heynes; 2013, pg. 3) and it explains how transport is a key developmental focus area.

The National Planning Commission has a diagnostic section but its recommendations argue for:

- "Investments in public transport, which will benefit low-income households by facilitating mobility" (National Planning Commission 2012:pg. 18). "Investments in the transport sector must 'bridge geographical distances affordably, foster reliably and safely so that all South Africans can access previously inaccessible economic opportunities, social spaces and services" (National Planning Commission 2012: pg. 183).
- "Resolving the problems with bus rapid transport (BRT) systems: this is imperative given the substantial financial and spatial investments made and the envisaged improvements to public transport the systems represent.
- Devolving transport management to local governments: transferring transport responsibilities over to municipal authorities will only be successful if institutions are strengthened and legislation, policy and practice are aligned.

- Renewing commuter train fleet: given the demand density, trains can provide the lowest-cost transport service in metropolitan areas. Old rolling stock, which is often unreliable and uncomfortable, must be replaced with new technology to improve service levels.

The NDP identifies “maintenance of SA’s national, provincial and local road networks, with an approximate replacement value of R1.7 trillion as a top priority and needs immediate attention to avoid further deterioration” (National Planning Commission 2012: pg.187).

Municipalities and Integrated Development Plans

The picture is complicated by the Integrated Development Plan is adopted by a municipality and which is regarded as the fundamental planning document. The Integrated Development Plan informs and guides planning and development and paves way for a coordinated decision making” Municipal Systems Act, 32 of 2000: Section 35(1). The ultimate goal of the IDP is to “improve the quality of life of all citizens of a given municipality and ensure democratic rights and personal liberties are upheld within the area of the municipality. It also needs to respond to socio-economic challenges facing local governments in South Africa and promote social programs” (Subban & Theron, 2012; Mautjana & Mtapuri, 2014, Penderis, 2010).

An Integrated Development Plan is not a ‘one size fits all plan’ or template which can used by all municipalities. The plan considers local conditions and variances, (Dyum, 2020, pg. 33) describes Integrated development planning as “the strategic instrument to ensure that municipalities manage their role and function and uphold the Constitutional mandate of and other applicable legislation concerning citizens and promoting an integrated system of planning, operation, and service delivery. The IDP process is intended to help with decision making on issues of municipal budget priorities and the management of land. It needs to foster social and

economic development as well as institutional transformation to consult constructively and strategically with all its stakeholders, i.e. Businesses in the area, government departments and the local communities”.

The plan has built in oversight and accountability mechanisms and is subject to vetting and auditing process led by Provincial and National governments departments such as the Auditor General and National Treasury, “The IDP document is drafted for a five-year tenure period. The document must be reviewed annually together with all relevant stakeholders but key, the council. It forms the framework for the municipality’s annual project expenditures, continual budget, and their departmental performance management. The review seeks to reflect on targets and accomplishments by balancing the local development priorities about socio-economic, environmental, and political mandates. It ensures sustainability without compromising the organization’s ability to implement and coordinate the activities across the sectors and government institutions” (Municipal Structures Amendment Act 20 of 2002, Municipal Financial Management Act 56 of 2003).

The law is, however, filled with good intentions, there is a clear disconnect between the law and the implementation of the legislation. The act in its current form makes a number of assumptions when stipulating legal prerogatives; it assumes that municipalities have qualified people who can work to the letter and the spirit of the law and it assumes that municipal office bearers are honorable custodians of municipal finances. Dyum (2020, pg. 35) explains that, “the devolution of power to local authorities may be fraught with frailties to the detriment of the public but has a few benefits to certain civil organizations and authorities that use incentives to garner support for re-election. Many politicians have accessed municipal offices and occupy key positions through

cadre deployment and unfortunately use the consultation platform to campaign and ensure the support of loyal followers”.

Integrated development plans are in many cases drawn up by municipal officials and politicians who are married to their political convictions and ambitions. Honesty and Integrity are sought after virtues in local government. “The grounds on which the authorities perceive their interests and use those premises to judge whether they can express them are not neutral. It needs to be made clear to all office bearers, regardless of affiliation that participation or the process to engage for development, need not be influenced for political or personal gain. All planning and development in the municipality should be guided, to give effect in its affairs in a consistent manner with the IDP as mandated by Chapter 5, Section 36 of the Constitution”. (White, 1996, pg. 8)

Spatial legacies, Planning and transport in Cape Town since 2010

The year 2010 was one of great promises in part stemming from the hosting of the FIFA World Cup held in 2010, and the financial stimulus injected into the City and the subsequent capital investments made in transport. The world cup conjured up strong emotions of nation building and prosperity for all in the city, similar to the emotions felt post the first democratic elections and the winning of the rugby world cup. There has however been very little examination of the legacy left by the world cup, the investments made and effects of this stimulus on townships, such as Khayelitsha.

Cornelissen, Bob and Swart (2011, pg. 1) contend that “Governments often justify bids to host mega-events on the grounds of the long-term macroeconomic and sectoral gains they purportedly bring. Yet a growing body of scholarly literature”. These notions are brought on by the euphoria

of the moment, “The result is that countries bid to host mega events without fully understanding the complexity of event legacy and without acknowledging that not all legacies are positive, nor can they always be planned”.

The term legacy can be defined as “legacy is, all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself” (Preuss, 2007, pg. 211). (Chappelet & Junod, 2006, pg. 84). distinguish between five types of legacies left by major sporting events on cities, such as: “Sporting legacy, this refers to sporting facilities built or renovated for an event and which will serve some purpose after the event has concluded. These sporting infrastructures often become ‘emblematic symbols’ for the host city and depict its link with sports (Chappelet & Junod, 2006, pg. 84). They may also play a role in changing local sporting culture, since the availability of a new venue may increase people’s participation in sport, new and different types of sport may be introduced to the area, and more mega-events may be organized on a regular basis. Urban legacy, this refers to buildings erected for the mega-event but which serve no sporting purpose, and also changes made to the structure of the host city and the development of new urban districts and specialized areas (Chappelet & Junod, 2006, pg.84). Infrastructural legacy, this refers to the various networks, ranging from transport to telecommunications that are renovated or developed for a mega-event and maintained after the event is complete. New access routes by air, water, road or rail are part of this legacy. Chappelet and Junod (2006, pg. 85) also argue that an event can trigger the modernization of basic services, such as water, electricity and waste treatment. Economic legacy, Mega-events are often associated with increases in the number of tourists to a host city. Although it is difficult to determine the impact of tourism in the long term, the tourist legacy needs to be evaluated by measuring the number of tourists over a longer period. The

economic legacy also includes the ‘setting up of non-tourism orientated companies that were attracted to the host

region by its dynamism’ (Chappelet and Junod, 2006, pg. 85); that is, leveraging investment opportunities. Other indicators of this legacy are changes in the number of permanent jobs created and in the unemployment rate of the host region or city. Social legacy, mega-events are symbolic in nature and thus often lead to the creation of many stories and myths. These form part of what Chappelet and Junod (2006, pg. 85) term the ‘collective memory’ of an event. This term refers to local residents’ memories of the mega-event and can also include the skills and experience they gain through their direct or indirect involvement. An essential part of the social legacy of mega events is the change in local residents’ perceptions of the host city or region.”

As a host City, the City of Cape Town spent in excess of R12,4 billion on the FIFA 2010 World Cup infrastructure developments, this includes “R4,4 billion on Cape Town Stadium, R298 million on access roads to the stadium in the CBD, R576 million on Green Point Common and precinct, R42 million on an inner-city transport system, R590 million on CBD infrastructure and upgrades, R513 million on local roads and sports facilities, R1,8 billion on major access roads to the CBD and R4,2 billion on public transport” (COCT Green Goal Legacy Report, 2011, pg. 24). Naturally, one can pose the rational question of expenditure on the CBD versus expenditure in the townships. An examination of purely financial expenditure on the townships and Cape flats during the corresponding period paints a grim picture of where our priorities lie as a nation. In retrospect, the World Cup was not a City of Cape Town initiative, it was a collective investment of resources from all three levels of government and it had widespread buy in from all sectors of society. Our collective conscience must however be tarnished by the disparity in expenditure, the

missed opportunity to include the masses and improve the lives of millions of people. The year 2010 is thus a significant year, a missed opportunity and a kick in the teeth for the poor and marginalized.

The City of Cape Town's current Integrated Development plan runs from July 2017 to June 2022, the municipality received widespread praise for the preceding IDP which ran from 2012 to 2017, having implemented 99% of the planned initiatives and programs. The IDP gives expression to the political mandate the Democratic Alliance received from residents of Cape Town in the August 2016 local government.

The City of Cape Town's IDP is guided by six principles and eleven priorities. The six principles are "resilience, sustainability, transformation through transit orientated development, governance reform, customer centricity" and the eleven priorities which seek "to positioning Cape Town as a forward-looking globally competitive business city are; leveraging technology for progress, economic inclusion, resource efficiency and security, safe communities, excellence in basic service delivery, mainstreaming basic service delivery to informal settlements and backyard dwellers, dense and transit-oriented urban growth and development, an efficient, integrated transport system, building integrated communities and operational sustainability" (COCT IDP, 2020, pg. 28). The National Treasury assessed the IDP's of all municipalities nationally and proclaimed the City of Cape Town's IDP as the best in the country, "ground-breaking projects are listed within our IDP such as; ease of doing business program, infrastructure investment program, skills investment program, holistic crime prevention program and our excellence in service delivery program. These programs hold the many projects and highlights" (COCT IDP, 2020, pg. 1)

At the Inception of the IDP the following statistics were applicable to the City of Cape Town “A population size of 4 004 793 people, 1 264 849 households, Average number of members in a household - 3, 17 people, unemployment rate of 25.3% compared to the national average of 35.6% and a labour force of 1 984 431 people” (COCT IDP, 2020, pg. 6).

The Impact of Transport policies

There have a number of ideological changes to the public transport landscape over the years. “Of these it was suggested that the most influential in shaping transport policy in South Africa have been ideology, constitutional and institutional factors, spatial population distribution and resource and capacity constraints” (Mitchell, 2009:332). Ministerial changes have prompted changes in strategy and leadership, these include the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transport network, E-Tolls and investments in Public Transport Interchanges. Anecdotally, there is a growing chorus of public criticism towards the degradation of transport infrastructure, the appearance of pot holes and the lack of regulation of the minibus taxi industry.

The impact of these strategic changes have, in parts, led to the lack of a coherent long term strategy. South Africa’s policy landscape is fraught with challenges, “research identified (and described) the most important exogenous factors which have molded transport policy as being the following; political and ideological changes, constitutional and institutional reform, changing economic and regulatory philosophy and pressures, spatial population distribution, mainly as a result of apartheid policies, the interplay of social and economic development needs, environmental conservation constraints, changes in the division of responsibilities for transport between the state and the private sector as well as resource and capacity constraints” (Mitchell, M, & Walters, J. 2011).

The deficiencies are amplified on a municipal level when commuters are challenged with a lack of safe, efficient and reliable public transport options. “Early enough attention was not given to identifying transport problems and issues for the transport policy agenda and it has been the custom to wait for a crisis situation, or severe problems to arise before they are addressed. Insufficient attention was paid to a ‘facts-based’ analysis of all policy options, and the possible consequences of the various proposals have not been explored. There has been insufficient cognizance given to the broader transport society in the policy agenda-setting process, and particularly during the 1996 to 2006 policy period, to take cognizance of the heterogeneity of South African society. The funding implications of especially commuter bus transport policy were not adequately investigated before the policy was adopted. While this was a major issue in the early 1990s, the new policy contained in the 1996 White Paper did not adequately explore this matter with the consequence that the problem still existed up to the end of the second policy period” (Mitchell, M, & Walters, J. 2011). South Africa’s transport system is challenged at the level of policy implementation, incremental adjustments can change the positively alter the trajectory. The priorities in the City of Cape Town’s July 2017 to June 2022 IDP is an “efficient and integrated transport system’.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed basic policy ideals around inclusive citizenship, key laws and national and local planning regarding transport. The argument could be made that the City’s transport system has regressed to the levels seen prior to the implementation of this IDP. The MyCiti N2 express service has been halted, there is widespread taxi violence and there is not a cohesive and efficient system of public transport for the residents of Cape Town who live on the Cap Flats. Critically these have not lived up to the hype. The same principle applies to priorities such as ‘safe

communities'. The chapter ends with a summary of the impact of transport policies on the South African transport network. The conclusions magnify the leadership challenges faced by having consecutive Transport Ministers with different focus areas and the lack of long term strategic leadership at the helm of the Ministries. The leadership vacuum minimizes innovation, value the added and the strategic resolve.



Chapter 3: Citizenship, Identity and Space

Chapter 3 investigates themes related to citizenship, identity and space. It starts off by conceptualizing citizenship, understanding the concept and exploring its nuances. Themes involving social class and citizenship are explored in contemporary South Africa. The chapter explains the Xhosa teaching of vukuzenzela, which encourages active citizenship and expands on international trends in transport related citizenship training.

Conceptualizing Citizenship

The increasing awareness of the inequalities in South Africa, stemming from the emerging populist and social media movements, has amplified the discussions around citizenship and especially the erosion of citizenship in South Africa. In South Africa, the concept of citizenship is largely defined by equality, rights and duties in the constitution. But citizenship is lived unequally and in different spaces. Distance erodes the good effects of public goods as some have better access and mobility than others. Citizenship also has strong elements of an “imagined community” and shared communities of fate. In cities, the slogan “right to city” means that citizens at the very least ought to see or imagine themselves as part of a city, not as outsiders as Henri Lefebvre argues.

Citizenship on the ground is also experiential and has become an emotive issue often taking the form of disruptive service delivery protests. One’s definition of the concept is often dependent on your individual encounter with the state (vertical) and you your place in society and horizontal relations with other citizens which may be unequal. In up-town suburbia, residents have positive experiences with governance and community services, they feel part of a well-oiled

and structured community. There is a presumption of equality. Residents in townships experience a life characterized by service delivery protests and unresponsive local government. These residents feel excluded from the City based on their proximity to services and their personal experiences within the communities in which they live. This is consistent with (Gaventa, 2002, pg. 5) “as the discourses of citizenship are increasingly used, however, the danger is that they come to offer to everybody what they would like to understand them to mean”. Defining citizenship in contemporary South Africa is often clouded by the contextual lenses through which you view the world.

There are varying scholarly definitions of citizenship. Citizenship is “often refer to as the relationship between state and society, defined by norms, constitutions, laws, and policies that delineate rights and responsibilities” (Staheli et al, 2012), “these theoretical notions of citizenship, however, have been widely challenged for not being representative of actual practices of citizenship and the multiple ways in which citizenship is experienced in different contexts” (Kabeer, 2005; Staheli et al., 2012). (Turner, 1992, pg.13) describes it as “the set of practices that define membership in society and consequently shape the flow of resources to persons and groups”. (Lister, R: 1997: 41) explains that “to be a citizen in the legal and sociological sense means to enjoy the rights of citizenship necessary for agency and social and political participation”. Citizenship does explore a collective theme and departs from selfish notion of individualism, according to (Tilly, 2009, pg. 5) it “breaks with both the sorts of individualism that have dominated recent analyses of social life: both (1) methodological individualism with its independent, self-contained, self-propelling rational actors and (2) phenomenological individualism with its deep subjectivity as well as its penchant for solipsism”. (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000, pg.7) argue “that because citizenship is practiced rather than

given, urban participatory mechanisms offer a space for citizens to function as active "makers and shapers" in determining the shape of their citizenship activism, rather than as passive 'users and choosers' of services". Hickey and Mohan (2004, 2005) argue that participatory "mechanisms can be transformative if implemented as part of a radical political project whereby participants can exercise their citizenship to challenge structural contexts."

Citizenship, Space and Social Class

The theories espoused by TH Marshall on citizenship and social class has garnered both widespread acclaim and critique from sociologists around the world. Marshall was a British sociologist who held prominent positions at the London School of Economics, International Sociological Association and the United Nations at various stages of his career. (Turner, 2009, pg. 66) described Marshall's form of social citizenship as "the bundle of rights and obligations that define the identity of members of a political community, thereby regulating access to the benefits and privileges of membership. Thus social citizenship involves membership, a distribution of rewards, the formation of identities and a set of virtues relating to obligation and responsibility. The sociology of citizenship may be distinguished from political philosophy by the fact that sociology is less concerned with such formal rights such as the right to elect a government and more concerned with the social and economic conditions that permit the effective enjoyment of entitlements."

TH Marshall divided citizenship into three distinct parts, namely, civil, political and social rights. Marshall believed that the various spheres of government such as the houses of Parliament, the judiciary and the courts, local government and the statutory social welfare institutions gave social expression to the three components.

Marshall's view was that these three components had evolved over time from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century. They became entrenched in and through the various structural institutions mandated to articulate these rights. In the 17th century he highlights the element of civil citizenship, which was necessary for the advancement of individual freedom: "the liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the rights to justice" (Bulmer et al 1996, p. 5). The civil and criminal courts of justice were the primary authorities associated with the civil element of citizenship. "The civil component embraced the achievement of individual freedoms and included such elements as freedom of speech, the right to own property and the right to justice" (Marshall 1950, p. 69).

During the 18th century he highlights the element of political citizenship, which constitutes "the right to participate in an exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of such a body" (Marshall, 1950, pg. 69). Political citizenship was regulated by the parliament and local elective bodies.

Marshall's teleological theory peaked with his magnum opus social citizenship, which included "the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society" (Marshall, 1950, pg. 69). He identifies the educational institutions and the social services as complementary aspects of social citizenship. "Marshall was primarily interested in social rights; the core of the theory is in fact an account of the emergence of welfare services as an amelioration of the condition of the working class. The sociological importance of Marshall's contribution is his contention that citizenship modifies the negative impact of the market by a (modest) redistribution of resources on the basis of rights and as a

consequence there emerges a more or less permanent tension between the principle of equality that ultimately underpins democracy and the actual inequalities of opportunity, wealth and income that characterize a capitalist society”. (Turner, 2009, pg. 66).

However, much sociological theory does not have a theory of space. History (time) is prioritized over space. Space, at best is seen as a container or a mere passive backdrop to history. Space is a backcloth whereon things take place. The idea that one space is connected to another and co-determines one another as relational spaces is crucial for the concept of “space-time”. Space and time are inseparable and are linked through flows. Space-time is socially constructed by humans but once materialized in an urban environment takes on objective qualities (Harvey 1996). Soja (2009) argues that we need to space as a causal factor “an active force shaping human life”. The time used for travel by workers and consumers in a city and the quality of transport is vital to urban productivity but also quality of life, culture and spatial justice. If for example, government builds a clinic, planners should always consider distance decay as the main driver for likely use. In a similar fashion, citizens may only be able to travel a certain distance to access a service. The friction of distance hinder interactions between state services and citizens as well as groups of citizens. Very effective fast transport might reduce some of the distance decay effect.

Yet distance is also very subjective and political because it can be thought of and interpreted in different ways/ People may construct their problems and places in different ways – often unexpected. The “city” might be imagined as a mythic place of wonder, a spectacle. It might also be considered as a place of fear for marginal citizens (see Simandan 2016).

Distance might also be theorized as political distance since ordinary people feel themselves increasingly powerless and defeated. Some political players within the state also feel they have

minimal influence since power is increasingly centralized and controlled by a small group of elites. How people see space; how they feel it and how they imagine it to be or could become are all interlinked dimensions according to Purcell (2002) who draws on Lefebvre. Purcell (2002) suggests that appropriation should include the right of inhabitants to physically access, occupy, and use urban space but this implies transport and proximity – a factor often underplayed in the right to city literature.

Citizenship in contemporary South Africa

Spatial isolation was a key aspect of forming population groups in South Africa managed through repressive laws and distance. Social distance and physical distance in some ways are related but not coterminous. Post-apartheid South Africa has tried, through its own resolve, to address the concept of citizenship within its complex web of daily challenges. These attempts have served as an effort to address our shortcomings in relation to our citizenship, morality and ethics.

By considering the various vehicles on the South African road to citizenship, this paper has commented on and made some claims about the intersection between citizenship, faith, morality and justice. Each has important implications for moral and citizenship education

Numerous initiatives, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Race and Values in Education process of the Department of Education, the government-initiated Moral Regeneration Movement and the pervasive indigenous African philosophy of Ubuntu have contributed materially to reforming and renewing the concepts of citizenship and morality in South Africa

In its simplest form, citizenship advances the notion that every person has a voice, either at the level of the individual or as part of a collective community, asserting that voice is the breath of

humanity. South Africa's contestation with who belongs and who has the right to be called a citizen started as early as 2008 with the outbreak of xenophobic attacks across the country, more than 50 people have died and tens of thousands were displaced. Culpability for xenophobia in South Africa is not directly apportioned to government, it is however driven by their inability to address the township community's fear and perception as detailed by the (HSRC, 2008), there is "frustration over insufficient pace of service delivery and consultation in general, and over housing provision and administration in particular; ineffective communication and/or engagement with local citizenry around the violence and its underlying causes; perceived corruption and impropriety of government officials, especially in the police service and Department of Home Affairs". Two weeks of shocking deadly attacks on foreigners ended the Freedom Charters myth that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it"

South Africa's townships have spawned protests, and contestations around the provision of services (water, roads etc.) to these communities are of particular relevance. The citizenship narrative involving the state and the community in relation to the provision of water stokes anger and emotion, "stories are not simply statements of the world, but are often saturated with meaning, providing opening points to understand political contestation, or changing citizen subjectivities. As such, narratives are not only interesting vignettes of experience, but are revealing in terms of the ways that certain storylines may serve to authorize, to question, or actively resist governance processes or institutions" (Harris, et al, 2016, pg. 339)

There are different ways in which the provision of services is understood, from the state and from a citizen's perspective. The framing of this logic, perception or expectation, challenges the notions of citizenship, "there are contested narratives of the state and of citizenship that emerge

from interactions with urban water service infrastructures” (Rodina, Harris, 2016, pg. 336). The state, through its various levels of government, is the primary role-player in the provision of water. The efficient provision of water effects the communities’ perception of the state, as well as their notions of citizenship, inclusiveness and belonging. “The state and citizenship are interlinked and relational concepts, whose expression is shaped by daily encounters with water and sanitation services infrastructure. We understand citizenship as emergent from interactions between governance from above and citizens’ tactics and negotiations from below” (Corbridge et al., 2005). This understanding highlights why communities direct their anger towards the state and its functionaries “the recent upsurge in service delivery protests, tracing the narrative contours of these dynamics in a relatively impoverished and underserved site such as Khayelitsha allows us to understand how and why certain ideas about the state and citizenship relate to senses of ongoing inclusions/exclusions...this is particularly timely in South Africa, where the state is at the core of societal and political expectations for social inclusion and well-being, particularly among low-income, black, or coloured residents” (Oldfield, 2002, pg. 29).

Within Khayelitsha, the understanding related to the provision of services is varied. Khayelitsha is a melting pot of cultures, migrants seeking a better life have descended on the community from far and wide. There is in particular, a strong foot print of people emanating from the Eastern Cape, where the provision of water is a non-issue. Many residents of the Eastern Cape historically “accessed water directly from rivers, streams and boreholes or harvest rainwater in water tanks. These forms of water access are associated with water as a natural resource or, at times, as a 'gift from God'. In other words, in the Eastern Cape, water is not owned by anyone and is accessible by everyone, unmediated by infrastructure, and without cost. In this configuration, access to water infrastructure and the state as a service provider are largely, if not

entirely, absent. A number of residents invoked this contrast to question the issue of payment for water (i.e., if water is a gift from God, then it should be free), while others mentioned it to highlight that the infrastructural investments made by the state to provide 'improved' water merited payment". (Rodina, Harris, 2016). The differences in the provision of water in the provinces creates the perception that water has been commodified, as a tool to exclude; this raises narratives around citizenship and the question of belonging. In Khayelitsha these perceptions are further widened when examining the provision of housing and infrastructure. The communities who live in houses express different views on payment and citizenship as opposed to the residents who live in shacks "from these varied narratives we learn that residents who have received newly built homes replacing shack dwellings, more often valorize and legitimize the state and its role as a service provider. Regarding citizenship, these residents also at times suggest a willingness to comply with obligations and expectations for payment for water and responsible consumption. In contrast, shack dwellers, temporary residents or recent migrants more often characterize the state as uncooperative and neglectful, accenting government failure, and their own continuing marginalization as 'less-than' full citizens in this context" (Rodina, Harris, 2016, pg. 351).

These views challenge our perception of 'responsible citizenship' and highlight the nuances created by the apartheid state. It would be a rare feat to find such a confluence of circumstances, anywhere else in the world. It is clear that the goal is 'equal citizenship' as opposed to unapproachable and unresponsive governance.

Vukuzenzela – Active Citizenship

South African youth are exposed to multitude of obstacles in their quest for growth and opportunities, these include; unemployment, poverty, inequality and violence as well as the burden placed on society as a result of the Covid 19 pandemic. These challenges demonstrate South Africa's inability to provide assurances in relation to the provision of employment and basic services. South African youth, faced with the prospect of unemployment, are forced to become self-sufficient or face the prospect of living a life dependent on social grants.

There is this Xhosa term; “Vukuzenzele”, which means “stand up and do something for yourself”. It is a term used to encourage the youth to be brave, entrepreneurial and spirited, demonstrating passion in the business, political, educational or societal exploits. The phrase conjures up feelings of ‘Active Citizenship’, a term used “to describe ‘civic engagement’ which plays a crucial role in building social capital, it is the pursuit of shared objectives, providing a way for people to experience ‘reciprocity’, creating webs of networks underpinned by shared values. The resulting high levels of social trust, foster further cooperation between people and reduce the chances of anti-social conduct” (Putnam, 2000, pg. 30). (Honohan, 2005; Pinnington & Schugurensky, 2009) explains that “It recognises self-reliance, defending social and economic rights and includes wider responsibilities to actively participate in society and democratic processes”. The South African government encouraged active citizenship in its National Development plan 2030 by stating that “active citizenry and social activism is necessary for democracy and development to flourish. The state cannot merely act on behalf of the people – it has to act with the people, working together with other institutions to provide opportunities for the advancement of all communities” (National Planning Commission, 2012, pg. 37). Critics of active citizenship describe it as “the creation of individualized, depoliticized, neo-liberal subjects

who work to enhance self-sufficiency and to effect moderate reforms that will dampen dissent and stabilize governments” (Miraftab and Wills, 2005, pg. 211). According to Wallace (2005), the criticism stems from a feeling that “active citizenship is something bestowed by a benign state on a passive population”.

Conclusion

In this chapter I attempted to spatialize the largely political/sociological term “citizenship” by asserting that mobility is crucial. Distance is multi-layered: it can be physical, social and political at the same time and costs of overcoming distance is an omnipresent reality. It is as I argued in this chapter, very subjective and political because it can be thought of and interpreted in different ways. People may construct their problems in different ways imagining places in expected and unexpected ways.

Distance might also be theorized as political distance since ordinary people feel themselves increasingly powerless and defeated (given DA dominance in Cape Town generally but ANC support in Khayelitsha). As I shall show in the next chapters, however, the ethos of active citizenship is alive and well in Khayelitsha. The citizenship concept has instilled a level of pride in a community, and deep disappointment in the midst of their struggle for basic services and opportunities. The community hangs onto their hope for a better tomorrow and a belief in their own ability to rise above their circumstances. This notion is diametrically opposed to the politicized perception of South African citizenship mediated as a welfare state, with dependence on social grants as a primary income stream.

Chapter 4: Khayelitsha and the City

Introduction

This chapter examines the township of Khayelitsha, starting off with an explorative journey into the rich history and geography of the suburb. The chapter ebbs and flows through the challenges created by forced removals and inadequate spatial planning. It examines the demographics of the community by unpacking the data underpinning their need for an expansive public transport system. The socio economic conditions of the community is unpacked laying bare the poverty and economic struggles prevalent in Khayelitsha. The chapter ends with submissions made to the Khayelitsha commission of enquiry and the horrific crime statistics that formed the basis for the commission.

Khayelitsha is the largest township in Cape Town and ranks as the second largest informal settlement in South Africa, closely following Soweto. The township is nestled on the outskirts of Cape Town, one the most beautiful and picturesque cities in the world. The township is found in a City with many contradictions, Cape Town is a first world city built with the forced labour supplied by colonialism and apartheid. The City has a formal economy, with an intricate relationship with its townships, bustling with an informal economy. Khayelitsha is a township filled with complex settlements, infrastructure and spatial planning, yet it is blessed with a simplicity found in generous people.

History of Khayelitsha

The establishment of Khayelitsha is rooted in apartheid laws and policies, which regulated stringent and unjust restrictions on the movement and placement of African people. Khayelitsha

was regulated by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (No: 21) of 1923, “the Act gave power to urban local authorities to set aside land for African occupation in separate areas which were called locations,” the Group Areas Act (No: 41) 1950, “the Act permitted the government to establish separate residential areas based on race” and the Natives Resettlement Act (Act No: 19) 1954 which gave the government power “to remove African land owners and tenants with legal rights in urban freehold areas”.

The law created overpopulated informal settlements with limited room for growth or expansion. Punitive measures were introduced to curb the rapid influx of people into Cape Town, such as the Coloured Labour Preferential Area which was introduced by the Secretary of Native Affairs, Dr W Eiselen. “In alignment with this policy Dr Eiselen drew an ‘imaginary line’, separating the Western from the Eastern half of the Cape Province, this demarcation is historically known as the ‘Eiselen line.’” (Cole, 2013, pg. 8). The aims of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (1955) was to “reduce the size of the African population, freeze the construction of family housing, restrict African woman from getting rights to live in the Cape and to restrict migrant workers from qualifying for permanent residential rights.” The apartheid laws and the establishment of densely populated preferential suburbs created the need for a new informal settlement. In early January 1977 the government announced its plan to demolish Modderdam, along with nearby Unibell and Werkgenot. The wider Cape Town public first became aware of Modderdam when the Cape Times ran a front page story, accompanied by a full length colour photo of the settlement and a banner headline reading “Teeming Camp Comes under the Axe” (Cole, 2013, pg. 10). The writing was on the wall, the government was demolishing communities, beyond moral persuasion, and a new settlement was needed to house the displaced masses. In March 1983, the government announced the construction of a new “high density

50

township”. Dr Piet Koornhof addressed parliament and laid out the plans for the development of Khayelitsha “It is necessary for the orderly development of the Cape Peninsula that provision be made for the consolidated housing needs of the Black people in the Metropolitan Area of the Cape. For this purpose, the development of the Drift Sands/Swartklip area to the East of Mitchell’s Plain should be undertaken without delay and funds will be made available to ensure that the development of the residential area can be started as soon as possible, on an imaginative scale. Dr Koornhof” stated in parliament, “To promote these objectives no further filling in between or increasing of the density of the existing Black residential areas in the Cape Peninsula (including Mfuleni and Kaya Mandi in Stellenbosch) should take place.” (Hansard column 730, 18 March 1983), he further stated that, “the African population of Cape Town was estimated to be 226 224 in June 1982, two thirds were legally resident in the area” (Hansard columns 891 – 893, 30 March 1983). Dr Koornhof announced that “the first phase of township development in Khayelitsha would consist of 1000 plots of 170m². A tin hut would be erected on each plot for each family. The value of the hut was put at R1010 in 1983 figures. One tap water would be provided for each four plots, one bucket toilet per family, high-mast street lighting and a refuse removal service. The proposed infrastructure included a school, a clinic, a mobile post office, two public telephones, a mobile shop and a bus service. Construction would begin in May 1983” (Hansard column 1951, 24 August 1983), by “August 1983, 439 people were living in Khayelitsha. The government’s initial prediction was that Khayelitsha would become home to approximately 120 000 people. By 1985, 5000 homes had been built and the population had grown to about 150 000 people”. (Hansard column 1951, 24 August 1983).

The Geography of Khayelitsha

Khayelitsha is a densely populated residential suburb located on the Cape Flats in Cape Town, its boundaries stretch from Swartklip roads in Mitchell's Plain in the west, Baden Powell Drive in the south along the Indian Ocean, the notorious N2 Freeway to the north and the eastern boundary is bordered by the South African Defence Force Military Camp housing the 9th Infantry Battalion, commonly known by the locals as 9-side.

Khayelitsha is still divided into sections, as allocated by the apartheid government. The sections are divided into formal and informal areas, the maze of dwellings are divided into sections A-J and sections K-Z. Many of the sections are not divided by streets or natural divisions, the absence of spatial planning is clearly evident and a stain on the City of Cape Town's administration. The shacks were added as space became available. The two prominent areas are known as Site B and Site C, other notable areas include, Ilitha Park, Lingelethu West, Washington Square, Graceland, Green Point, Mandela Park, Bongweni, Harare, Endlovini, Makhaza, Ikwezi Park, Khulani Park, Khanya Park, Zolani Park, Kuyasa, Tembani, Ekuphumleni and Enkanini.

The mass exodus of migrants from the Eastern Cape for has seen the addition of RR Section, TR Section and QQ Section. These sections are predominantly made up of shacks and have become notorious for civil unrest which includes; protest action, attacks on the police and the destruction of municipal facilities.

The road network in Khayelitsha lacks practicality and serves as reminder of the lack of coordinated spatial planning in the suburb. Japhta K Masemola Road stretches from the east to the west Khayelitsha; the road diverts south and runs through the centre of Khayelitsha, adjacent

to Baden Powell Drive. Walter Sisulu Road originates from Japhta K Masemola Road and moves diagonally across Spine Road and Steve Biko Road and ends at Baden Powell Drive. Spine Road runs from Swartklip road adjacent to Mitchell's Plain, connecting Khayelitsha to the N2 highway. Other major routes crisscrossing Khayelitsha include Steve Biko road, Mew Way and Baden Powell Drive.

A train service operates through the suburb, the railway line travels from south to east through the suburb servicing five railway stations NoLungile, NoNqubela, Khayelitsha, Kuyasa and Chris Hani stations. The main taxi rank can be found in Site C on Japhta K Masemola Road, the secondary taxi rank is located in Makhaza, at the intersection of Japhta K Masemola Road and Fukutha Road. The taxi network is largely informal and operates with minimal infrastructure.

Demographics of Khayelitsha

The Statistics South Africa census of 2011 estimated that the “Khayelitsha community has a population of 398 182 people and 118809 households” (SSA, 2012: a). A household is defined as “a group of persons who live together, and provide themselves jointly with food or other essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone” (Statistics South Africa).

The key findings of the 2011 Census in Khayelitsha concluded that “the population is predominantly Black African (99%), 36% of those aged 20 years and older have completed Grade 12 or higher, 62% of the labour force (aged 15 to 64) is employed, 74% of households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less, 45% of households live in formal dwellings, 62% of households have access to piped water in their dwelling or inside their yard, 72% of households have access to a flush toilet connected to the public sewer system, 81% of households have their

refuse removed at least once a week, 81% of households use electricity for lighting in their dwelling” (SSA,2012: a).

The 2011 Census also details how “50 000 of the approximately 118 000 households’ in Khayelitsha live in a brick or concrete house on a separate stand and approximately 65 000 live in informal dwellings. Khayelitsha accounts for less than one third of all informal households in Cape Town and that Khayelitsha is ethnically and linguistically homogenous with 98.7% of the population describing themselves as Black/African and 89.8% specifying isiXhosa as their home language. The next most common home language is English, reported by 3.4% of the population.” The statistics emanating from Khayelitsha are depressing “The mean years of schooling of the Khayelitsha population is 8.55. Less than 5% of the Khayelitsha population has any tertiary qualification and more than 50% have not completed grade 12. The official unemployment rate of people aged 15 and above was 38% in 2011” (KCOI, 2014, pg. 340)

Poverty

Poverty like citizenship is complex issue often originating from systemic policy failures, systemic inequality and the abuse of power. Poverty is commonly associated with a ‘material lack’, it is rooted in the lack of the means to survival or rather crudely a means to avoid suffering and death. The indignity of poverty is often concealed with softer phrase such as shortages, scarcity and deficiency as opposed to starvation, famine and malnutrition. In popular discourse, poverty has a range of meanings, “The concept of poverty rests on the idea that it is possible to define a minimum standard for physical survival, and that the needs of the poor do not change through time” (Buckingham, 1991, pg. 9). However living in a township tends to produce spatial, inter-generational and circular poverty – all feeding on each other. Contextualising the problem

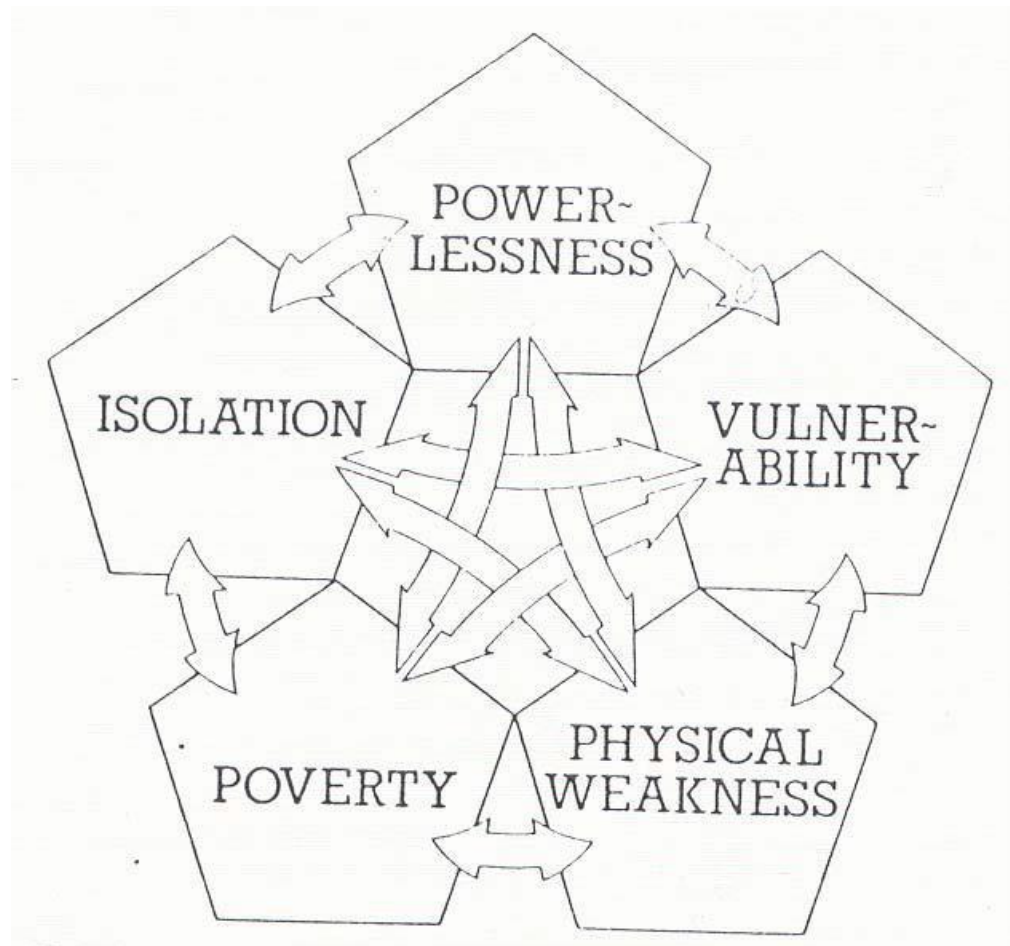
and the origins of poverty in inequality is critical to understanding the problem. “Poverty is also political because it relates to the allocation or distribution of resources, and reflects the impact of past and present policy choices” (Meth, 2006, pg. 28).

The United Nations asserts that “Fundamentally, poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe[e] a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one’s food or a job to earn one’s living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and

It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation.”—United Nations, 1998. According to (Wilson and Ramphele, 1989, pg. 14) explains that, “Poverty is not knowing where your next meal is going to come from, and always wondering when the council is going to put your furniture out and always praying that your husband must not lose his job. To me that is poverty”. Insecurity as this thesis will show is a basic part of poverty in the area of study.

Robert Chambers (1983, pg. 112), identified five “clusters of disadvantage that characterise the lives of the rural poor in developing countries: poverty, physical weakness, isolation, vulnerable and powerlessness. Each of these disadvantages serves to reinforce and aggravate the others; the overall effect is to ‘trap the poor in deprivation’ These clusters “Powerlessness, vulnerability, physical weakness, poverty and isolation” create what he calls the ‘deprivation trap’, a phenomenon which traps people in a state of scarcity and helplessness. People stuck in the deprivation trap are unable to move out of their situation because the various elements feed off

each other and ensnare the affected individual. An external force is often needed to alleviate the situation, the external intervention could come from government, the private sector or humanitarian organisations. Cumulatively the five elements of the trap are suffocating and self-depreciating.



The deprivation trap (Chambers, 1983, pg.112)

National Poverty Line

Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) sought to establish a means to measure poverty “a threshold that could be used in standardising the money-metric measurement of poverty for the country”

(STATSSA, 2020, pg. 4). After extensive consultations locally and internationally, public

participation processes and five years of statistical analysis, Stats SA published South Africa's first national poverty lines study in 2012. "Poverty lines are important tools that allow for the statistical reporting of poverty levels and patterns, as well as the planning, monitoring and evaluation of poverty reduction programmes and policies. In developing the national poverty lines, Stats SA used an internationally recognised approach, namely the cost-of-basic-needs approach, which links welfare to the consumption of goods and services. In 2015, Stats SA published rebased NPLs using updated household expenditure data sourced from the IES 2010/2011" (Statssa, National Poverty Line; 2020, pg. 7). It is important to create a standard guideline to determine what poverty is and how widespread the phenomena are in South Africa.

According to (Statssa; 2020, pg. 11) the primary purpose of the national poverty lines is "to provide a tool for the statistical measurement of money-metric poverty. More specifically, the National Poverty Lines (NPL) were developed to: Provide a consistent and constant benchmark against which progress on a money-metric/expenditure-based dimension of poverty can be monitored; Improve the country's ability to target developmental policies and programmes, both towards specific groups and/or regions (through determining the poverty profile); and Increase knowledge production for policy development and reform around poverty reduction and eradication." The National Poverty Line is not used as a financial metric to determine the equitable share to provinces, setting the national minimum wage, determining eligibility thresholds, determining the amount to be paid for social grants" The metric is purely and indication of how poverty is measured amongst South Africans and how the levels of poverty differs from area to area.

The cost of a commonly bought basket of goods was used as a reference point “Costing of the reference food basket was performed using information on item-specific consumption expenditure levels, household composition, and price data from the CPI. First, the amount of energy (calories per 100 grams or 100 millilitres in the case of liquids) of each food item contained in the reference food basket was obtained from the Medical Research Council (MRC) food composition tables and in consultation with the National Department of Health. Second, using information on mean annualised consumption expenditure on each food item and information on household size, it was possible to compute approximate per capita calories of each item consumed per day. Third, using the CPI data (averaged for the IES 2010/2011 data collection period covering September 2010 to August 2011), the cost per 100 grams/millilitres of relevant food items was calculated. Altogether, the three pieces of information make it possible to estimate the average per person per day amount of calories consumed of the reference food basket and the associated cost based on the reported item-specific expenditure levels and prevailing prices” In constructing measurements for the national poverty lines, Statistics South Africa, “used the cost-of-basic-needs approach which links welfare to the consumption of goods and services. The lines contain both food and non-food components of household consumption expenditure.

Food poverty line – **R585** (in April 2020 prices) per person per month. This refers to the amount of money that an individual will need to afford the minimum required daily energy intake per month. This is also commonly referred to as the “extreme” poverty line;

Lower-bound poverty line – **R840** (in April 2020 prices) per person per month. This refers to the food poverty line plus the average amount derived from non-food items of households

whose total expenditure is equal to the food poverty line; and

Upper-bound poverty line – **R1 268** (in April 2020 prices) per person per month. This refers to the food poverty line plus the average amount derived from non-food items of households whose food expenditure is equal to the food poverty line.” (Statssa; 2020, pg. 11) 57

Poverty and equity statistics in South Africa

South Africa’s poverty and equality stats is akin to a nation at war, the country and has been described as the most unequal countries in the world as measured. The Gini coefficient (Gini index or Gini ratio) is “a statistical measure of economic inequality in a population” (Statssa: 2020, pg. 13). According to the (www.IMF.org, 2020) “Income distribution remains highly skewed. The top 20 percent of the population holds over 68 percent of income (compared to a median of 47 percent for similar emerging markets). The bottom 40 percent of the population holds 7 percent of income (compared to 16 percent for other emerging markets). Similar trends can be observed across other measures, such as the income share of the top 1percent. Significant disparities remain across regions. Income per capita in Gauteng—the main economic province that comprises large cities like Johannesburg and Pretoria—is almost twice the levels as that found in the mostly rural provinces like Limpopo and Eastern Cape. Being close to the economic centres increases job and income prospects. High unemployment is a major factor behind the inequality levels. South Africa's unemployment rate is significantly higher than in other emerging markets, with youth unemployment exceeding 50 percent. Creating more low-skilled jobs to improve labour force participation, especially in the poorest provinces, will spur inclusion. Employment prospects can be enhanced by improving the quality of education and facilitating affordable transportation to job centres”.

South Africa's standing internationally has worsened according to the (United Nations Human Development Report; 2020, pg. 13), the report measures critical quality of life data such as levels of education, life expectancy and income inequality of one hundred and eighty-nine countries. Statistically we are positioned amongst mediocre performing countries and is regrettably one hundred and fourteenth on the report, nestled between Venezuela and Palestine. "The study goes further to point out socioeconomic inequalities according to gender. Women, on average, earn 38% less than men and end up leaving school one year earlier, primarily due to teenage pregnancy. Less South African women have a tertiary education when compared to men". While Statistics South Africa (STATSSA, 2020, pg. 9) reports that "the average formal South African worker earns R22, 500 per month, the HDI points to a growing number of citizens living below the international poverty line. The UN notes that 18.9% of the population – some 11 million South Africans – survive on less than \$1.90, which converts to just R27.66, a day, or around R800 per month".

Statistics South Africa commissioned its Living Conditions Survey (www.statssa.gov.za), the survey found that "sixty percent of South African children are poor, more than six out of ten children (62,1%) are identified as multi dimensionally poor, child poverty in South Africa is multi-sectoral, with the majority of children (0-17 years) suffering from multiple deprivations simultaneously. Black African children (68, 3%) show the highest percentage of multidimensional poverty as compared to their peers from other population groups.

Multidimensional poverty is highly prevalent amongst double orphans (77, 3%) and paternal orphans (75, 0%) as opposed to non-orphans and maternal orphans. The report shows that more than twice as many children living in rural areas (88, 4%) face multidimensional poverty compared to children in urban areas (41, 3%). The highest multidimensional poverty rates are

60

found amongst children residing in Limpopo (82, 8%) and Eastern Cape (78, 7%). Gauteng and Western Cape, on the other hand, are best off with respectively 33, 6% and 37, 1% of children being multi dimensionally poor. Those living in non-metropolitan municipalities (73, 7%) indicate much higher multidimensional poverty rates than children in metropolitan municipalities (39, 6%)”. The report details the lived realities of the vulnerable children living in township squalor “children under five are most deprived in the dimensions of Housing (61, 3%), Child development (57, 9%) and Health (54, 4%). Among children aged 5-17 years old, the highest deprivation rates are observed for the dimensions Education, Housing and Health. For example, more than seven out of ten (74, 4%) adolescents (13-17 years old) experience deprivation in Education. Approximately half of the children (51,0%) in South Africa are considered to be monetary poor, that is they live in a household where its consumption was below the lower bound poverty line of R647 per person per month” (Statssa; 2020, pg. 23).

Social and Economic Conditions

Khayelitsha can best be described as an impoverished community beset with chronic unemployment, dependent on social grants. “More than half of approximately 118 000 households in Khayelitsha live in informal homes, despite the fact that an average of almost 3000 formal houses per year were provided by the state in the late 1990s and 2000s. Just over half of all households own their own homes. Only 12% said they paid rent for their accommodation, a very low proportion of rent-paying households for urban centres in South Africa. There has been a significant expansion in service delivery to Khayelitsha households since 1996. Between 1996 and 2011, the number of households using flush or chemical toilets doubled, as did the number of households using electricity and the number with water on site. However, given that the number of households almost doubled in the same period, there are still many households

61

without access to basic services. In summary, 81% of households had access to weekly refuse collection and used electricity, 72% had flush toilets connected to sewerage and 62% had access to water in the house or in the yard. Inadequate sanitation, in particular, has been a source of dissatisfaction and protest” (KCOI, Seekings, 2014, pg. 461). Information obtained from the national Census in 2011 indicate that “8000 households in Khayelitsha reported using bucket toilets and 12 000 had no toilet at all” (SSA, Seekings 2013, pg.8). In June 2013, the City of Cape Town reported that “11 000 portable flush toilets had been made available by the City for use in informal houses across the City, but mostly in Khayelitsha. The City also operates approximately 5000 shared communal chemical toilets in many Khayelitsha neighbourhoods that are meant to be cleaned regularly” (City of Cape Town, SSA: 30 December 2013, pg.9)

The Khayelitsha community’s dependence on social grants is evident, the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) reported that “in 2013 approximately 11 000 old age pensions were paid to pensioners, about 87 000 child grants and about 10 000 disability grants were paid in Khayelitsha in that month” (Seekings, 2013, pg.19). These findings are consistent with the employment statistics in the area “youth unemployment rates are higher than the average official figures, more than 50% of young men up to the age of 23 are unemployed in Khayelitsha, and more than 40% of young men up to the age of 26 are unemployed. The median monthly income was R2116 for employed men and R1526 for employed women” (KCOI, 2014, pg. 340). The statistics point to an economically depressed community struggling with bread and butter issues. Khayelitsha is a microcosm of township life in South Africa, a dangerous cocktail of apartheid legacy challenges and contemporary service delivery issues.

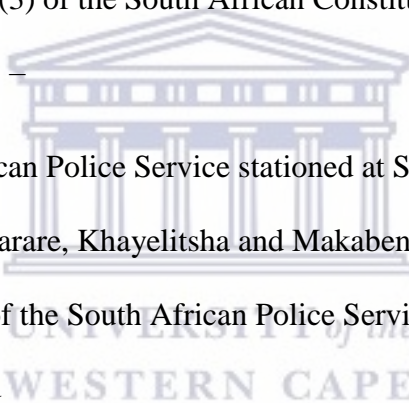
Crime in Khayelitsha

Understanding the levels of crime and violence in Khayelitsha is central to contextualising the daily lived experience of Khayelitsha residents. Khayelitsha is the first port of call into the City of Cape Town for many poor migrants from around the country, particularly the Eastern Cape. This collective melting pot of people also receives an array of undesirable criminals and delinquents seeking new opportunities for crime and lawlessness. “Khayelitsha has very high rates of contact crime, which mean that people feel unsafe much of the time. Feeling unsafe, coupled with the debilitating effects of deep poverty, make Khayelitsha an especially hard environment for all who live and work there. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that Khayelitsha is made up of a patchwork of neighbourhoods, with different conditions and varying levels of its socio-economic disadvantage” (KCOI, 2014, pg. 46). The levels of crime and lawlessness in Khayelitsha is akin to a community under siege. “Khayelitsha has the third worst number of murders in the country, after neighbouring Nyanga and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal, Khayelitsha has the highest numbers of murders, attempted murders, sexual offences, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and robbery with aggravating circumstances nationwide” (De Kock, C: KCOI, 2014, pg. 44,)

As a result of complaints received from the community and a collection of non-governmental organisations including; the Social Justice Coalition, the Treatment Action Campaign, Equal Education, Free Gender, the Triangle Project and Ndifuna Ukwazi, the Premier of the Western Cape instituted ‘Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of Police Inefficiency and a Breakdown in Relations between SAPS and the Community of Khayelitsha’ in November 2011. The complainants alleged that there were inefficiencies, incompetence, poor police investigations and systemic failure of the South African Police in the Khayelitsha area. The Khayelitsha community

is serviced by three police stations situated within its boundaries. The establishment of a commission in itself was ground-breaking, never before had a community successfully lobbied for an intervention at the scale and magnitude of a commission of inquiry. The commission was chaired by Justice Catherine O'Regan and Advocate Vusumzi Pikoli served as a commissioner. The organisations detailed eight ongoing investigations which they felt demonstrated the South African Police's level of incompetence and apathy in Khayelitsha.

The Commission was appointed under section 1 of the Western Cape Provincial Commission Act, 10 of 1998 (the Western Cape Commission Act)²⁴ in terms of the power conferred upon the provinces in terms of section 206(3) of the South African Constitution.²⁵ The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows –

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- (a) inefficiency of the South African Police Service stationed at Site B, Bonga Drive, Khayelitsha; Steve Biko Road, Harare, Khayelitsha and Makabeni Street, Lingeletu West, Khayelitsha and any other units of the South African Police Service operating in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, (“Khayelitsha”); and
- (b) A breakdown in relations between the Khayelitsha community and members of the South African Police Service stationed at the aforesaid police stations in Khayelitsha, or operating in Khayelitsha.” Secondly, the Proclamation provides that the Commission must investigate the allegations, and “the reasons for, and causes of, the inefficiency and breakdown in relations, if found to exist”.
- (c) Thirdly, the Proclamation states that the Commission must prepare a written report containing the findings of the Commission and “recommendations as to how any inefficiency in the delivery of police services, or a breakdown in relations between the community of Khayelitsha and the

South African Police Service, as may be found by the Commission to exist, may be alleviated or remedied”.⁴ It continues by stating that the recommendations “must include appropriate recommendations for the Province to consider when it makes recommendations to the Minister of Police, as contemplated in section 206(5)(b) of the Constitution.” (KCOI, 2014, pg. 2). The burden of proof was staggering, the amount of evidence submitted was overwhelming and the personal stories of the victims were depressing. The South African Police capitulated and admitted to being overwhelmed by the levels of crime in the Khayelitsha community. A number of telling recommendations emanated from the commission, subsequent to the commission, the Western Cape has had a number of Provincial Police Commissioners with differing strategic approaches to aging problems. By July 2019 the levels of crime had deteriorated significantly, to the point where over one thousand three hundred soldiers were deployed to Cape Town to quell the rising crime epidemic. Khayelitsha has been identified as one of the priority areas for military deployment.

Voices from the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry

The following quotes provide a sense of the variety of views on Khayelitsha crime rates sourced from the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry (KCOI).

“Khayelitsha demands too much from a person that works in Khayelitsha; you don’t rest. Brigadier Mlenga, former station commander at Khayelitsha Site B. You know in the movies, when you see in the movies ... you see a team descending to a crime scene, attending to a docket, but here you have a team of dockets descending on a detective. Brigadier Dladla, station commander Khayelitsha Site B. The sheer volume of work simply chased me away. (James van der Westhuizen (on being a detective).

Sometimes you would get to the police station or a police officer if they were called out and you would realise that there is a new person and you will see a little bit of eagerness on their side to do their job correctly and when you get to the police station in three or four months and you meet that person again they you realise okay that guy's already just as demoralised as the rest of the group. ... So my perception ... of the work of the police in Khayelitsha ...there was just no sticking to the ethics of what is expected of their profession. (Ms Sonja Basson, social worker, Khayelitsha Homestead Projects for Street Children.)I think for us at Khayelitsha, we dread when public holidays come because invariably you will find more assaults, you will find on a Monday morning you have more murders than you have at any other day ... looking at those matters there's a very large percentage where it is altercations that occur whilst people were drinking together, an altercation at a shebeen and people are not in their full senses. (Ms Harmse Senior Public Prosecutor at Khayelitsha)

(KCOI; 2014)

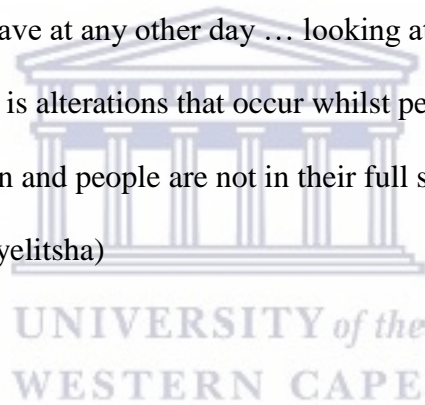


Table 1: Current Crime Statistics in Khayelitsha for 2017/2018

Crime	2017	2018
“Murder	179	192
Sexual Offences	156	186
Attempted Murder	256	181
Assault – Grievous Bodily Harm	632	551
Common Assault	826	896
Common Robbery	198	177

Robbery - Aggravated Circumstances	1529	1294
Arson	15	16
Malicious Damage to Property	496	539
Burglary at Residence	497	364
Theft of Motor Vehicle	110	74
Theft out of Motor Vehicle	143	122
Possession of Firearms and Ammunition	193	107
Drug Related Crime	1381	1250
Driving under the influence of Alcohol	209	261
Theft Other	931	678
Commercial Crime	136	165
Shoplifting	254	229
Community Reported Serious Crime	6514	5791
Carjacking	145	144
Truck Jacking	7	9
Robbery at Residences	116	112
Robbery at non Residences	115	116
Robbery - Cash in Transit	3	0
Rape	139	156
Sexual Assault	5	19
Attempted Sexual Assault	6	6
Contact Sexual Offences	6	5"

Conclusion

This chapter sought to establish a baseline of geographical and social data for Khayelitsha but also covered its origins and current issues around crime, poverty and demography. The crime rate in Khayelitsha is exceptionally high, as highlighted by the crime statistics. The Commission of Enquiry highlighted the inefficiencies and the lack of resources on the ground. The quotes from the enquiry, highlighted in the submissions made, provides evidence of a desperate community under siege. The chapter shows that crime is more than facts and figures, the lived realities paint a picture of fear, emotion and crime fatigue.



Chapter 5. Transport in Cape Town

This chapter focuses on the transport system in Cape Town and the modes of transport that compliments the City. An analysis is done of the collapsed rail network that served as the backbone of Khayelitsha's transport needs. The state of the road network explains how the City of Cape Town is successfully rolling out the MyCiti Network. An historical overview of the minibus taxi industry is presented explaining the popularity and challenges created by the industry. The chapter ends with an analysis of the amaphela fraternity and its role within township communities.

The City of Cape Town manages an efficient MyCiti Bus service, the planning and rollout of the service has been relatively successful in a transport environment fraught with challenges. Nationally, the rollout plan commenced in 2007. "In March 2007, Cabinet approved a Public Transport Strategy. The Strategy proposed a phased implementation of Integrated Rapid Public Transport Networks (IRPTNs). The aim was to have operating systems in place in 12 cities and at least 6 rural districts by 2014. The longer-term vision until 2020 was to develop a system that would place over 85 percent of a metropolitan city's population within 1km of an IRPTN trunk (road and rail) or feeder (road) corridor".(Browning, 2007). The rollout is dependent on a multitude of factors such as financing the project, running a profitable business, the availability of land and a stable road network.

To understand Khayelitsha I will first outline the broader transport context of Cape Town. There are a number of disturbing trends, which have emerged within the public transport sector. These include: "the deterioration of the rail service in Cape Town, with its resultant steep decrease in

usage and increase in road usage, the increasingly unsustainable cost of transport for low income households and the growing disjuncture between transport and land use in Cape Town” (CITP, 2018, pg. 186).

Cape Town is “the most congested city in South Africa” (TomTom survey, 2018), the congestion is attributed to the lack of investment in public transport and the reliance on the private car as the primary mode of transport. Vehicle ownership in the City increases incrementally as the population increases. According to the (City’s Transport Development Index, 2015a, pg. 36) “the daily trip into work is particularly dire for low-income households, 95% of public transport users are in the low and low-medium income groups. The average direct transport costs for the low income public transport user group is 45% of monthly household income, against the internationally accepted norm of between 5 and 10%. The largest direct cost for low income individuals is the direct cost of public transport”. The City of Cape Town has prioritised and dedicated R750 million to develop road infrastructure in Kuils River, Kommetjie and Blouberg (Heron, 2015, pg.1). However, these are in established middle to high-income suburbs, a far cry from the much publicised pro-poor budget. Most of the major international cities rely on a rail network to supplement the public transport network within city centres. Cape Town’s rail network has failed as a public transport alternative, according to the (CITP, 2018, pg. 187), our rail infrastructure has;

- “very poor levels of reliability, punctuality and service predictability
- a reduced and operationally ineffective trainset fleet due to fleet losses arising from arson, vandalism and a lack of spares

- vandalism to the rail infrastructure, such as cable theft, which often leads to severe delays or cancellations and consequently a loss of confidence in the service
- informal household encroachment onto PRASA property (e.g. informal dwellings at Bellville were removed twice during August 2016 alone), increasing operational risk and maintenance complexity
- high cost and poor maintenance levels due to the age of the rail assets
- a resultant inability to contribute effectively to an efficient transport system (with overcrowding, slow journey times, poor modal integration and lack of off-peak services, ticketing and irregular timetables)
- the inability to support economic activity through the provision of reliable rail services
- limited access to socio economic opportunities for the rural and urban poor”

Surveys conducted by the City of Cape Town’s (Transport Development Index, 2018, pg. 188) clarify the impact of transport on the residents of Cape Town “95% of the public transport user group is in the low to low-medium income groups and the average direct transport cost for the low income public transport user group is estimated at 43.1% of the monthly household income. The national objective is 10%”.

Cape Town Road Network Management

Cape Town’s road network is vitally important for the efficient functioning of the City’s transport network. The network supports private and commercial traffic, freight transport, public transport and non-motorized transport users. The economy is dependent on a well-functioning, stable and dependable road network.

The City's boasts with some of the best road infrastructure on the continent, according to (CCT TCT, 2021; TCT.gov.za) "the total length of the City of Cape Town transport network equates to 11696 km, of this 2 413km (21%) are higher order Class 1, 2 and 3 roads, 9 283 (79%) are Class 4 and 5 roads and the road network was estimated to have a total asset value of R91.8 billion, of which Class 4 and 5 roads are valued at R68 billion".

The City of Cape Town has an integrated Transport Management Centre in Goodwood, the centre "manages incidents, collects and disseminates traffic information, and coordinates law enforcement on all public roads. The real-time surveillance provided by the TMC enables a multi-agency response, efficiently coordinated at one location, resulting in much shorter response times in the event of accidents or other incidents that impact on public safety" (CCT TCT, 2021; TCT.gov.za).

The City has digitally integrated its entire road management system to effectively manage and operate the transport network. "Approximately 150 km of freeway are co-managed by the City with national and provincial government. This infrastructure is monitored as part of the Freeway Management System (FMS), with more than 200 cameras and variable message signs for immediate communication with motorists. The FMS is managed on a 24-hour basis via the Transport Management Centre (TMC). Traffic management in the City is supported by 1 500 signalised intersections and 355 signalised pedestrian crossings. The majority of these are also managed at the TMC. All traffic lights in the City of Cape Town have LED technology which has introduced efficiencies in operations as well as ensured that Cape Town's traffic lights have a 98.9% operational record -- the best in the country" (CCT TCT;2021: TCT.gov.za)

There are a number of challenges affecting the City, which residents can attest to; the design of the road network is challenged by apartheid spatial planning, certain areas have benefitted from infrastructure investments and there are a number of safety concerns associated with the City's roads. Road safety and traffic crashes affect every citizen of the City of Cape Town, residents are either personally affected by a crash or inconvenienced by the effects of the crash. "During 2012, more than 63,000 crashes occurred on the city's roads, leading to the loss of 660 lives and the injury of more than 15,000 people. Three-hundred and seventy-three (373) or 57 percent of the people killed were pedestrians. Seventeen (17) cyclists died in the same year. Four-hundred and fourteen (414) lives have to date been lost in 2013, of which 243 were pedestrians and 9 cyclists. In addition to a tremendous emotional toll, road traffic crashes are estimated by the City's Metropolitan Accident Bureau to cost Cape Town's economy in excess of R1.5 billion annum." (City of Cape Town Road Safety Strategy 2013 – 2018, pg. 1)

Modes of Transport in Cape Town

My Citi BRT service

Cape Town, like so many developing cities around the world, sort to address its developmental needs by addressing its public transport challenges. "Public transport links and routes can therefore play a pivotal role in providing all citizens and visitors with access to opportunities and facilities around the city, whether for economic, education, health, recreation or social purposes" (Bulman, Greenwood & Kingma, 2014, pg. 878). Cape Town's inherited spatial challenges created an environment where the majority of the working class residents live on the periphery of the City, employment opportunities are found in industrial areas far from residential areas and the City's population continues to grow exponentially. To address these spatial challenges, the

City of Cape Town developed a multimodal plan named the Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN) plan, the plan “aims to install a citywide, integrated transportation network by 2032, where various methods of public transportation will be joined together to form a seamless system. One of the major projects is the development of the multi-billion rand My Citi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system” (Miller, 2017, pg. 2) “Ultimately, the full scope of the system hopes to achieve a goal of placing 80% of residents within 500 metres of a transit station or stop within twenty years” (MyCiti.gov.za, 2015).

According to Levinson (2003, pg. 4) “a BRT system is one that usually has dedicated bus lanes, raised stations and platforms, distinctive branded vehicles offering an off-board fare collection scheme and one that acts as a closed system offering both a constant scheduled and regular service interval” The plan served as the basis for the first unified post-apartheid transport strategy within the City. The Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN) plan “brings together all modes of transport including bus, rail, taxi and other forms of non-motorised transport under the care of the Transport and Urban Development Authority (TDA). The proposed plan aims to install a citywide, integrated transportation network by 2032, where various methods of public transportation will be joined together to form a seamless system. One of the major projects is the development of the multi-billion rand My Citi Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. Ultimately, the full scope of the system hopes to achieve a goal of placing 80% of residents within 500 metres of a transit station or stop within twenty years” (www.MyCiti.gov.za, 2015).

My Citi Bus Service

South Africa cities are challenged by the rate of challenged by the rate of urbanisation, rural areas struggle with sustaining economic growth and service delivery. “South Africa has a higher

urbanisation rate than the world average, with the country expected to be 71.3% urbanised by 2030” (UN, 2014, pg. 45). In recent years Cape Town has experienced a rapid population growth, “establishing itself as South Africa’s second largest city and supporting over 4 million individuals. Rapid urbanisation is said to have exacerbated the legacy of apartheid spatial planning, which has resulted in a disintegrated and fragmented urban form. As more than 40% of Cape Town’s population reside approximately thirty kilometres away in the urban periphery, transport networks are often congested, more expensive and overburdened” (COCT 2016a). “This has resulted in Cape Town becoming South Africa’s most congested city, a title which it has held since 2013” (Savides, 2016, pg. 2).

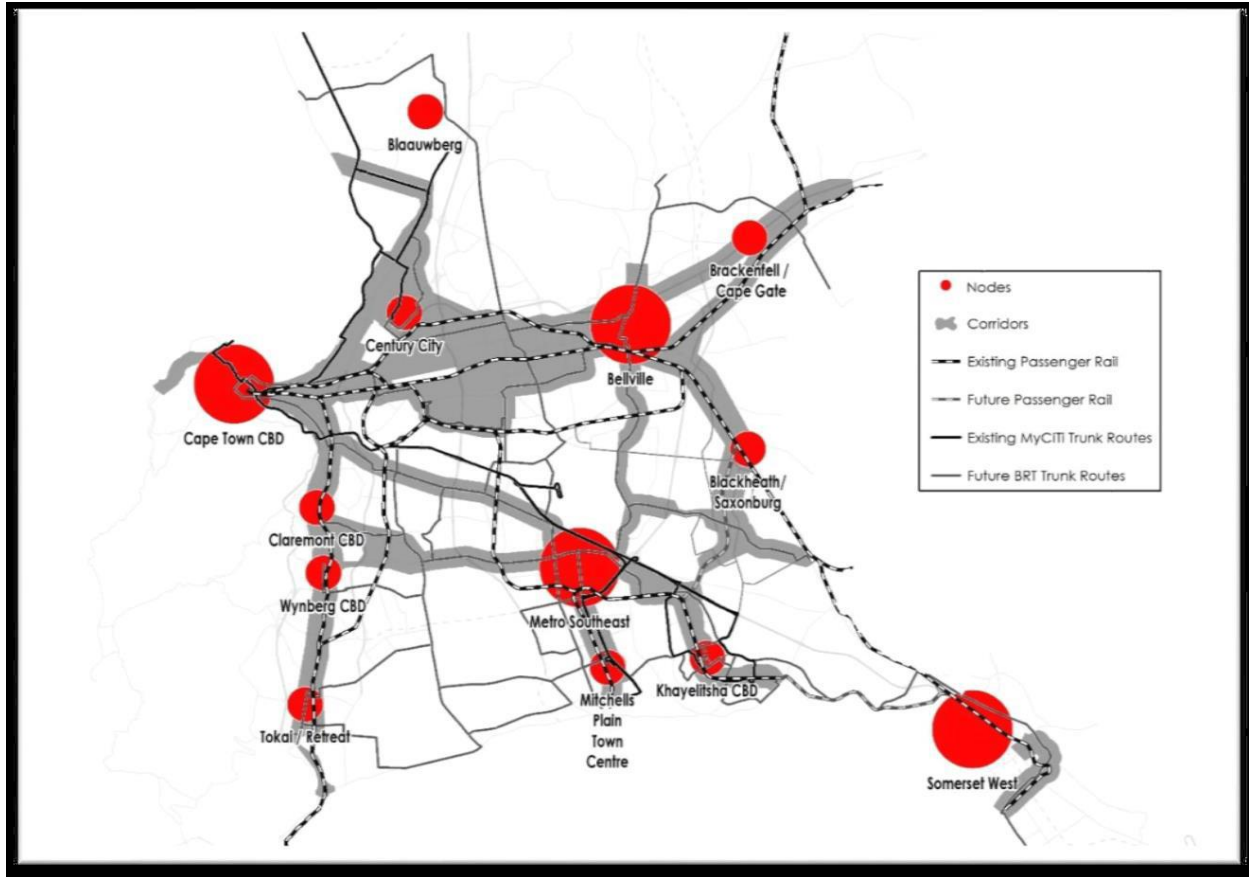
The My Citi bus service was introduced into the City of Cape Town’s transport network, ushering in a new era mobility for the City’s residents. The bus service offers a safe, dependable and reliable public transport service with first world infrastructure. The designated roadway with its trademark red trunk routes has substantially improved the cost of commuting in the City, travel times, peak hour traffic and reduced the amount of private vehicles on the road.

The current My Citi service boasts with “dedicated bus lanes in areas of high congestion and priority traffic signalling for public transport, scheduled services with off-peak and extended hours, and high-frequency peak services, a card-based fare system with extensive use of technology, closed bus stations to facilitate transfers in busy areas and open bus stops in neighbourhoods, a central control, tracking and monitoring system, public sector authority with private sector operating companies and universal access and provision for non-motorized transport (NMT) and pedestrian access” (www.MyCiti.gov, 2015). On 29 May 2020 the MyCiti bus service celebrated 10 years of service to the people of Cape Town.

The COCT Comprehensive Integrated Transport Plan (2018 to 2023, pg. 22) prioritises the development and extension of five new My Citi corridors. There has been significant legal challenges related to land use issues for My Citi routes. Critically the plan does not extensively cover the Cape Flats and township areas, the proposed routes develop around historical transport arteries and new property developments.

The City of Cape Town's criteria for the establishment of a My Citi route states that routes would be selected based on "the highest number of prospective passengers. This is where the most residents would benefit from a new route, thus increasing ridership numbers. The routes with the highest time savings between origin and destination. Travelling by My Citi in a dedicated bus lane should always be faster than conventional public transport in mixed traffic.

The routes serving a higher number and percentage of low-income households. Serving low-income households are prioritised in order to meet the City's targets in improving efficiencies and access to public transport to those who need it the most. The route has several integration opportunities with other forms of intermodal transport. This could be rail or NMT opportunities



that allow for a swift and seamless change between different transit” (Miller, M: 2018, pg. 47).

These considerations would be coupled with expenditure considerations related to the estimated cost of the infrastructure and fleet needed for each route. The cost analysis would take into account the COCT have developed a set of interventions and incentives, which will be introduced in a phased approach in an attempt to coerce residents to try and use the My Citi network more.

(Miller and Moonsamy: 2017 and 2018 et al), these include;

- “Parking levies and decreased numbers of on-street parking
- Car-pooling schemes
- Flexi-time work hours in order to stagger peak travel times, thus reducing congestion levels

- Changing My Citi fare structures so that it is cheaper to travel in shoulder of peak periods
- Offering discounts in certain times so that people can travel earlier/later in order to improve bi-directional flows and seat renewal
- Congestion tax for private cars (still under investigation)
- Smart Travel Plans by both the private and public spheres to initiate a public transport switch over by subsidising a monthly allowance”.

Minibus taxis

The minibus taxi industry is a critical component of the public transport industry in South Africa, it is the most affordable and most commonly used mode of transport. “The minibus taxi industry emerged in the wake of the apartheid government’s policy of economic deregulation, initiated in 1987. From the early 1980s onwards, taxi operators began using larger ‘kombi’ minibuses that could carry up to 15 passengers. Until formal deregulation in 1987, such taxis were illegal”. (Automobile Association, 2021, pg. 2). “With approximately 90% black ownership, the taxi sector also represents a one of the largest concentrations of black-owned capital in South Africa”. (Barrett, 2003, pg. 9).

The industry operated for many years as an unregulated industry, with operators forming alliances resulting in localized taxi associations. In the absence of state regulation, taxi associations were able to negate paying taxes, circumvent law enforcement interventions and bypass public transport safety regulations. “It was not long, however, before taxi associations began to use their organizational strength to extract income, commonly through the use of violence. Taxi ownership became an entrepreneurial outlet for township owners struggling to

adapt to the formal economy. “In South Africa, a history of apartheid resulted in most owners being ‘Black’ or ‘Coloured’, historically disenfranchised groups restricted from economic opportunities by government: investment in MBTs was a relatively low barrier and a path to economic empowerment while supporting community needs for transport” (Barrett, 2003; Woolf & Joubert, 2013)

The industry has successfully survived because of their unique ability to adapt to their customer’s needs; they don’t stick to specified routes, run late night services, are relatively cheap and affordable, pick up and drop off at convenient locations, are not affected by ticketing systems and pay minimal wages. According to the (www.AA.co.za: 2021), the minibus taxi industry is a force to be reckoned with “Taxis are the most popular mode of transport in urban areas for the majority of South Africa’s population. The South African taxi industry plays an important role in the economy considering that the majority of South Africans are poor and dependent on public transport. The taxi industry consists of minibuses, dominating 90% of the market, and metered taxis active in the remaining 10% of the market. Public transport by taxis account for 65% of the transport total, 20% by bus and 15% by rail. The industry consists of approximately 150 000 public minibus taxis. Of the 36 lives lost daily on our roads – 3 are killed in taxi related incidents. The South African taxi industry is estimated to have a turnover of more than R16, 5 billion. The minibus taxi industry in South Africa is comprised of more than 20 000 owners and 200 000 employees”.

Amaphela – The township taxi.

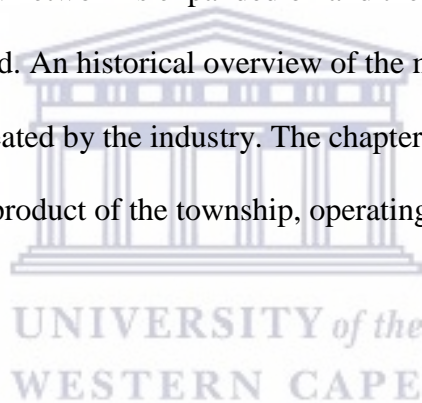
The term Amaphela is a name given to sedan taxis in the townships of Cape Town, it means cockroach in isiXhosa. Amaphelas are a form of paratransit “a term used by transport scholars

(Orski, 1975; Roos and Alschuler, 1975, Rink 2020) to denote a variety of public transportation services that fill gaps between other forms of public transportation, often serving the mobility needs of the elderly, disabled, or otherwise unserved populations (Woolf and Joubert, 2013), they are essentially cars operating as taxis. According to (Rink 2020, pg. 8) they “provide township dwellers in Cape Town, South Africa with flexible, inexpensive and relatively comfortable transportation in combination with other formalised and semi-formalised services. The flexibility and informality of this mobility practice can be understood as a threat to order, formality, safety and reliability in the modern South African city; or it can be celebrated for the unique and creative ways that it penetrates the complex urban fabric of informality”. Within the spectrum of amaphelas there is a hierarchy of services offered to township dwellers. The cars of choice are Toyota Avanza’s and Toyota Cressida’s amongst others, they are known as ‘Carvela’ and ‘Mshengu’. The hierarchy is based on the level of service provided and the status of the vehicle “Carvela is a sought-after vehicle both by passengers and potential drivers. Riding in a Carvela is a question of style and status, because to ride in the alternative, a mshengu is not a choice, but most likely the only affordable alternative. A mshengu is an older version of amaphela, the original ‘black township taxi’ that takes the form of a 1980s-era Toyota Cressida” (Rink, 2020. pg. 10). Amaphelas operate off the radar of formalised transport, their drivers will take passengers to the doctor, shopping, school or drop you off at your grandmother’s house, and it has a familiar feel and provide a community service. “The flexibility of amaphela services is enabled partly by their lack of infrastructural and institutional moorings” (Hannam et al., 2006, p.3). Amaphelas drivers will help carry your groceries to the car, deliver warm food from house to house and it is not uncommon to move live chickens which will be slaughtered for dinner. “The amaphela mobility experience is free-form, yet responsive to the environment: stopping,

starting, turning, and avoiding. Passengers are handed-off, others join mid-trip” (Rink, 2020, pg. 4). Amaphelas are self-regulated, they are not based at ranks and generally don’t belong to associations. They are a uniquely South African offering and form part of the cultural experience offered by townships.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the transport system in Cape Town and the modes of transport that operating in the City. The collapsed rail networks omission from the transport network has negatively affected the Khayelitsha community. The rail network served as a cost effective servant to the township. The road network is expanded on and the successful role out of the MyCiti Network is acknowledged. An historical overview of the minibus taxi industry explained the popularity and challenges created by the industry. The chapter concludes with an analysis of amaphelas, the township taxi, a product of the township, operating in the shadows of the City.



Chapter 6. Khayelitsha citizen's lived realities: From Councillors to commuters

This chapter details the results of my interviews. I begin with ward councillors I interviewed and then commuters. I include the travel diaries which participants kept for this research.

Ward Councillors

Khayelitsha is very large and has three sub councils and a number of wards and councillors who represent the interests of the residents of Khayelitsha. Seven ward councillors from the Khayelitsha area were interviewed as part of the research process. “In South Africa, each ward councillor is elected by a specific geographically defined ward within the area of jurisdiction of the municipality. Ward councillors are expected to make sure that concerns related to their wards are represented on the ward committee” (SALGA, 2006, pg. 53).

Councillors form the link between the community and local government. The responsibilities of municipal councillors according to (SALGA, 2011, pg. 61)

“are that they must; Act as representatives of the community they serve, provide leadership in councils, act as custodians and guardians of public finance, promote the cooperative governance ethos, provide effective oversight over the municipal executive and council officials, be accountable to local communities and report back to their constituencies on council matters and be responsive to the communities they serve”.

Councillors are meant to be actively involved in the municipal decision-making process. They act as part of the Standing Rules of Order, “through their party caucuses, in ward committees and ward activities, in development forums and community-based organizations, through community

information/liaison exercises, through the various committees of Council of which they are members; and in regard to any municipal function designated to them by the Executive Mayor” (Potgieter, 2019, pg. 12). Councillors have to setup broad based consultative structures within their wards called ward committees

In terms of Section 17 of the Municipal Systems Act, “the roles of ward councillors is to establish ward committees, chair and report progress on ward activities”. “A ward committee may make recommendations on any matter affecting its ward to or through the ward councillor” (Municipal Structures Act, 1998, pg. 5).

Interview with Councillor Bongani Ngcani.

This section details my discussion with a councillor in one of the poorest wards, 99

Sub council	10
Ward	99
Political Party	African National Congress (ANC)
Area	Khayelitsha
Boundaries	Good Hope - Endlovini Informal Settlement (Western Part if Endlovini Informal Settlement plus Dunes to the South until Swartklip Road and Baden Powell Drive) - Wolfgat Nature Reserve - Monwabisi - Kuyasa (West of the Welcome Zenzile Greenbelt. South of Esangweni Secondary School, East of Oscar Mphetha and North of Mew Way) - Tafelsig (East of Waboomberg Close,

	Bavianskloof Street, Bokkeveld Avenue, Olifantshoek Street, Waaihoek Street, Tafelberg Street, Voelvllei Street, Langeberg Avenue, Piketberg Street, Keeromberg Street, Benfica Road, Bavern Munich Road, Huguenot Avenue - Khayelitsha (Kayelitsha)
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My opening statement was “Allow me to explore Citizenship as a theme in Khayelitsha. Many of the residents in Khayelitsha have migrated from the Eastern Cape and its surrounding areas to Cape Town. Do they feel like they belong in Cape Town, are they accepted and do they feel included as residents of Cape Town?”

“The residents feel that Khayelitsha is a place on its own and it’s not part of the City of Cape Town. There are many things that differ from area to area based on the allocation of the budget within this City. They feel neglected, they feel like they don’t belong to the same City. There is a huge difference in the budget allocation between the rich and the poor areas, let’s take crime as an example... there are investments in cameras and law enforcement in richer areas, these allocations are not made to our areas”.

It is clear that Cape Town is a tale of two cities.

Does the transport network adequately address the needs of your ward?

“Not at all, we have huge challenges with the railway lines that have been vandalised. It is important to say that the community must share the blame for the vandalism. The maladministration at PRASA has affected us..., they community has had to look for alternatives such as taxis and buses...those are expensive for them”.

Here we see the “blame game” with the residents being faulted for criminality.

How do the costs of public transport affect the standard of living of the people in your ward?

“People working in Fishhoek earn R150 a day, yet they have to take two taxis to get there...what have you worked for. Transport is a huge challenge. These are the same people affected by taxi violence and attacks on buses. The people get shot and hurt, not taxis owners. Ordinary people are killed by conflict”.

Are you aware of any public transport upgrades taking place in Khayelitsha?

“There is project that is being planned in my ward, it is not going to happen in this financial year, it will happen next year. We want to upgrade a transport depot. It will happen but not in this year”.

I want to discuss the poor socio economic conditions in which the people of your community live. It is a poor community who mostly live in shacks, what are the plans to uplift your community. Can something be done to improve their livelihoods?

“Slowly but surely we will get there, it won't be fixed now. My concern lies with what is happening in Kwazulu Natal. Despite the politics, hunger plays a major role. If we not addressing the issue of hunger and unemployment problems will follow. Matriculants are finishing school are not sure where to go and what to do, you pass your matric...you finish your matric but you lying at home. Poverty is a huge challenge and we won't be able to resolve it now. The poor is a challenge... our population is growing like nobody's business; this can be seen by the land invasions that are happening. They are illegal electricity users, legal users are affected by illegal users damaging the system...is n helle gemors. The people of Khayelitsha have been shown the middle finger”.

What is the one thing the City of Cape Town can do today to positively affect the people in your ward that will change their lives for the better.

“Just be fair...treat every area and every ward the same. Equal budgets, resources and services...that's the way to go”.

Interview with Councillor Patrick Mngxunyeni

My second interview was also with an ANC councillor.

Sub council	10
Ward	94
Political Party	African National Congress (ANC)
Area	Khayelitsha
Boundaries	Eyethu - Ekuphumuleni - Graceland - Mandela Park (West of Oscar Mpetha Road, Govan Mbeki Road, Steve Biko Road and Jeff Masemola Road. South Of Spine Road, East Of Govan Mbeki And Steve Biko Road And North Of The Railway Line)

“Allow me to explore Citizenship as a theme in Khayelitsha. Many of the residents in Khayelitsha have migrated from the Eastern Cape and its surrounding areas to Cape Town. Do they feel like they belong in Cape Town, are they accepted and do they feel included as residents of Cape Town?”

“No they are not, they feel ignored...particularly now that we have the collapse of our infrastructure. We witness on a daily basis...drain blockages throughout Khayelitsha that have not been attended to and also the state of cleansing is a worrying factor. The *joblessness* becomes the biggest challenge, they are isolated and not getting job opportunities in Khayelitsha. It's a City that does not speak to their challenges as the community. We also have the challenge of the criminal elements that have not been attended to in the area of Khayelitsha, *crime is basically breakfast, lunch and supper*. They feel isolated” (my italics).

This councillor emphasised crime as a dominant reality and also lack of local jobs and isolation.

Does the transport network adequately address the needs of your ward?

“No...there is a comparison that is being made by the residents of Khayelitsha between the operation of MiCity Bus services ...in Khayelitsha you don't have the same kind of consistent operation of the service like areas such as Hout Bay and Montague Gardens have. They would even make comparisons between the bus stops, the quality of bus stops versus other urban areas. Since the taxis are not operational due to the current conflict the people of Khayelitsha are stranded not having transportation to work...its worse now that we don't have rail anymore. Our people are stranded. Even the joint venture that was arranged between the taxi industry and Golden Arrow buses has collapsed. Transportation becomes our biggest challenge”

How do the costs of public transport affect the standard of living of the people in your ward?

Big Time...a sustainable township economy would have been a solution to the challenge. If one earns R2000, sixty percent of that is spent on transport.

Are you aware of any public transport upgrades taking place in Khayelitsha?

“No I'm not, there was a discussion last year between us as the leadership in Khayelitsha and the national Minister of Transport Minister Fikile Mbalula, with regards to the plan his office has in mind for Metrorail. He is trying to revisit the development of new rail in Khayelitsha, but that has not taken off the ground”.

I want to discuss the poor socio economic conditions in which the people of your community

live. It is a poor community who mostly live in shacks, what are the plans to uplift your

community. Can something be done to improve their livelihoods?

“If you recall there was a court case when land invasion took place in Khayelitsha, the City of Cape Town attempted to remove those people off pockets of land. The court resolved that...in order for the City to evict those...they must find land with infrastructure, they must ensure that there are roads, water and electricity. It becomes difficult to develop property where those people are residing because it's overcrowded. In order for the City to build houses or for us to assist those people there has to be land available elsewhere...but as we speak you can't build houses because of the overcrowding”

The councillor suggests that there is cycle of wicked problems (a term used to describe complex situations).

What is the one thing the City of Cape Town can do today to positively affect the people in your ward, which will change their lives for the better.

Joblessness is priority number one. In order for the people to better their lives...they must be employed. Priority number two is the fight against crime, woman and children continue to be abused and killed on a daily basis...this is now Woman's month. I can tell you that there are more than 10 cases being reported to me related to crime. Obviously if houses can be built as priority number three, I can be happy, those are my three priorities, the unemployment, the crime and housing.

Interview with Councillor Xolisa Ngwekazi

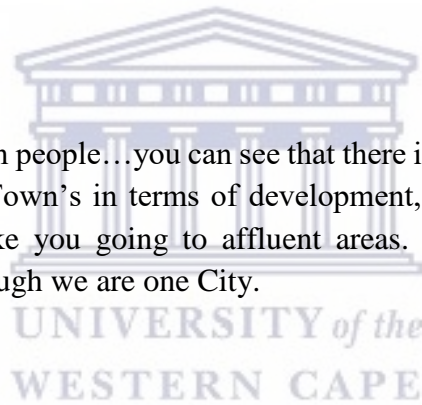
In this relatively less dense ward with about 40 000 residents, the ANC councillor gets over 80% of the vote (<https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/ward-19100095-city-of-cape-town-ward-95-19100095/>). A big issue coming out of my interviews is “land invasions”.

Sub council	24
Ward	95
Political Party	African National Congress (ANC)
Area	Khayelitsha
Boundaries	Kuyasa - Monwabisi - Enkanini Informal Settlement (Enkanini Informal Settlement) - Umrhabulo Triangle

	(South Of Jeff Masemola Road, Fukutha Road, Lwesine Street, Khululu Street, Khulula Street, Folokhwe Crescent, Fukutha Road, Kodwa Street, Makhulu Crescent, Lawula Street, Makhulu Crescent, Dibana Road, Hempe Street, Khalima Street
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Allow me to explore Citizenship as a theme in Khayelitsha. Many of the residents in Khayelitsha have migrated from the Eastern Cape and its surrounding areas to Cape Town. Do they feel like they belong in Cape Town, are they accepted and do they feel included as residents of Cape Town?

As someone that works with people... you can see that there is that feeling that there are two City of Cape Town's in terms of development, even when you go to Khayelitsha it's not like you going to affluent areas. We are living in two different areas even though we are one City.



Does the transport network adequately address the needs of your ward?

Not really, if you go to our taxi ranks, you find that we don't have infrastructure...even the bus stops don't have. I can't talk of My Citi, My Citi does not come to Khayelitsha. We have no My Citi bus and we have no trains.

How do the costs of public transport affect the standard of living of the people in your ward?

It's a challenge...our people are working for transport. Since there are no trains and My Citi it's a challenge...Golden Arrow are not for the poor, their prices are too high. They are not friendly to the poor. Half of your salary goes for transport.

Are you aware of any public transport upgrades taking place in Khayelitsha?

The last time I heard of something...there was plans to build a My Citi depot...but they don't operate in our area anymore, so I don't know. I'm not sure what the future holds.

I want to discuss the poor socio economic conditions in which the people of your community live. It is a poor community who mostly live in shacks, what are the plans to uplift your community. Can something be done to improve their livelihoods?

“In some areas the City tried but they take they time. The challenge that we have in Khayelitsha is *land invasion*. There was an approved City of Cape Town project that would have improved people's lives but those pieces of land were invaded. The City has declared that they don't have alternative land available. I have two or three developments in my ward standing still...these are housing developments standing still because of land invasion”.

What is the one thing the City of Cape Town can do today to positively affect the people in your ward, which will change their lives for the better.

“Service delivery...improve service delivery. We have no roads...our roads are messed up, we used to have tarred roads but now you are driving on gravel roads, defective lights...they not working. Our drains are blocked every day, they take their time to come and fix them...they are broken drains I reported two weeks ago, still they are not fixed. That's our challenge, they take their time to fix things...if they can just improve on service delivery that will be better”.

Interview with Councillor Phindile Maxiti

Councillor Maxiti is not a ward councillor. He tends towards a relative deprivation viewpoint.

Sub council	9
Ward	Proportional Representative
Political Party	Democratic Alliance (DA)

Area	Khayelitsha
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Allow me to explore Citizenship as a theme in Khayelitsha. Many of the residents in Khayelitsha have migrated from the Eastern Cape and its surrounding areas to Cape Town. Do they feel like they belong in Cape Town, are they accepted and do they feel included as residents of Cape Town?

“People do appreciate what they find in the City of Cape Town, when they compare it to what they experienced in the areas where they come from. There will always be a situation where people are unhappy...they want to compare areas of Khayelitsha to areas like Constantia and Bishopscourt. When they look at it from that perspective...they see that people in Bishopscourt and Constantia are well off compared to what they are experiencing.

Does the transport network adequately address the needs of the people in Khayelitsha?

“It is not enough...if you consider the failure of Metrorail...you will see we are suffering. Metrorail catered for a big number of people...when we had the busses, taxis and trains, the situation was better. There is a shortfall since the trains are not running...the absence of My Citi is also worsening our experience. The City is planning to reintroduce My Citi...remember we only had the first phase on the N2. There is a planned phase that will affect the interiors of Khayelitsha”

Are you aware of any public transport upgrades taking place in Khayelitsha?

I am aware of the My Citi plans ...which is phase 2B, where they will widen the old Lansdowne road in Site C, the new name is Japhta K Masemola. The road will be widened and we will have more buses. We are hoping to upgrade the people’s experiences”.

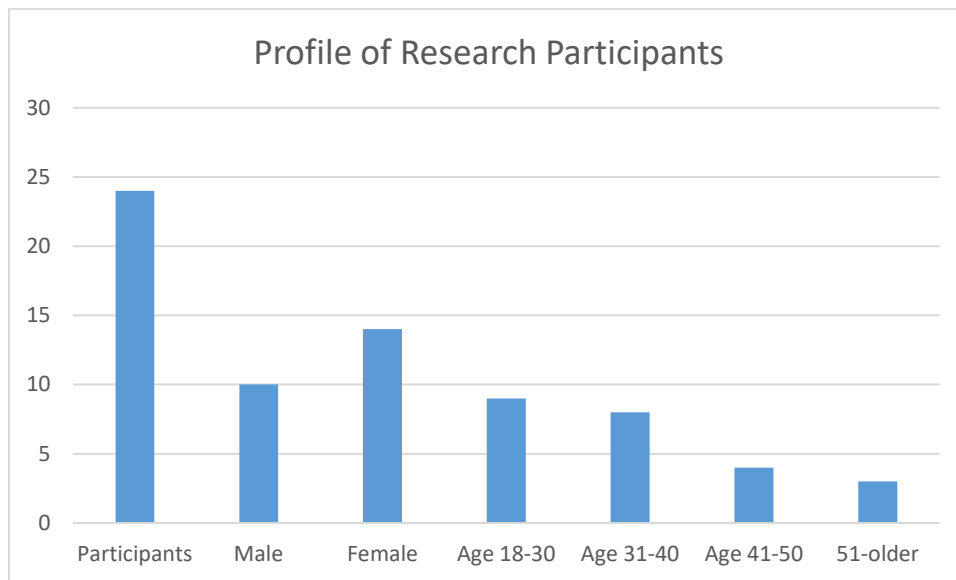
I want to discuss the poor socio-economic conditions in which the people of your community live. It is a poor community who mostly live in shacks, what are the plans to uplift your community. Can something be done to improve their livelihoods?

“There are so many projects that have already been implemented in Khayelitsha...if I can take you back when Khayelitsha was developed in the 80’s everyone was in a shack and there was not a single house. I can tell you now that more than 70 percent of the people are in a brick and mortar house...so there is development. It is not enough, the more we build houses, the more people from other provinces are coming and now we see the growth of shacks. That does not imply that things are not being built. Houses are built...but there are more people coming that is our situation”.

What is the one thing the City of Cape Town can do today to positively affect the people in your area, which will change their lives for the better.

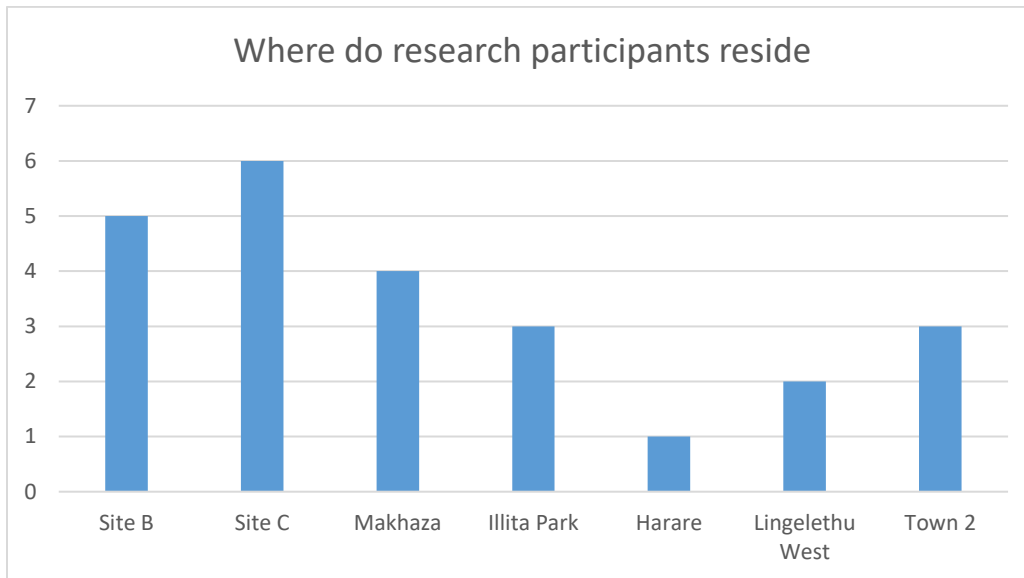
“The reality is that we will have people living in informal areas for quite a long time. One thing that I think the City must do is to make sure that people living in informal areas access services. If we can provide services in those informal areas...because we won’t be able to get rid of these areas...we will have them for quite a long time. It is important that we improve the standard of living...whilst people are waiting for housing”.

Figure 6.1 Commuters using Public Transport



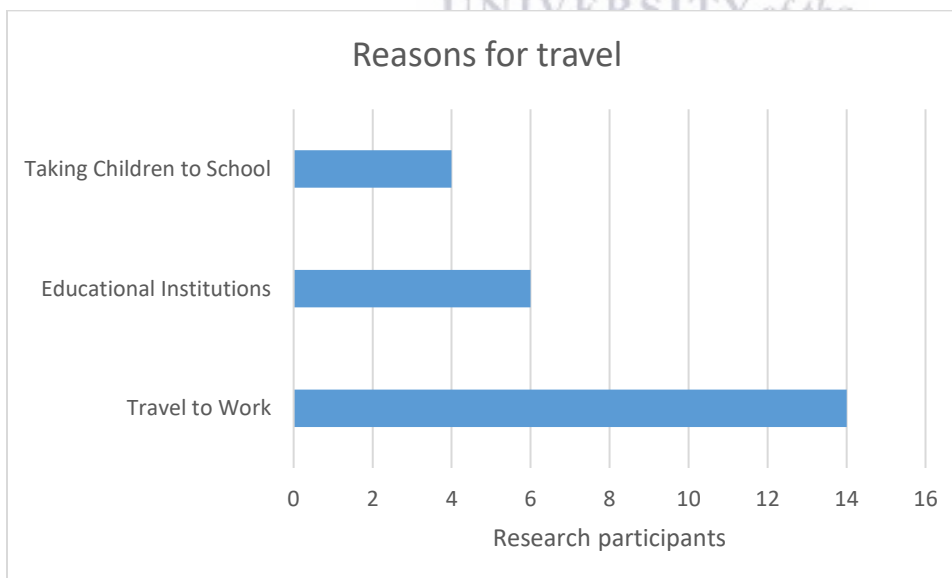
The research sample consisted of twenty-four participants; the participants include ten males and fourteen female respondents. The ages of the participants varies as follows; nine participants are between the ages of 18-30, eight participants are aged 31-40, four participants are aged 41-50 and 3 participants are aged 51 and older. Research participants were randomly selected to remove the potential influence of external variables geographically dispersed within the Khayelitsha area to ensure generalizability of results.

Figure 6.2: Where research participants reside



All of the research participants reside in Khayelitsha; five reside in Site B, six reside in Site C, four reside in Makhaza, three live in Illita Park, one stays in Harare and three live in Town 2

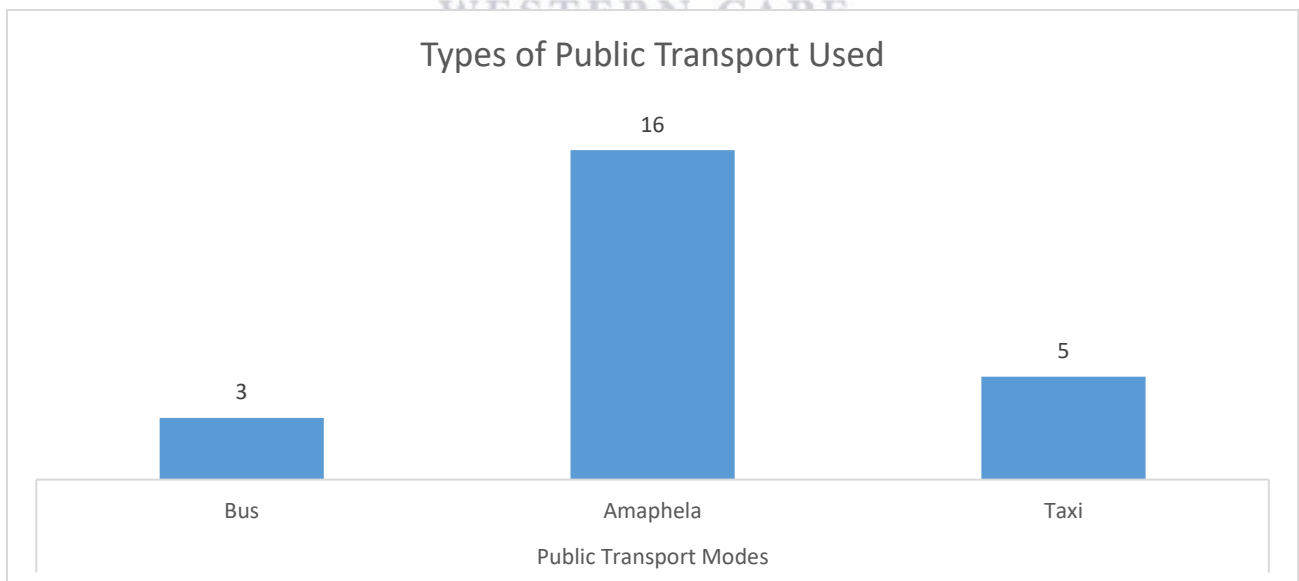
Figure 6.3: Reasons for travel



The research participants were asked to specify the reasons for their daily commute, four participants used public transport to take their children to school, 6 participants were traveling to a higher education institution and fourteen participants were travelling to work.

A number of factors affect a commuter's choice of public transport, these considerations vary and are subject to individual preferences. According to the (Statistics SA National Household Travel Survey; 2020, pg. 33) "Travel cost, travel time and flexibility remain the top three factors influencing a household's choice as far as the mode of transport is concerned. In 2013, 32, 6% of households identified travel time as the biggest determinant of modal choice, followed by travel cost (26, 1%) and flexibility (9, 2%). In 2020, travel cost surpassed travel time as a national priority (30, 8%), while travel time was important to 23, 3% and flexibility was mentioned by 11, 9% of households". Other considerations include safety, convenience and reliability.

Figure 6. 4: Types of transport



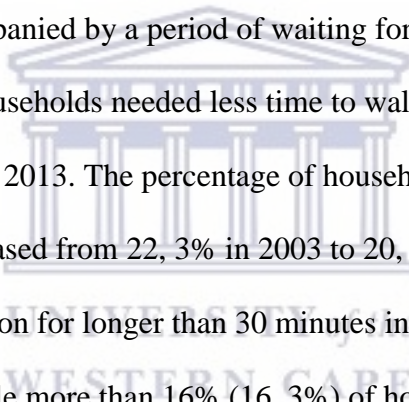
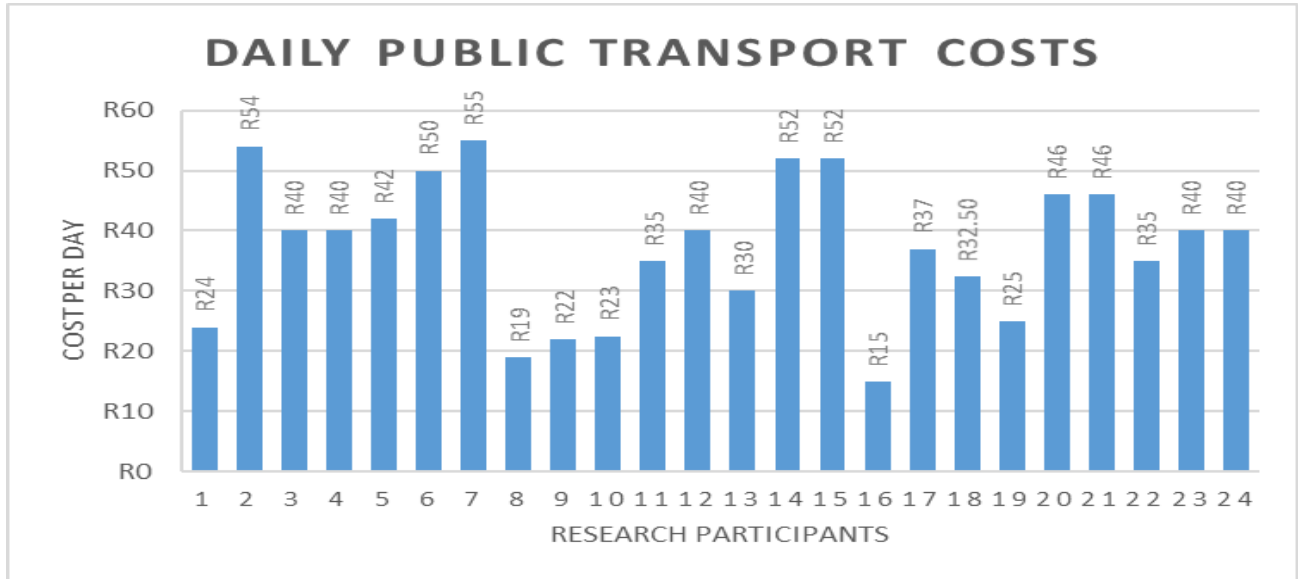
Buses, amaphelas and taxis are the only available public transport options in Khayelitsha, the train network and the My Citi bus service has been discontinued. The amaphela service operates under immense pressure from taxi associations; the service is treated with contempt and is seen as an illegitimate form of public transport. “The general usage patterns of public transport as reported by households has changed significantly between 2013 and 2020. There has been a general increase in households who used a taxi (from 9, 8 million to 11, 4 million). However, a significant decrease was recorded in the number of households who used a bus (from 2, 9 million to 2, 1 million) and a train (1, 4 million to 0, 5 million) as their preferred mode of transport. (SSNHTS, 2020, pg. 4). Commuters walk to the nearest Main road or bus stop, the walk to the pick-up point is generally accompanied by a period of waiting for the next available bus, amaphela or taxi. “Generally, households needed less time to walk to their nearest taxi, bus or train station in 2020 compared to 2013. The percentage of households that walked for more than 15 minutes to the taxi rank decreased from 22, 3% in 2003 to 20, and 2% in 2020. The number of those who walked to the bus station for longer than 30 minutes increased from 3, 9% in 2013 to 7, and 4% in 2020. In 2013, a little more than 16% (16, 3%) of households walked for longer than 30 minutes to a train station. This figure increased to 41, 0% in 2020 (SSNHTS, 2020, pg. 4)”.

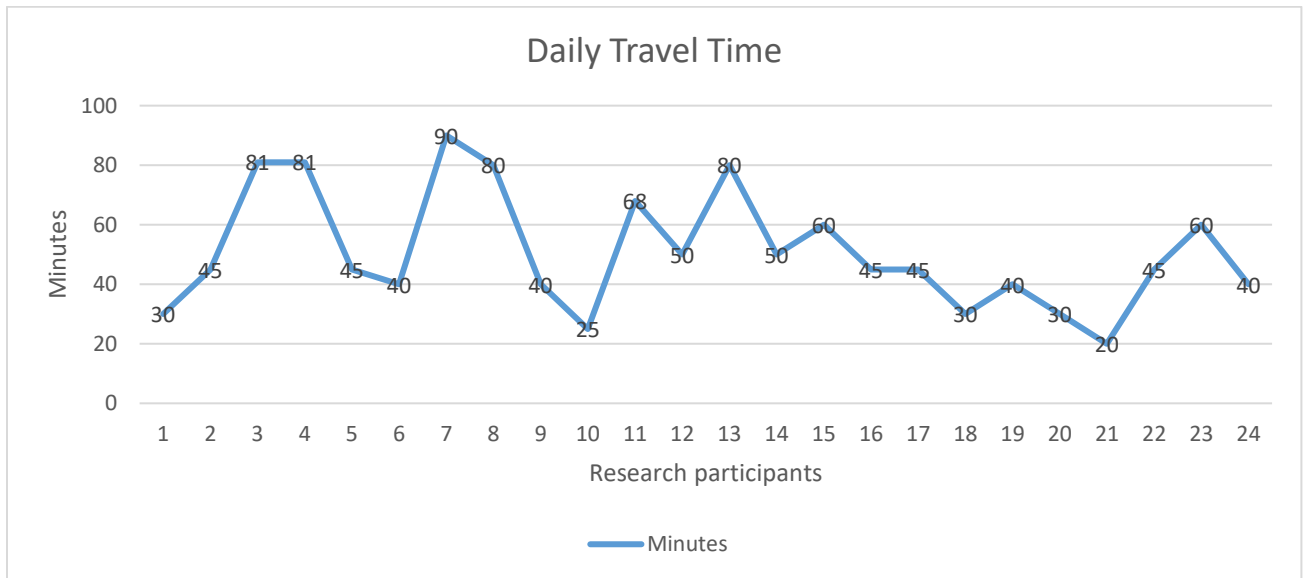
Figure 6.5: Public Transport Costs



The graph presents a graphical representation of the daily travel costs of the research participants, nationally daily transport costs are deemed to be expensive relative to the amount earned “Nationally, almost eight per cent (7, 6%) of households indicated that taxis were too expensive. Proportionally, households in Northern Cape (11, 5%), Eastern Cape (10, 8%), KwaZulu-Natal (10, 2%) and Mpumalanga (9, 9%) were more likely to be concerned about the cost of taxis. About 6% (5, 6%) of the respondents considered reckless driving by taxi drivers as one of their most concerning transport-related problems. The two provinces with the highest economic activity levels, namely Western Cape (10%) and Gauteng (6, 9%), had a greater proportion of households that identified this problem” (SSNHTS, 2020, pg. 5). Taxis and amaphelas are not subsidised by government as opposed to buses and trains, commuters are directly burdened with costs. “More than two-tenths (20, 6%) of households spent R501 or more on a monthly basis, and the highest proportion of these households were found in Gauteng (31, 3%), Western Cape (23, 5%) and KwaZulu-Natal (19, 0%). The next highest is North West,

where 18,0% of households spent R501 or more monthly...research shows that Gauteng (35,5%), KwaZulu-Natal (21,2%), North West (19,5%) and Western Cape (19,0%) had the highest proportion of households who spent R1 001 or more monthly on public transport to travel to work compared to other provinces. By comparison, urban areas had the higher proportion of households who spent R500 or more monthly on public transport to travel to work (58, 7%) when compared to rural areas (40, 6%) “(SSNHTS, 2020, pg. 87)

Figure 6.6: Daily Travel Time



Research participants spent a considerable amount of time traveling to work. Time spent travelling to work affects your quality of life, the more time spent commuting, the less time is available for family, exercise and leisure time. “More than one-quarter (29, 8%) of South Africa's workers left their home for work between 07:00 and 07:59 in the morning. Slightly less than one-quarter of workers (24, 5%) left for work before 06:00 in the morning. Ten per cent (10, 3%) of workers started travelling at 08:00 or later. Workers in rural areas tended to leave earlier for work than the residents in urban areas. Two-thirds (66, 2%) of rural workers left before

07:00, as opposed to 58% of workers in urban areas. The percentage of workers who spent 15 minutes or more walking to their first transport decreased nationally from 14, 7% in 2013 to 11, and 5% in 2020. Similarly, the proportion of workers who waited more than 15 minutes for the first public transport decreased from 10, 3% in 2013 to 6, and 7% in 2020. The highest percentage of workers who had to wait for more than 15 minutes for the first public transport to arrive were found in Gauteng (9, 2%), Limpopo (7, 5%) and KwaZulu-Natal (6, 8%). After being dropped off by their public transport, most workers walked to reach their workplace. The percentages of these workers who had to walk for more than 15 minutes to get to work were as follows: 11,2% in North West; 10,5% in Gauteng; 10,4% in Western Cape and 9,5% in Limpopo” (SSNHTS, 2020, pg. 3). The participant’s response are consistent with the national averages as outlined in (SSNHTS, 202, pg. 4-5) “Overall, between 2013 and 2020, the average travel time for work has increased across all modes of transport except for those who walked all the way to their place of work. The highest increase is observed among those who used a train, taxi, and bus to reach their destination. In 2020, workers who used public transport experienced a long travel time in the morning to access their workplace; train users travelled for 107 minutes, bus travellers spent 84 minutes travelling, and taxi users travelled 63 minutes. Those who used a car/bakkie/truck as passengers needed 49 minutes to get to work, while those who drove took 44 minutes”.

The travel times submitted by the research participants is excessive, particularly on the upper end of the graph. Working families are significantly affected by travel time which affect work cork commitments, school runs and levels of fatigue. The lack of inner City accommodation for low income earners leave commuters with very few opportunities to graduate up the economic scale.

Travel Diaries

Research Participants were asked to complete a travel diary, the names and details of the individuals interviewed will be not be published as per the prescripts of the POPPIA act.

What is the status of the transport network in Khayelitsha as perceived by users?

Participant three wrote:

“There are too little roads in and out of Khayelitsha...the taxis are struggling to leave the area...the roads are too narrow. We are stuck in traffic for a long time. You have to leave your house early and we get home late. In winter, it is dark and you don't feel safe. The taxis are also a problem, the buses are better ...but they are slow and expensive, I can't afford it”.

Participant nine observed that:

“We need the My Citi busses in our area, why do they not operate in our area? The City allows them to operate in other areas. We also want busses and nice bus stops. We pay a lot of money for transport and it's not fair. There is no intervention to bring back the trains, nobody talks about it, and our area is not being serviced. Fix our roads, fill the potholes, put up signs like the other areas have”

Participant thirteen:

“There is a feeling that only certain people pay rates and taxes. People say that services are delivered based on rates and taxes paid. We work, we pay taxes... we bought houses and we pay rates to the City and to government. Therefore we must not be excluded from service delivery. The City must be fare and provide safe and effective public transport to the people of Khayelitsha. Our daily commute tires us, it is a struggle to get to work. The townships have been forgotten by the leadership...but they will come knocking during the elections and we will not forget”.

Participant sixteen:

100

“The trains are not running, trains are cheaper than taxis and buses. We need the trains to start running”.

Participant nineteen:

“The bus stations and taxi ranks are far from my house, I have to walk far for transport”

Participant twenty:

“There are some new roads in Khayelitsha, they are trying. Our problem is...this place is growing. There is always a need for more”

Participant twenty one:

“There are upgrades happening, but we have lots of potholes. We need the trains back, they are faster and cheaper. We don't have My Citi busses. The taxis are everywhere, but they not the safest way to travel”

Participant twenty two also drew attention to better services that other areas have:

“The transport infrastructure is limited. The area needs the same attention as other areas. These things affect us in winter, when we walk far distances to the taxi ranks. When we stand in line, we don't have shelter, we are exposed”

Participant twenty three:

“Transport is not well organised, taxis owners and drivers want to operate alone. Golden Arrow needs to have more busses in the area”.

Participant twenty four:

“Street lights are needed on all the roads, when we walk it is dark and I don't feel safe. These are the things which worry me, will I arrive safely?”

The lived experiences from the participants speaks to the need for greater investments in better infrastructure and additional public transport resources is evident. The perception of inequality in service delivery is evident; the general tone can be described as dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs.

6.7 The participants were asked to record their experiences whilst using public transport, these will include feelings of satisfaction, discomfort, harassment and anxieties during the commute.

Participant one:

“In winter my day starts cold and wet. We walk to Japhta K Masemola road to find a taxi. The drains are blocked and smelly, the water is laying everywhere. You think you are walking in a puddle of water only to find out it’s a pothole. Your shoes are no good. It’s dark...the street lights are out...I don’t feel safe. When I walk...I have to look down for the water and look up for my safety. You have to be aware of your surroundings. We walk ...because we don’t have any options ...we have to get to work”

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Participant two:

“I take two taxis to work, first a taxi from home to the Site C rank and then from Site C to Claremont. The taxi collects people all around Khayelitsha, dropping them off and picking them up. The journey from home to the Site C rank takes longer than leaving Khayelitsha from Claremont. The taxi is packed full with what we call 4-4 seating. Its four people sitting in every row from back to front. People in a hurry squeeze themselves in while the taxi is loaded to full capacity. You must move or make space for these extra people. Passengers complain about the driver being too obedient of the road rules.

The participants report the need to take two taxis to work, this is a common theme among those interviewed. The size of Khayelitsha compels passengers to take a taxi from your home to the

taxi rank and then a secondary taxi to work. This equates to two trips, with two payments to get to work. This is very different from other suburbs who have the My Citi network, monthly users on the network can buy one ticket for all trips on any day at a reduced price.

Participant three describes a harrowing experience of mobility:

“My first trip is from Harare in Khayelitsha to the Site C rank and my second trip is from the Site C rank to the Station Deck taxi rank in town. There are always traffic jams, taxis overtaking on the shoulders and drivers driving recklessly. There are arguments over money and getting back your change. When there is congestion and the taxis are forced to drive slowly, robbers climb into the taxis and rob us of our phones and money”

Participant nine:

I take a taxi from my house to the Site C rank, I then take a taxi to Claremont. We have to wait long at the rank for the taxi to fill up before we drive. The drivers are scary and the trip is uncomfortable. They disobey the rules of the road.

Participant twelve:

“During this Covid 19 virus, our lives are at risk. The taxis are full and there is no sanitiser. They don’t care about our lives, if you complain they take you out. We always have to wait until the taxi is full, some people stand others are lucky to sit. When the drivers see officers like Traffic Law Enforcement and Metro Police, they tell people who are not sitting to hide. They are not afraid of speed limits and red robots”.

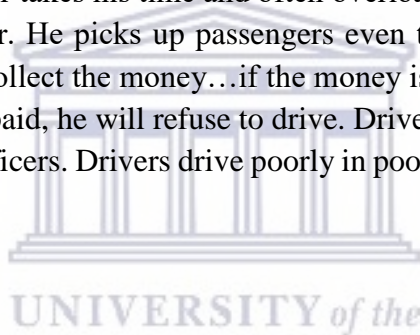
Participant thirteen pointed to inter-taxi conflicts:

“Our taxis are stopped by drivers from CATA. They took our driver for questioning...demanding money...they claim to own the route as their own. This really worries us, we are tired and come from night shift. We never argue with them; we fear for our lives”.

There is an ongoing conflict between the two rival taxi associations Cata and Codeta which can best be described as a ‘turf war’. The conflict has led to numerous attacks on minibus taxis and innocent passengers. Passengers are often left stranded when attacks takes place and the service is disrupted. Passengers appeal for help from the City of Cape Town, Western Cape Provincial Government and the South African Police Service. Western Cape transport MEC Daylin Mitchell enforced ‘Section 91(2) of the National Land Transport Act’ by closing down routes and ranks in response to the ongoing violence.

Participant fourteen:

“At taxi ranks, the driver takes his time and often overloads the taxi. They have no masks ...no sanitiser. He picks up passengers even though the taxi is full. One of us is forced to collect the money...if the money is short he will stop the taxi until the money is paid, he will refuse to drive. Drivers only drive carefully when they see traffic officers. Drivers drive poorly in poor areas and drive better in nicer areas”.



6.8 How do you feel when you arrive at your destination, describe your fears, worries and concerns?

Participant one made crucial observation about being tired even before starting work:

“When I get too work I am tired...I leave early. I worry about my children...they must go to school on their own. I am not there to check on them, I can’t take them to school. I rely on transport to take them”.

Participant two:

“Abused and squashed. I feel all worked up and afraid to get off as the rank in Claremont does not look safe at all”

It is interesting to note that this participant travelled from Khayelitsha to Claremont and did not feel safe in Claremont as opposed to Khayelitsha. This speaks to the negative perceptions of safety and security throughout Cape Town.

Participant four:

“I worry about arriving safely, I worry about my safety...I hope I don't get the same bad drivers and have the same bad experiences”

Participant eight describes feelings of panic when arriving late:

“I'm scared of losing my job if I arrive late, I will have to write a report and receive a warning...which is not good for my file at work. I panic...I need to get to. I worry about accidents on the road...who will inform my family”

Participant ten noted deep anxiety and insecurity of life:

“You just don't know what will happen to you; you may be killed...you may be robbed. Safety is an issue for us when using public transport”

Participant fifteen notes the environmental hazards especially in winter:

“I am cold and wet when I get to work. We need the City to provide shelter at taxi ranks and bus stops. We stand and wait at these ranks, we are exposed to the cold rainy conditions. If the rain doesn't get you the deep puddles and the blocked drains catches you”.

6.9 How do the costs of public transport affect your standard of living?

Participant three describes an unending cycle on increasing costs:

“Public transport is expensive; when the petrol price rises...they charge us more. When the petrol price drops, the fare remains the same. We are the losers; we struggle to make ends meet because of these prices”.

Participant eight notes that she has no choice. “I need to get to work, I need my job. The price I pay is not a choice.”

Participant twelve: “It is too expensive, especially if you take two taxis in the morning and two in the evening”

Participant eighteen:

“I take my child to school, I pay for two seats in the morning and two in the afternoon and I pay school fees. The prices are just too much”

Participant nineteen:

“It’s too expensive...how do we eat with these prices”.

Participant twenty:

“The government must subsidise us, we pay too much. I don’t have a car...I can’t afford one. At least come to the party and provide assistance. My work is far from my home”

Participant twenty one:

“The price we pay affects what we eat and how often we eat. I have no choice, I have to be at work on time.”

Participant twenty three:

“Taxi owners are over charging us and nobody does anything about it. The prices are too expensive. When I don’t have money for transport I borrow from money lenders. Those people are thieves”

6.10 Do you feel that the transport network connects you to your community or do you feel excluded and marginalised?

Participant one:

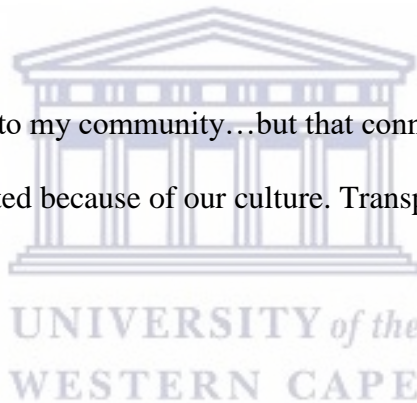
“It connects me to my work, township life is about survival”

Participant two:

“Yes it does connect me. I can travel to church on a Sunday, I can visit my family and friends”

Participant three:

“Yes I do feel connected to my community...but that connection is not because of transport. We are connected because of our culture. Transport will connect anybody for a price”.



Participant sixteen:

“I am connected; there is a strong bond amongst our people. There are always exceptions, like criminals. We struggle together for a better future”

Participant seventeen:

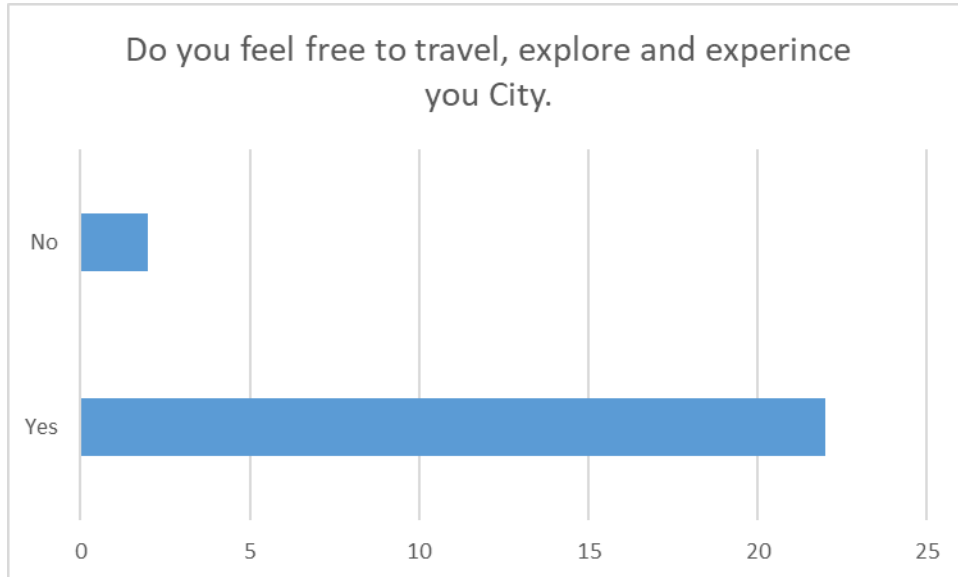
“Yes, I grew up in Cape Town. I belong here”

Participant twenty one:

“I am only excluded when there is a price to pay and I can't afford it”.

8.12.4 Do you feel free to travel, explore and experience your suburb and your City?

Figure 6.11: Freedom to Explore



This section/question was motivated by the Lefebvre's idea of the right to city and the responses of participants reveal important barriers to mobility.

Participant one:

"I feel free, I belong here I can go where I want to...I don't always feel *safe*, that's the difference".

Participant four:

"I am free to move around...but I don't have the *money* to do so. Our struggle is for survival not pleasure"

Participant ten:

“I am able to move around but there is no desire or need to do so. I would only succeed in upsetting myself because I would be making *comparisons* between my place and theirs”.

Participant eighteen:

“I have the freedom to move, I just *don't feel welcome* there. People are suspicious of us, they is an *unseen barrier* that divides us. You cannot see it but you can feel it.”

Participant nineteen

“I do visits other parts of the City, I prefer to do my shopping outside of Khayelitsha. It's nicer there. I don't have a problem with the people.”

Participant Twenty one

“I don't feel free. How are we supposed to move around, we don't have money...we don't have transport...we are stuck in Khayelitsha. If you don't have transport you are stuck...let's *not fool ourselves*.”

Participant Twenty three

“The legacy of apartheid still reigns, that's a truth. I am free to move...but am I welcomed on the other side”.

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the lived realities and fears of the Khayelitsha community. The honesty and frankness is evident and their frustrations are palpable. Strikingly, every participant has a story to tell, there is a collective disappointment, an emotional repertoire of feelings. There challenges are made man constructs that at a personal must evoke a personal yearning for a better life. The benefits of restorative justice initiatives such as the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry

is not being felt at grass roots level. They display a level of tolerance in their responses, they have not taken up arms in anger or sort to be vengeful for their lack. The political inaction or inertia has not elicited a rude response, the respondents are dignified despite their hardships.

It is difficult to frame their responses within the context of the city they live in. Cape Town is a world class city, heralded as one of the best tourist sites in the world, an acclaimed success story and often titled as the best run municipality in the country. The comments expressed demonstrate the legacy of apartheid's impact on modern day Khayelitsha and the government's struggle to accelerate growth and development. Khayelitsha is the yardstick for inequality and the epitome of poverty.



Chapter 7: Overall Considerations by way of a conclusion

“I am free to move around...but I don't have the money to do so. Our struggle is for survival not pleasure”. (Participant in this study)

This chapter concludes the exploration of citizenship and mobility. It discusses the overall experiences and perceptions for the Khayelitsha area and the various issues around mobility and distance. The interviews discussed in the previous chapter highlighted the breakdown of governance and oversight at municipal level and more alarmingly the *political* distance between the problems faced by the community in comparison with the current level of services being delivered and breaks in communication with the state. Physical, social and political distance are all at play as is a sense of helplessness and just “surviving” among residents of Khayelitsha.

The Councillors offered candid views on their perceptions of the state of their wards and communities in Khayelitsha. Opposition politics is not for the faint hearted: the Councillors don't have the political mandate to govern, their tone communicated a feeling of being frustrated and disadvantaged. These emotions are generally not uncommon among opposition political leaders. The dominant political party sets the agenda, decides on the political direction, fund programs and control the purse strings.

A key component of local government is grassroots politics, Councillors are the community's closest point of contact and serve as an intermediary between the community and the municipality. Opposition Councillors serves as a watchdogs holding the ruling party accountable.

This is an important feature of South Africa's democracy, opposing political parties ignite political contestation and electoral competition at the polls.

Interviewing politicians requires an open mind, the challenge lies in trying to separate bias from truth and opposition politics almost always argues the opposing narrative, regardless of the political party. The question that arose in every interview, is whether the response opposes for the sake of opposition or if the response is a constructive critique, with a legitimate complaint. Truth be told; the interviews scratch at the surface of service delivery and was accepted as an opinion of an office bearer who holds a level of accountability to the community. The office bearer has a duty to change the narrative if he is unhappy, as a Councillor in a community, who has the power to hold the administration to account.

Contestations in political spaces and arenas are normal and can be seen as contributing to a healthy democracy but this is not the case in Cape Town. Section 151 of the Constitution compels "municipality to strive, within its administrative and financial capacity to achieve the objects of local government. The objects of local government represent the core functions of a municipality to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities; to ensure sustainable provision of services to *all* communities. Municipal councillors are public representatives elected to have authority and oversight. The authority of the office they hold has to enforce the mandate given to municipalities by the constitution.

The councillors speak of the disconnect and sense of unfairness felt by the residents of Khayelitsha and the lack of employment and economic opportunities. This reinforces the notion of two standards for one city. There is a clear vocalised feeling of bias, neglect and disillusionment with the way the city is being governed. There is evidence of a different level of

service delivery offered to Khayelitsha in comparison to the rest of the City; their expectations are not unrealistic when one examines the amount of money and time spent on infrastructure upgrades in the rest of the City. Evidence of these infrastructure inequalities can be seen in the delivery of My Citi busses managed by the City of Cape Town and the absent train network managed by Prasa and the national Department of Transport. These services are affected by service delivery protests, land invasion and crime. It is however, difficult to explain how the entire might of the state cannot improve the lived experiences of the people of Khayelitsha.

The unity of purpose felt after the advent of democracy and the 2010 World Cup is not seen or experienced today. There is a feeling of optimism and enthusiasm missing from the collective apparatus of the state to change the lives of the poor.

Twenty four research participants from Khayelitsha who participated in the research confirmed that the reasons for their daily commute included; taking children to school, traveling to a higher education institution and travelling to work. The costs of their commute can be described as exorbitant in relation to the average income of township residents. Their standard of living is severely eroded by costly public transport. The absence of safe and reliable transport options does not only affect them financially, it also affects their emotional and psychological well-being. There is everyday anxiety felt by commuters, which wealthier people in the suburbs do not experience or appreciate.

The time needed to commute is excessive, it reduces the time spent with their families, their morale at work is low and levels of stress and fatigue in the workplace are worsened by fear of being dismissed for late coming. This must affect the productivity of firms.

The participants are despondent and disappointed in the level of service delivery offered by all spheres of government. The participants acknowledge their status as citizens of this City with reservation, the inequality is evident and the anger is palpable. The lack of transport options in My Citi buses and trains debilitates the residents, the township economy and the economy at large. Sadly, mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating these types of citizen metrics hinted at in my thesis are not available.

There are glaringly obvious repetitive points of irritation that stood out whilst the research was conducted. Firstly, the transport system is broken. The City does not have a train service, the service which is ultimately run nationally, which once formed the backbone of the transport network, has been subjected too much publicised arson and vandalism. The train service needs to be repaired and protected at all costs. The MyCiti project is in its infancy in Khayelitsha, as a business model, the township is potentially their biggest untapped market. The service works well and is efficient, the benefits of the service needs to be expanded. The minibus taxi industry has gone rogue, commuters feel unsafe in them and their fellow road users are scared of their seemingly erratic driving behaviour. The Amaphela service operates in the shadows of the township, there too lies a massive business opportunity, to turn a sedan taxi into an Uber/Cab type business model.

In terms of citizenship and a sense of belonging in this City, the poor feel like unwelcome guests in the City. They are accommodated on the outskirts of the City and desperately need to be moved closer to their place of employment. The social, political and professional barriers that exist is not sustainable and could lead to social unrest. Points of common interests, such as sport,

dance and social activities needs investment, to allow for a cross pollination of cultures and lifestyles.

Poverty exists in this City, township dwellers are struggling to survive. There needs to be a renewed focus on foodbanks, thrift stores and upcycling goods for reuse by the marginalised.

Poverty is a game changer that could fast track our decline into an abyss of crime.

Many of the respondents spend their money on commuting with their children to schools outside of Khayelitsha. The education system in the townships appears broken, children are leaving their suburbs en masse in the morning, to attend good schools. Money that could have been used to elevate families, is being redirected to alternative avenues of debt. The question arises whether a municipality should be held fully responsible for poor social cohesion, spatial and citizenship fragmentation. The record of accomplishment of the municipality has to be examined to show intent and purpose even if it has not had the means to do so. The constitution makes adequate provision for social cohesion in law and in the spirit in which it has been written. Turok, Visagie and Scheba (2021, pg. 75) argue that the City of Cape Town's track-record, shows a fractured spatial planning trajectory that will not realise the ideals of the constitution. The current spatial planning framework and the policy direction favours a privileged minority. Moreover, the organisational apparatuses of all spheres of government do not encourage a sense of optimism or belonging amongst research participants.

The cumulative efforts of the City's Integrated Development Plan, Provincial Governments Strategic Plan and the national governments National Development Plan is not felt as a positive step at a grassroots level. People fundamentally need to feel that they belong. The research participants clearly state that they are able to move around freely, there is however a lack of

enthusiasm to move based on acceptance and the lack of a semblance of inclusivity. The combination of all of these factors breeds resentment and a mistrust of fellow citizens, anger and resentment. There should be a common goal, obvious to everyone, one of equal growth, prosperity and success. This common goal is not evident: there is a selfish accumulation of resources, services and wealth.

The research indicates that townships are in survival mode but desperate for change, trusted leadership and progress. The more interesting questions for further research is relative lack of protest and why people put up with these extreme conditions, which I encountered through diaries and interviews in Khayelitsha. The study of acquiescence invokes the classical work of Barrington Moore (2016) on obedience and revolt. Is it that the residents will try to make the best of a very bad situation for a long time because options are limited; at what stage is enough enough? Protests often occur when a point of no return is passed and when people see their suffering as unnecessary and when they think the elite has broken the social contract (Moore, 2016). At face value there is enough discontent experienced in townships to trigger any internal or external agitation. The collective apathy of political authorities is contrary to the City of Cape Town's promise of inclusive citizenship and the narrative of "The City works for you" and the President Cyril Ramaphosa's "New Dawn".

Finally, there is an opportunity for scholars to theorise citizenship in South Africa, given the failure to change the lived spatial experiences of the people and the reality of continued separate development, albeit in a politically unitary post-1994 South Africa.

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ANNEXURES



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SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

Participation information sheet for a Research Questionnaire conducted by Kevin Jacobs

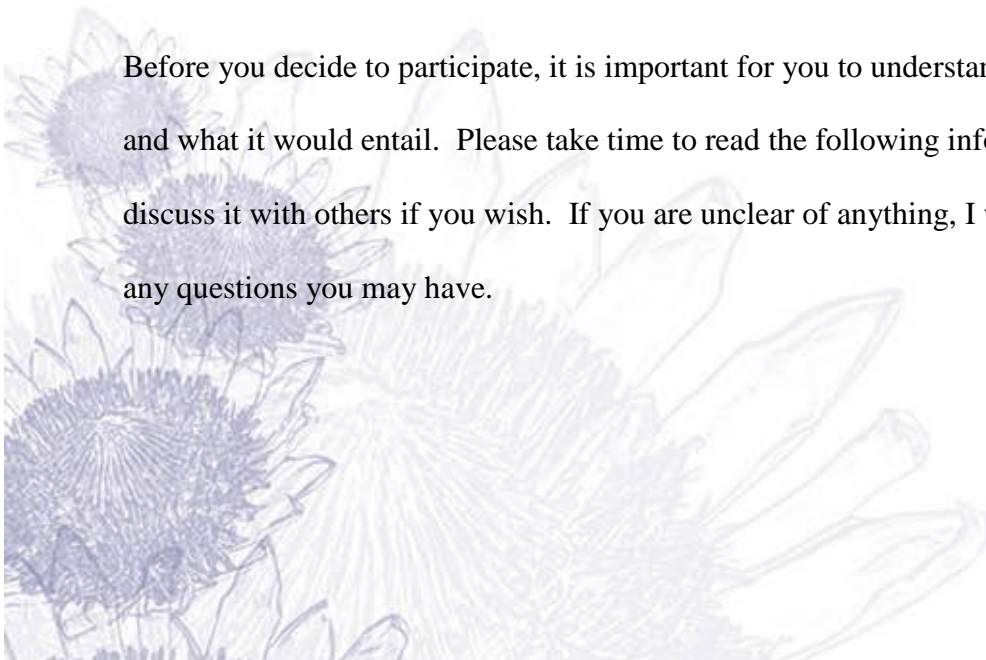
3614411

RESEARCH TITLE: Citizenship, transport and the working poor and unemployed in Khayelitsha since 2010.

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Kevin Jacobs, a student of the University of the Western Cape. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the Master's Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.



PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this research project this thesis is to research public transport in Khayelitsha, detailing the plight of the poor and their challenges with mobility. New knowledge and new perspectives are needed to advance the accelerated delivery of services to Khayelitsha, improve spatial integration and improve mobility for the community. However, in order for policies to be improved a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the ordinary commuter is needed, adequately addressing his feelings about using public transport. The research questions will be asking;



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- 1) What is the current status of the transport network in Khayelitsha as perceived by users?
- 2) How do ineffective transport networks affect the day to day commute and working lives of Khayelitsha residents who work and travel within the community as well as work seeking behaviours by the unemployed?
- 3) How is Khayelitsha residents' home life and social-spatial isolation of the working poor and unemployed affected by transport problems and high transport costs?

4) How do commuters try to cope with the daily problems?

5) How does transport affect trust and citizenship in Khayelitsha?

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your participation will help other people. You will also be asked a number of interview guide questions. Data will be collected through the use of a research diary and you will be asked to answer open ended interview questions.

The study will be submitted electronically through sms, WhatsApp and email. The researcher is aware of the dangers posed by the Covid 19 pandemic. No human interaction is envisaged during this research project. All correspondence will be submitted electronically via sms, WhatsApp and email.



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CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that

can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times.

From an ethical perspective, all research participants will participate voluntarily out of their own free will. Every participant's right to confidentiality and privacy will be respected. The purpose and significance of the study will be explained to the participants, specific reference will be made to the academic nature of the research and its intended benefits for the Khayelitsha community. Participants will be able to anonymously participate to ensure that their personal information is not exposed.



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RISKS TO THE RESEARCHER.

- The researcher will not be exposed to any risks whilst conducting this research.
- Submissions made by the research participants will be documented electronically through sms, WhatsApp and email.
- They will record their own lived experiences privately and make submissions electronically.

BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

The research seeks to understand the qualitative and experiential side of what may be an urban citizenship crisis around transport for the working people of the Cape Flats. The effect on horizontal relations between citizens and vertical relations with the state as well as the erosion of the quality of home life.



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VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

No payments will be made to the participant for partaking in the study.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.



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QUESTIONS

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student Name : Kevin Jacobs

Student Number : 3614411

Mobile Number : 0832649661

Work Number : 021 8124580

Email : Kevin.jacobs@capetown.gov.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Prof Greg Ruiters

Department : UWC School of Gov

Telephone : 021 959 3804

Email : gruiters@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape,

Tel. 021 959 2988,



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CONSENT FORM FOR CANDIDATE MASTERS THESIS: CITIZENSHIP, TRANSPORT
AND THE WORKING POOR AND UNEMPLOYED IN KHAYELITSHA SINCE 2010.

RESEARCH TITLE:

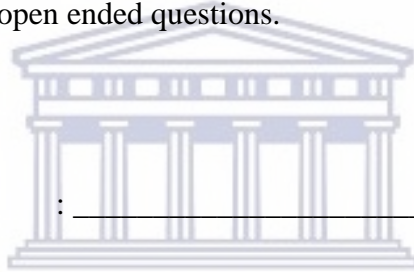
I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Kevin Jacobs towards the Master's Degree in Public Administration Program me at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntary agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study by completing a questionnaire and answering the open ended questions.

Participant Name : _____



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WESTERN CAPE

Participant Signature : _____

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

Agree	Disagree

Date : _____



**UNIVERSITY of the
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FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

Place : _____

Student Researcher : Kevin Jacobs

Student Researcher Signature : _____

Student Number : 3614411

Mobile Number : 0832649661

Email : Kevin.Jacobs@capetown.gov.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Prof. Greg Ruiters



Department : School of Government (SOG)

Telephone : +27 21 959 3804

Email : gruiter@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape,

Tel. 021 959 2988,

Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE
UWC MASTERS THESIS SKYPE OR TELEPHONIC INTERVIEW COUNCILLOR
QUESTIONNAIRE

Masters Student: Kevin Jacobs

Student Number: 3614411

Councillors Name:

139

Sub Council:

Ward:

Political Party:

Boundaries:

1. Allow me to explore Citizenship as a theme in Khayelitsha. Many of the residents in Khayelitsha have migrated from the Eastern Cape and its surrounding areas to Cape Town. Do they feel like they belong in Cape Town, are they accepted and do they feel included as residents of Cape Town?
2. Does the transport network adequately address the needs of your ward?
3. How do the costs of public transport affect the standard of living of the people in your ward?
4. Are you aware of any public transport upgrades taking place in Khayelitsha?
5. I want to discuss the poor socio economic conditions in which the people of your community live. It is a poor community who mostly live in shacks, what are the plans to uplift your community. Can something be done to improve their livelihoods?
6. What is the one thing the City of Cape Town can do today to positively affect the people in your ward that will change their lives for the better.

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UWC MASTERS THESIS INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE



UNIVERSITY *of the*
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Participant Details

Name: _____

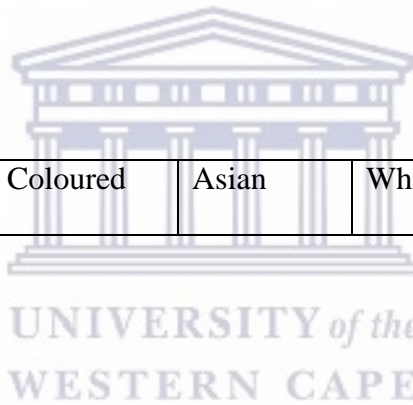
Surname: _____

Age: _____

Address: _____

Population Group:

African	Coloured	Asian	White
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Contact Details

Cell phone Number: _____

Alternative telephone number: _____

Email Address: _____

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1) What type of transport do you most frequently use for your daily commute?

Bus	Minibus Taxi	Amaphela	Train
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2) Do you use more than one mode of public transport in your daily commute e.g. a minibus taxi and a bus?

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3) What is your average daily traveling time using public transport?

1 hour or less	1-2 hours	2-3 hours	More than 3 hours
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4) What is the average daily amount of money you spend on public transport?

R20 or less	R20-R30 daily	R30-R40 daily	More than R40
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5) What time do you leave your home in the morning?

6) What time do you arrive at home in the evening?

7) How long have you been resident in Khayelitsha?



8) Does the transport network adequately address your transport needs?

9) Are public transport fares affordable?

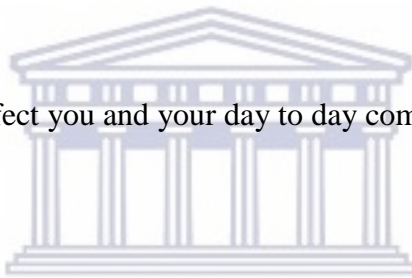


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10) How do the costs of public transport affect your standard of living?

11) What is your opinion of the transport network to and from Khayelitsha since 2010?

12) How does the network affect you and your day to day commute and can you describe a typical daily commute?



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13) What can be done to improve the transport network to improve your daily commute?

14) Do you feel that the transport network connects you to your community or do you feel excluded and marginalised?



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15) Do you feel free to travel, explore and experience your suburb and your City?



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