

**An investigation of community participation in housing  
delivery at the Joe Slovo Settlement in the Western  
Cape**

by

**Sabelo Mnguni**



**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Masters in the Faculty of Arts,  
at the Institute for Social Development (ISD),  
University of the Western Cape**

**Supervisor: Mrs. S. Penderis**

**November 2010**

## Declaration

I hereby declare that the mini-thesis on the topic '*An investigation of community participation in housing delivery at Joe Slovo Settlement in the Western Cape*' is of my own work and that I have received no other assistance (except for language editing) than the stated sources, citations and supervision.

Name.....

Date.....

Signature.....

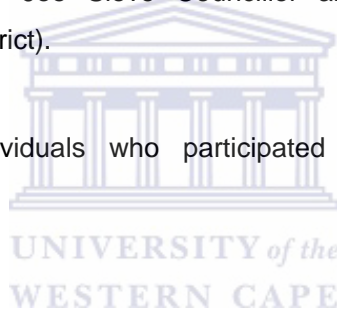


## Acknowledgements

At this juncture, I may not be able to personally express gratitude to all individuals and organisations who valuably contributed to the success of this research project. Nevertheless I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Sharon Penderis (my loyal supervisor) for her guidance; her patience and support. Her knowledge and experience made a valuable contribution in enriching this mini-thesis.

I also extend my appreciation to Dr Pillay for his precise guidance and eloquence on this mini-thesis. Furthermore, my special appreciation goes to my knowledgeable research participants in the Joe Slovo informal settlements, Community Organisation Resource Centre, Housing Development Agency, the Joe Slovo Representation Committee, iKhayalami, the Joe Slovo Councillor and Councillor Shoes Mkebe (Eastern Cape Amathole District).

My thanks go to all individuals who participated in interviews and informal conversations.



# Table of contents

<b>DECLARATION II</b>	
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>VIII</b>
<b>POINT OF DEPARTURE .....</b>	<b>IX</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.3. AN OVERVIEW OF THE JOE SLOVO CASE STUDY AREA .....	3
1.4. THE N2 GATEWAY PROJECT.....	4
1.5. DEFINING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM .....	5
1.5.1 Statement of the problem.....	5
1.6. RESEARCH AIMS .....	6
1.7. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	6
1.7.1 Qualitative research .....	7
1.7.1.1 Semi-structured interviews.....	7
1.7.1.2 Observation.....	8
1.7.2 Quantitative research.....	8
1.7.3 Secondary analysis .....	8
1.7.4 Research procedure.....	9
1.8. RESEARCH AGENDA .....	9
<b>CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1. INTRODUCTION.....	11
2.2. CONCEPTUALISATION OF HOUSING .....	11
2.2.1 Housing as a human right .....	11
2.2.2 The significance of housing.....	12
2.2.3 The role and function of housing.....	13
2.3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF HOUSING.....	14
2.3.1 The neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approach.....	14
2.3.2 Neo-liberalism and World Bank theory.....	15
2.3.3 The structure/agency debate .....	16
2.4. CURRENT HOUSING REALITIES AND CHALLENGES.....	17

2.5.	HOUSING CHALLENGES IN THE WESTERN CAPE.....	19
2.6.	HOUSING POLICY AND HOUSING VISION.....	20
2.6.1	National Department of Housing .....	20
2.6.2	Provincial Department of Housing.....	21
2.6.3	Developmental local government.....	21
2.7.	HOUSING LEGISLATION AND STRATEGIES .....	21
2.7.1	National perspective.....	21
2.7.1.1	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) 21	
2.7.1.2	Housing Act 107 of 1997.....	22
2.7.1.3	Municipal Systems Act of 2000.....	22
2.7.1.4	The Housing Code .....	23
2.7.1.5	Breaking New Ground (BNG) .....	23
2.8.	STATE CAPACITY IN HOUSING DELIVERY .....	24
2.8.1	Institutional and administrative capacity.....	24
2.8.2	Political and economic capacity .....	25
<b>CHAPTER 3.</b>	<b>THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CAPE TOWN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES .....</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	26
3.2.	DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THEORY .....	26
3.2.1	Role of local government in the apartheid context .....	27
3.2.2	Post apartheid developmental local government .....	27
3.3.	IDP AS MUNICIPAL PLANNING FRAMEWORK.....	30
3.3.1	Overview of the IDP process.....	30
3.3.2	Municipal IDP housing chapter .....	33
3.3.2.1	Local government and community participation.....	34
3.3.2.2	Assessing developmental local government in South Africa .....	37
3.3.2.3	Assessing the City of Cape Town metropolitan area .....	38
3.3.2.4	The housing mandate of developmental local government .....	39
3.4.	ACCREDITATION OF MUNICIPALITIES .....	40
3.5.	THE DEVELOPMENTAL FRAMEWORK OF THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE .....	41
3.5.1	Isidima (Western Cape Sustainable Human Settlement Strategy) .....	41
3.5.2	Ikapa Elihlumayo- Growth and Development Strategy .....	42

<b>CHAPTER 4. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND HOUSING DELIVERY IN JOE SLOVO .....</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1. INTRODUCTION.....	44
4.2. DATA GATHERING METHODS .....	44
4.3. OVERVIEW OF JOE SLOVO AND THE N2 GATEWAY PROJECT .....	45
<b>4.3.1</b> The Joe Slovo informal settlement.....	45
4.3.1.1 The N2 Gateway project .....	47
4.4. EXISTING PARTICIPATORY STRUCTURES.....	50
<b>4.4.1</b> Government structures.....	50
4.4.1.1 Department of Local Government and Housing (DLGH) .....	50
4.4.1.2 Housing Development Agency (HDA).....	51
4.4.1.3 The City of Cape Town .....	52
4.4.1.4 The Councillor.....	53
4.4.1.5 The Ward Committee.....	54
<b>4.4.2</b> Community structures .....	55
4.4.2.1 The Joe Slovo Task Team .....	55
4.4.2.2 Joe Slovo Committee of Residence.....	56
<b>4.4.3</b> Other structures .....	57
4.4.3.1 Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI).....	57
4.4.3.2 Community Organisation Resources Centre (CORC) .....	57
4.4.3.3 IKhayalmi .....	59
4.4.3.4 The Community Forum .....	59
4.4.3.5 Fed-up Savings Scheme Initiative .....	60
4.5. COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT OF EXISTING STRUCTURES.....	60
<b>4.5.1</b> Role of the Councillor and Ward Committee.....	61
<b>4.5.2</b> The role of Joe Slovo Task Team .....	63
<b>4.5.3</b> Joe Slovo Committee of Residence .....	63
<b>4.5.4</b> Government structures.....	64
4.6. LEVELS OF PARTICIPATION IN JOE SLOVO .....	65
<b>4.6.1</b> Participation at government level .....	65
<b>4.6.2</b> Participation at community level.....	66
<b>4.6.3</b> Participation at NGO level.....	67
4.7. THE EXTENT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN JOE SLOVO .....	67
<b>4.7.1</b> Opportunities for community participation.....	67
4.7.1.1 Community meetings .....	68

4.7.1.2	Community liaison.....	69
<b>4.7.2</b>	The extent of community participation .....	69
4.8.	COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION SUCCESSES .....	70
<b>4.8.1</b>	Collaboration .....	70
<b>4.8.2</b>	Blocking.....	71
4.9.	OBSTACLES RELATING TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES.....	72
<b>4.9.1</b>	Participation as political platform.....	72
<b>4.9.2</b>	Gate keeping.....	73
<b>4.9.3</b>	Illegitimacy of Ward Councillor .....	73
<b>4.9.4</b>	Intimidation and language barriers.....	74
<b>4.9.5</b>	Non- qualifiers .....	75
<b>4.9.6</b>	The Chris Hani Community Hall.....	75
4.10.	ALLOCATION OF HOUSING.....	76
<b>4.10.1</b>	Government priorities.....	76
4.10.1.1	In situ upgrading and relocation .....	76
4.11.	CONCLUSION .....	77
<b>CHAPTER 5.</b>	<b>CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>78</b>
5.1.	INTRODUCTION.....	78
5.2.	GENERAL FINDINGS.....	78
5.3.	IMPACT OF PARTICIPATION.....	79
<b>5.3.1</b>	Local and provincial level.....	79
5.4.	HOUSING POLICY REFLECTIONS.....	80
5.5.	CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	80
5.6.	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	82
5.7.	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	83
5.8.	FUTURE RESEARCH.....	84
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>85</b>	

## List of figures

Figure 3-1 Overview of IDP process (Adapted from the Department of Human Settlements, 2009).....	31
Figure 4-1 Location of the informal settlement (source: Department of Local Government and Housing, 2009).....	47





## Point of departure

The growth of informal settlement is one of the greatest problems facing the new South Africa. The process of political transformation has been fast; since the inception of the South African democracy in 1994, the government has been pressurised and was expected to fulfil their promises made during elections. Housing is one of those promises and is one of the issues which bridges social and economic policy. Many have argued that decent housing is a key to a stable society. Housing provision in South Africa is historically discriminatory. To understand the nature of housing in South Africa, it is critical to explore the administration structure and policies that led to separate development and the geographical separation of racial groups, which were fundamental concepts in the apartheid regime.

This style of development was propagated by the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and 1966 which were the cornerstones of apartheid (Mackay, 1996). This system forced non-whites out of socio-economic active areas to reserves or townships. Even though the ANC-led government has been struggling to reverse this effect, the continuing housing problem is evident in the increase of the backlog due to urbanisation, and an increase in informal settlements. These housing challenges have forced policy makers to rethink the role of local government in the new South Africa.

Since 1996, South African local government structures have operated separately in its attempts to meet the development needs for South Africans population. In order to meet these development needs it employs the principles of cooperative governance (defined in the South African Constitution of 1996) with national and provincial spheres of government. While much attention has been given to the principle of cooperative government such as political and financial aspects, less attention has been given to policy areas. Furthermore, harmonized development is in most cases difficult to attain within a single sphere of government or even a single political jurisdiction. Doing so in vertical terms, by aligning development programmes at the national, provincial, and local government levels, is a overwhelming task (Pottie, 2004).

Community participation has been seen as a critical ingredient to sustainable housing provision. Community participation is understood in terms of the role of the target group and local organisations in project design, implementation, maintenance and evaluation. Decision-making about the design and allocation of sites is of central importance (Ndinda, 2006).

With this in mind, this research seeks to understand community participation in the process of housing delivery at the Joe Slovo informal settlement in the Western Cape. The Joe Slovo community is currently facing several challenges emanating from inadequate engagement in housing delivery. The National Housing Code undoubtedly requires that government officials meaningfully engage with housing beneficiaries before housing delivery. Community protests and demonstrations show that there is a visible gap that exists between ordinary people and government operations that directly affect their lives. Within this theoretical framework, the Joe Slovo community has been involved in several strikes and demonstrations, partly because of the top-down approach to development by government.

Therefore this research endeavours to identify existing participatory structures and explore the role of local government officials, community representatives and other role players in the housing delivery process in Joe Slovo; indicate opportunities for the participation of beneficiaries in the housing process as well as the extent and nature of community engagement; highlight existing barriers to effective community participation and other problems related to housing delivery in Joe Slovo; draw general conclusions within the framework of the government's housing policy; and provide recommendations to policy makers, urban planners and other stakeholders.

Consequently, this research employs qualitative methodological tools as they are most appropriate in the collection of this type of data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with local officials, and observations were used to gather critical information. In addition, secondary data, with a special focus on newspaper articles, were used.

# **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH**

## **1.1. Introduction**

South African human settlements mirror the legacy of apartheid which instrumentally used housing for separation, segregation, and socio-economic deprivation of certain racial groups. Urban design is thus characterised by the lack of racial and class integration and stark inequalities. Furthermore, 16 years into South Africa's democracy housing policies, legislation and planning frameworks have proven ineffective to deal with the growing demand, especially in the larger urban areas in the country.

As a result, people migrating from rural areas in search of employment have to resort to finding accommodation in the growing number of informal settlements on the periphery of large cities. Therefore it is clear that well planned housing and the participation of more beneficiaries in the housing process is critical for the socio-economic development of South Africa.

This research focuses on the Joe Slovo informal settlement area in the Western Cape. It explores the role of local government officials, community representatives and other role players in the housing delivery process in Joe Slovo. Thereafter, the focus shifts to examining the structures and opportunities that enable the participation of the beneficiaries in the housing process, and the extent of community engagement by the beneficiaries. Furthermore, it highlights obstacles to community participatory processes and problems in terms of housing delivery in Joe Slovo, and provides recommendations to policy makers and stakeholders in the housing delivery process.

## **1.2. Background and contextualisation of the study**

Housing in South Africa, like in many developing countries, is a major and escalating problem. This is firstly an inherited problem due to the housing backlog prior to 1994, as a result of discriminatory housing policies. Since the new democratic dispensation in 1994, the ANC government has attempted to address this problem through the

Reconstruction and Development Programme's (RDP) housing subsidy scheme which provides houses to low income families. From a number of perspectives, the success of the housing programme has been noteworthy. For instance, the Department of Housing has delivered more than two million subsidised houses since 1994, providing secure tenure for over six million people (Tonkin, 2008).

However, despite some advances in terms of subsidised housing, housing delivery still remains a critical problem due to a number of factors. This includes lack of capacity of the implementing local government, corrupt officials, as well as lack of consultation with beneficiaries in the housing process. Urbanisation compounds this predicament as large numbers of migrants from the rural areas continue to move towards the cities in search of employment (Pillay, 2008).

One of the major problems that has been identified in terms of housing delivery in South Africa is that the beneficiaries are not part of the participatory process. Developers and planners do not engage communities effectively in development initiatives. For Buckley and Kalrickal (2005), community participation and using social capital to leverage resources has become increasingly important in development projects. Government has also gradually accepted that integrating the community is a crucial part of shelter development. According to Goodlad (1994;1996) community groups in townships and informal settlements, including church groups, credit unions, women's groups, tenants' associations and civic associations are seen as crucial in providing the community participation element in the RDP process.

It is therefore critical that there is meaningful community participation amongst community groups and an enabling environment is provided by government to ensure that the voice of the people forms part of the participatory process. In this regard, Pottie (2004) and Makhatini (1995) note that the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) (RSA, 2000) seeks to regulate the relationship between citizens and local government with special emphasis on government services and articulates values of accountability, transparency, efficiency, and consultation through the generation of reliable structures for community participation.

### **1.3. An overview of the Joe Slovo case study area**

The Joe Slovo settlement is the selected case study area for this research. Joe Slovo is situated 10 km from the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town on a vacant tract of land in Langa, alongside the N2 highway. Due to the high prices of rent and housing, people have resorted to informal shelters as the only cheap and accessible housing alternative. The majority of household heads in Joe Slovo came from the Eastern Cape Province and moved to Cape Town in search of employment and formal housing (Cape Argus, 2009; Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

According to Poswa (2008) 96% of Joe Slovo is African and 4% is Coloured. The population of Joe Slovo is very young and requires access to cultural, social, recreational, economic and educational opportunities (Hartley, 2008). The majority of residents are presently unemployed, or underemployed, undereducated and living below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL). Most of the population live in shelters with less than two rooms per family of five (Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

A description of the conditions of life in the settlement is important in order to understand the quality of life of residents. People in Joe Slovo live in overcrowded conditions, and in makeshift accommodation built from substandard material (Cape Times, 2009). These circumstances are unhygienic as there is no water-borne sewerage system that serves the community. The residents live in deplorable circumstances unfit for reasonable human habitation, despite the improvements brought about by the City of Cape Town (Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

The Joe Slovo informal settlement is one of the communities that has been earmarked for eradication. It was first erected in 1994, when a few hundred people began to occupy land near Langa which was previously used as a dumping site (Hartley, 2009). Joe Slovo residents, faced with the prospect of being evicted and moved far away from their livelihoods, communities, schools and clinics to Delft, have formed a cohesive anti-eviction movement, whose protests have gained national attention (Joubert, 2007).

## 1.4. The N2 Gateway Project

The broader N2 Gateway project was initiated as a joint project of all three spheres of government. At policy level, the N2 Gateway project aims at a highly integrative approach in terms of the three spheres of government playing a specific role in housing development. The N2 Gateway project reflects a combined effort from the national Department of Housing, the Western Cape Provincial Government, and the City of Cape Town. The N2 Gateway project is also informed by the City of Cape Town's housing plan, the Integrated Settlement Plan, the Growth and Development Framework, and Ikapa Elihlumayo (Legassick, 2007).

The N2 Gateway project was intended to demonstrate a shift in approach by government in providing informal settlement households next to the N2 freeway with freehold title RDP houses (Legassick, 2007). Instead, the objective was to provide a range of higher-density affordable rental housing options on well located land, targeting communities living in adverse social conditions. The targeted communities included those living in informal settlements such as Joe Slovo, New Rest, Gxagxa, Kanana, Boys Town, Lusaka, Vukuzenzale, Barcelona, Delft 7-9, Delft Symphony and District Six, as well as backyard dwellers from Langa, Gugulethu, Bonteheuwel, Bokmakkierie and Nyanga.

But in order to build units on the Joe Slovo settlement site, scores of households who were living in informal settlements were removed in order to clear space for construction. These residents were sent to live in open spaces between shacks in the wider Joe Slovo area, with the prospect of returning to the new formal housing (www.iol.co.za, 2009; Sidumo, 2008). However, their return was not feasible due to the significantly higher costs associated with the government's decision to develop higher-density housing provided in the N2 Gateway project. These costs were far higher than that of contractor-built RDP houses or public rental housing (Dentlinger, 2008). Subsidies used for social housing are approximately three times more per unit than that of freestanding units, and monthly rentals are significantly higher than public rental housing, making it generally unaffordable for households living in informal settlements (Legassick, 2007; Powell & Ndenze, 2007).

## **1.5. Defining the research problem**

### ***1.5.1 Statement of the problem***

Both research and policy documents acknowledge the importance of a participatory developmental process in terms of the delivery of housing. The concept of community participation in development projects is also highlighted in South African policy documents and legislation. The benefits of participatory development are stipulated as including the building of capacity, self reliance and empowerment of beneficiaries, which is essential for long term, sustainable development.

The current housing delivery system in the Joe Slovo case study area is extremely top-down with limited participation of beneficiaries and inadequate acknowledgement by officials of the needs and concerns of the residents in the planning process. Such limited community participation during housing project planning and delivery has seriously hampered project implementation and sustainability.

Local authorities have failed to provide an enabling, participatory housing environment, as stipulated by the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which enables the beneficiaries and local community to be actively involved in all stages of the housing process. In the vast majority of cases, local authorities pay lip service to the notion of active community participation and participatory development and do not seem to value the contributions of beneficiaries. Furthermore, the housing process does not adhere to the government's mandate to provide an integrated and fully functioning residential area, with all the necessary facilities and amenities, according to the needs stipulated by the beneficiaries of the development process. Lack of understanding of the IDP process by beneficiaries and lack of institutional and administrative capacity of implementing officials have been identified as compounding the problem.

It is therefore critical that the role and extent of community participation in Joe Slovo is investigated in order to evaluate to what degree it conforms to the mandate of the National Housing Code and the Housing White Paper in terms of both community participation of beneficiaries in the housing process. The role and level of participation

of beneficiaries are evaluated and barriers to effective participation identified in this research. These data will enable the researcher to recommend development planning guidelines to authorities in order to enhance both service delivery and the participatory involvement of all stakeholders.

## **1.6. Research aims**

It is against this background that this research endeavours to:

- Explore the role of developmental local government in the City of Cape Town and the IDP process;
- Identify existing participatory structures and explore the role of local government officials, community representatives, and other role players in the housing delivery process in Joe Slovo;
- Indicate opportunities for the participation of beneficiaries in the housing process, as well as the extent and nature of community engagement;
- Highlight existing barriers to effective community participation and other problems related to housing delivery in Joe Slovo; and
- Draw general conclusions within the framework of the government's housing policy and provide recommendations to policy makers, urban planners and other stakeholders.

## **1.7. Research methodology**

This research will draw mainly on qualitative methodological tools as these are deemed most appropriate to gathering information in order to answer the research question. Qualitative methods, according to Babbie and Mouton (2001), Williams (2003) and



Neuman (2000) are used to obtain more sensitive and socially dynamic information, such as the feelings, experience and perceptions of people. These involve face-to-face interaction without removing the natural setting, meaning that data is collected in undisturbed real life settings. This methodology is particularly appropriate to this study and was used to understand the processes taking place in the case study area as well as the different levels of interaction and participation. Quantitative methods involved the design of a structured questionnaire which targeted the beneficiaries of the project. These methods are discussed in more detail below.

### **1.7.1 Qualitative research**

In order to gather more in-depth dynamic data, this study used semi-structured/informal interviews and observation. Purposive sampling was used to target local government officials and community groups in order to gather information relating to the extent of participatory processes and community involvement in the housing process.

#### **1.7.1.1 Semi-structured interviews**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with local government officials, community representatives and beneficiaries of the housing process in order to gather information relating to existing structures, the respective roles of the different stakeholders, and the nature and extent of community participation.

Approximately eight interviews were held with officials, including two representatives from the City of Cape Town' housing department; one housing project manager; three local government officials dealing directly with the N2 Gateway Joe Slovo Project; and two Ward Committee members responsible for the case study area.

Semi-structured interviews were also held with 10 representatives from community organisations in Joe Slovo. Discussions were firstly held with two representatives from iKhayalami, a non-profit organisation in the case study area whose primary aim is the upgrading of Joe Slovo. Three representatives from the Community Organisation

Resource Centre (CORC), which includes professionals and grassroots activists providing support to poor communities, were also be targeted.

The remaining interviews were held with representatives from organisations including the 'Fed-UP savings scheme, women's groups, church groups and the youth league.

#### *1.7.1.2 Observation*

The researcher attended community meetings in order to determine the extent to which community members are involved in decision-making processes; assess the level of participation of community members, and to determine the different roles that community members play in meetings. Furthermore, the meetings were observed in order to evaluate whether the meeting setting and/or power structures encourage or inhibit participation.

#### *1.7.2 Quantitative research*

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with 30 beneficiaries in order to investigate their perception of participation, the nature of their participation, levels of participation, obstacles or barriers to effective participation, as well as suggestions for the improvement of participatory processes and/or structures. These beneficiaries were selected using simple random sampling methods.

#### *1.7.3 Secondary analysis*

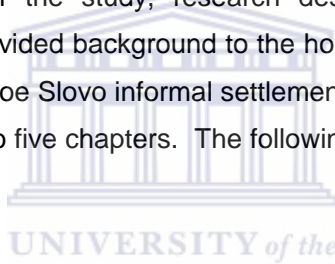
Secondary data were acquired from government documents, newspaper articles, official correspondences and meeting minutes to inform the study and gather information relating to the housing process and community participation.

#### **1.7.4 Research procedure**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted firstly with local authority officials and community representatives. Thereafter the questionnaire survey was distributed to beneficiaries. Observation took place continuously throughout the data gathering phase. The data were then processed and sorted according to various themes and categories. Finally, the data were analysed and presented using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods.

### **1.8. Research agenda**

**Chapter one** introduced the research problem that led to the formulation of the research questions, aims of the study, research design and methodology used. Furthermore, this chapter provided background to the housing problem in South Africa, and an overview of both the Joe Slovo informal settlement and the N2 Gateway project. This mini-thesis is divided into five chapters. The following is an outline of the structure of the subsequent chapters:



**Chapter 2 (Literature review and theoretical framework)** provides the literature review and a theoretical background of the study and lays a comprehensive conceptual foundation for the research. It provides a historical background to housing in South Africa from the colonial to the post-colonial era.

**Chapter 3 (Developmental local government and the IDP process)** provides a conceptual understanding of developmental local government with special emphasis on the Cape Town Metropolitan local government. It explores the IDP process and the historical background of the Cape Town Metropolitan area.

**Chapter 4 (Community participation and housing delivery in Joe Slovo)** places the study topic in perspective. This is done by providing a socio-economic profile of the Joe Slovo informal settlement and a brief overview of the N2 Gateway Project.

It assesses the role of local government officials and community representatives in the housing delivery process.

**Chapter 5 (Conclusions and recommendations)** presents general conclusions, recommendations and housing policy reflections.

The following chapter (Chapter 2) provides a conceptual understanding of housing in South Africa, and theoretical perspectives of housing which give this study a solid analytical base.



## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1. Introduction**

In addition to the literature review, this chapter explores the concept of housing, housing as a human right, the role and function of housing, and theoretical perspectives of housing. In addition, it explores the historical background of housing in South African from the colonial and apartheid era to post apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, this chapter assesses the current housing realities and challenges, housing challenges in Western Cape, housing legislation, and strategies. It concludes by assessing the role of developmental local government and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

### **2.2. Conceptualisation of housing**

According to Pugh (2001), the World Bank has seven points of conceptualisation in terms of housing development. These include the development of a housing finance system, targeting of subsidies, development of property rights, infrastructure improvement, the introduction of regulatory audits to remove barriers to development, improved organisation and competition in the building industry, and appropriate institutionally-loaded reform. Berner (2001) notes that housing which meets adequate standards, as well as cultural definitions of security of tenure, is an essential part of a decent standard of living. For Rondinelli (1990), a housing policy has various impacts on different economic, social, ethnic, religious and cultural groups.

#### ***2.2.1 Housing as a human right***

A study of literature on housing reveals that there are many instruments and constitutions that acknowledge the right to adequate housing for all people (Tonkin, 2008; Penderis, 1996).

Such instruments include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966), Agenda 21 (1992), and the Habitat Agenda (1996). Furthermore, the South African Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996) clearly states that everyone has a right to have access to adequate housing and the state must play a critical role in the realisation of this right to housing. In addition, the Constitution emphasises that no one should be evicted from their home or have their home demolished without an order of court which can only be made after considering the relevant circumstances (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly as the first major international agreement on human rights, and is the motivation for all subsequent human rights treaties (Tonkin, 2008). Agenda 21 (1992) and the Habitat Agenda (1996) are two significant United Nations' declarations that impose certain obligations on governments in terms of the right to adequate housing. These international policy instruments have been adopted by 171 countries, including South Africa (UN-Habitat, 2003). Furthermore, the Regional Human Rights instrument has several subsidiary instruments, such as the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (adopted in 1981 by the Organisation of African Unity) which was approved by South Africa (Tonkin, 2008).

### **2.2.2     *The significance of housing***

Housing is a multi-dimensional concept that has numerous meanings and goals for different sectors of society. Somerville (1992) states that a house is not just a structure but an ideological construct created from emotionally-charged experiences. A home is also viewed as a place of cognition and intellectual construction; people associate a home with memories. Marais, Van Rensburg and Botes (2003) and Turner (1976) assert that a house should not be simply viewed in terms of its physical structure, but even more importantly, in terms of its functional value. While Marais *et al.* (2003) note that housing plays a critical role in accessing employment, services, facilities and tenure, Penderis (1996:21) draws attention to the value of housing as 'an expression of

self worth, a haven, a locus of activities, an ideological construct and even as an engine of change'.

Moreover, poor housing conditions expose inhabitants to a range of unsavoury conditions such as cold, damp, infestation, noise, poor air quality, overcrowding and an increased incidence of ill health (Somerville, 1992). Clean and conducive housing is essential to prevent diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, diarrhoea and malaria. Whether poor housing conditions are derived from inadequate regulation of housing standards, poor construction or poor maintenance, they have an extremely negative effect on the poorer sectors of society throughout the world.

### **2.2.3 The role and function of housing**

The fundamental function of housing is to provide homes for families; family events and housing events are closely interconnected. Intrinsic events such as marriage and childbearing are usually performed in a home (Mulder & Lauster, 2010). According to Kissick, Leibson, Kogul, Bachmann, Anderson and Eckert (2006), housing is a key input to civic and socio-economic development. Activities related to housing contribute to achieving socio-economic development objectives. Housing construction, especially in developing countries, creates employment opportunities for people in different socio-economic spectrums (Hassen, 2003).

With regards to social aspects, housing is one of the fundamental needs for vulnerable people. It is noted by numerous scholars that good housing should be viewed as an integral part of the economy. Firstly, it presents an economic value as an incremental investment in housing allows poor families to improve their asset base over time. Secondly, it creates employment, and can regenerate the economy as it has an impact on consumers, developers, housing institutions and the government (Pugh, 1994; Penderis 1996; Urban Foundation, 1994).

Kissick *et al.* (2006) argue that housing is also an effective way to promote good governance. The need to improve housing conditions stimulates civic organisations that act as incubators for elected representation. In addition, Marais *et al.* (2003)

distinguish between oppressive and supportive housing. Housing is oppressive when households are moved from shacks to modern houses, but cannot conduct informal businesses to sustain their lives. On the other hand, supportive housing contributes towards the economic development of the beneficiaries.

## **2.3. Theoretical perspectives of housing**

There is a need for balanced roles and activities within the function of the state, market and society in order to provide an effective and equitable housing delivery system. These systems need to interact and complement each other. According to Jenkins and Smith (2001), an important theme in housing theory for developing countries considers the role of the state, the market and society in housing systems. The different theoretical viewpoints and approaches to housing are discussed below.

### **2.3.1 The neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approach**

According to Pugh (2001), Kauko (2001) and Burgess (1984), the Marxist argument is that the self-help housing approach and neo-classical view on housing is commercialised and exploitative to the working class for the purposes of capitalism. The Marxist tradition draws attention to the structured inequalities in the distribution of housing due to the pursuit of capital accumulation, maintaining that housing reproduces 'the relationship between labour and capital' (Penderis, 1996:27). This tradition has provided valuable insights into the relationship between housing and the wider society and has drawn attention to the outcomes of the housing system or policy. It introduced the concept of power to the study of housing, with the realisation that not all households have the same capacity for choice (Clapham, 2002).

Katsura, Hoffman and Struyk (1990) are of the opinion that the provision of social housing should be cheaper in order to accommodate several economic classes. They suggest that this can be achieved through the elimination of speculation, capital cost (interest), landlords' unfair gains, and profits in the construction housing industry. The demand side can, again theoretically, be improved through better balanced income



distribution, whereas maximum security can be achieved when land is owned by the state rather than by private landlords.

The Weberian approach highlights the exploitative role of urban managers and gatekeepers who have the power to control the allocation of housing and access to local resources. Neo-Weberian theorists argue that in most societies the provision of housing is discriminatory. Dominant groups in society hold the most power and people only benefit if they belong to the dominant group. This is evident in the South African context where certain groups were discriminated against on the basis of race (Penderis, 1996). Municipal managers play a gatekeeping role in resource allocation. This kind of gatekeeping role is not restricted to housing, nor is it unique to South African politics. Housing gatekeepers influence local politics and are usually municipal bureaucrats and local government politicians. They make decisions on the redistribution of municipal resources and take a proactive role in protecting their support structures (McDonald, 1998).

### **2.3.2 Neo-liberalism and World Bank theory**

According to Clapham (2002), Beland (2007) and Pugh (2001), the neoclassical approach views housing as a function of market mechanisms. According to this approach, interactions between different actors are determined by the market. The state has minimal involvement in the provision of housing. The neoclassical economics perspective on housing is built on the assumption that human beings are profit maximising agents. However, Berner (2001) argues that formal market mechanisms have systematically failed to satisfy the rapidly increasing housing needs of the population.

The World Bank supports the neo-classical approach to housing provision. According to the World Bank, housing provision must be the role of the private sector for the purposes of profit maximisation, efficiency and reconfigurations of state roles, including sector shifts from public production to households and private sector production. It is further noted that housing provision should be based on demand and supply (Clapham, 2002; Jenkins & Smith, 2001).

Pugh (2001) informs one that the World Bank relied on loan repayments and building a reputation for effectiveness and efficiency in its loan assistance programme to developing countries. Loan assistance programmes are World Bank loans intended to assist poor countries in their development initiatives. For the World Bank, the self-help housing approach is ineffective, and developing countries must move towards the neo-liberal, market enabling perspective linked to structural adjustment and reconfiguration of state roles, including the sector shifts from direct public production to private sector production (Jenkins & Smith, 2001; Penderis, 1996; Burgess, 1992).

### **2.3.3     *The structure/agency debate***

According to Neale (1997), there are two theoretical approaches in the literature that enable one to understand the causes of homelessness. These approaches emphasise structural factors on the one hand, and individual or agency factors on the other, to explain homelessness. The structural approach argues that homelessness is a result of wider socio-economic factors. It is therefore appropriate for the state to intervene in the form of subsidies to the housing market and the direct provision of temporary or permanent accommodation for the homeless or people living in substandard housing units.

The agency explanation for homelessness is divided into two fragments; the first (victim blaming approach) maintains that an individual is responsible for their homelessness. Responses recommended for this kind of homelessness are minimalist and the provision of basic accommodation. The second fragment argues that people are not homeless as result of personal failure, therefore their situation cannot be blamed on them and are they are therefore considered to be deserving of humanitarian aid (Neale, 1997).

The two constantly occurring themes for homelessness, related to the concepts of structure and agency, are further interrogated by other scholars. For Clapham (2002), Giddens (1984) and Graaff (1994), structures do not have an independent existence, but are produced and reproduced by human agency at both the individual and institutional level. For Giddens (1984), individual agents act on the basis of their

practical consciousness, namely the stored knowledge of what is appropriate in particular circumstances.

Actors carry knowledge of social structures outside the moment of action. For Giddens (1984) and Graaff (1994), individual actors reproduce social structures through their actions, and social structures are reproduced or changed through the interaction of individual actors. In this situation, state power relations became important. Clapham (2002) declares that an individual is neither powerful nor powerless, as power outside the context of a specific circumstance is meaningless. Over a period of time repeated interactions of people may have some influence in changing social norms. Neale (1997) agrees with Giddens (1984) that individuals are constantly intervening and interacting with their surroundings and therefore have the capacity to affect change.

In this regard, and with particular reference to this study, local government and other role players in the housing market play a critical role in deciding how and where community resources will be allocated. Provincial government plays a key role through the Provincial Housing Boards in terms of housing allocations. But it is at the community level and the municipal level that most housing and service projects are initiated and implemented. This illustrates that local government and community representatives can act as gatekeepers in relation to housing developments and citizens' access to housing and other basic services.

## **2.4. Current housing realities and challenges**

The current housing crisis in South Africa has its roots in the colonial and apartheid period. A discussion of this legacy is important in order to contextualise the housing problems currently facing the country. The current housing crisis means that rapidly growing numbers of people are unable to access adequate housing. They are forced to live in very poor conditions, with inadequate access to a range of basic services. One of the challenges is that there are no reliable statistics that can easily quantify the large housing backlog (Tonkin, 2008).

The progress made since 1994 to reduce the deep social and spatial divisions (housing practice) in South African cities has not changed from the apartheid regime. For example, current development trends show that poor people are still being housed on the peripheries of the Western Cape. Although basic public services are gradually being extended to the historically neglected townships, the character of economic and social development still differs markedly across the city. Private-sector investment and jobs continue to be concentrated in the affluent north and west, while low-income subsidised housing is focused on the poorer south-east sector. Institutional practices and market forces tend to reinforce spatial divisions, with costly consequences for the poor majority of the population and for the wider urban economy and society (Turok, 2001).

Despite some progress, there are still numerous constraints to effective housing delivery. Large disparities in housing conditions exist between rural and urban areas, within different urban areas, as well as between different provinces. A large proportion of South Africa's population is unable to afford adequate housing, using their personal financial resources alone. According to Goodlad (1996) and the Department of Housing White Paper (1995), many factors are responsible for this state of affairs. South Africa's history has produced a wasteful settlement structure; high rates of urbanisation have concentrated housing needs in urban areas, and disparate levels of service provision and access to amenities in different areas make South Africa's cities inequitable, inefficient and relatively expensive to manage and maintain (Department of Housing, 1995).

Previous institutional frameworks have resulted in numerous restrictions to housing delivery in South Africa. Duplication of housing institutions and funding mechanisms has resulted in a large amount of overlap, duplication and confusion within and between housing institutions which results in significant inefficiencies and wastage. Furthermore, there is an inability to carry out responsibilities as a result of many authorities being inadequately resourced and politically unable to undertake certain responsibilities. This has resulted in numerous delays to the housing development process and a virtual collapse in the public environment and public administration sectors (Department of Housing, 1995).

Apart from the inherited duplicated and inequitable policy approaches for different race groups, the housing policy framework today in South Africa suffers from the lack of an overall housing strategy, inadequate definition of roles and responsibilities of all role players in the housing sector, as well as the lack of coherence of participating institutions. These have contributed to the present confusion and breakdown in delivery (Department of Housing, 1995). Goodlad (1996) and Tonkin (2008) argue that the historical and existing patterns of land use and allocation, as well as the legislative and policy framework associated with land, provides an immense challenge and constraint.

## **2.5. Housing challenges in the Western Cape**

The housing crisis means that rapidly growing numbers of people are unable to access adequate housing. They are forced to live in poor shelter conditions, with inadequate access to basic services, protection from the elements, as well as protection from arbitrary evictions. It is difficult to quantify the large housing backlog due to lack of reliable statistics and lack of agreement on a suitable definition of inadequate housing.

At the time of South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, it was estimated that approximately 1.5 million families lived in inadequate housing conditions in urban areas. This figure included families living in shacks, informal settlements and the backyards of informal houses; sharing overcrowded formal houses; and living in overcrowded hostels.

Seven years later, in 2001, the number of families living in inadequate housing conditions in urban areas had increased to 2.4 million. This rapid increase in informal settlements is a very visible manifestation of the increased housing backlog. From 1996 to 2001 the number of families living in shacks increased from 1.45 million to 1.84 million. This is an increase of 27%, which is far greater than the 10% increase in population over the same period (Tonkin, 2008).

The financial implications of addressing these and future housing and infrastructure demands are large and significant additional capital investment will be required. A key

challenge will be to balance the financial costs of addressing the housing backlogs against the opportunity cost of upgrading ageing existing infrastructure that supports services to the established parts of the City (Turok & Watson, 2000).

## **2.6. Housing policy and housing vision**

The current housing policy in South Africa is a result of constant consultation within the National Housing Forum. According to Huchzermeyer (2001), the White Paper of 1995 is geared towards action rather than policy debate. Housing policy is based on the understanding that housing is a basic need and access is a human right. The right to access adequate housing is articulated by the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the 1996 South African Constitution to provide housing in viable, socially and economically integrated communities (Department of Housing, 1995).

The state has a responsibility to implement policies and strategies that will redress the imbalanced distribution of wealth in the South Africa, where a number of people are not able to afford access to secure tenure and basic services (Department of Housing, 1995). The spheres of government organised to effectively deliver housing opportunities are described next.

### **2.6.1 National Department of Housing**

Pillay (2008:114) declares that 'national, provincial, municipal and sectoral policies over the past decade have sought to enable local government to implement delivery and consolidate democracy'.

The National Department of Housing has the responsibility of determining broad national policy in consultation with relevant national and provincial departments. The Department is also responsible for granting land title and registration systems, determining minimum national norms and standards, administering national subsidy programmes, and allocating housing funds to provinces.

It monitors provincial performance against housing delivery and budgetary goals (Department of Housing, 1995; Pottie, 2004; Goodlad, 1996).

### **2.6.2 Provincial Department of Housing**

The new Constitution of 1996 provides that provincial government is responsible for determining provincial housing policy within national guidelines; monitoring housing delivery; and liaising and negotiating with national departments on issues of fiscal transfers, provincial priorities and national housing programmes (RSA, 1996; Department of Housing, 1995; Goodlad, 1996).

### **2.6.3 Developmental local government**

Since 1996, local governments have functioned as a separate sphere of government. Local government has therefore assumed the critical role of meeting the development needs of the country (Pottie, 2004). One of the key roles of local, rural and metropolitan government is physical planning, implementation and the delivery of housing through the IDP process, with participating members from different communities in the region. Local government is responsible for promoting and facilitating the provision of housing to enable access to all groups of society (Department of Housing, 1995). This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

## **2.7. Housing legislation and strategies**

### **2.7.1 National perspective**

#### **2.7.1.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996)**

According to the Constitution, South Africa has an obligation:

*'To improve living conditions on equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible, affordable, and that includes basic service, facilities and amenities and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure' (RSA, 1996).*

Section 26 of the supreme law of the country, the Constitution, states that everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing and therefore the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. Furthermore, no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering the relevant circumstances (RSA, 1996).

#### *2.7.1.2 Housing Act 107 of 1997*

The preamble of the Housing Act of 1997 recognises that housing is a vital part of integrated development planning and necessary for the socio-economic well-being of the nation. In general terms, the Act seeks to promote the processes of racial, social, economic and physical integration in urban and rural areas. In addition, the Act calls for housing development to provide for community and recreational facilities and to promote the expression of cultural identity and diversity. The Act also requires the Minister to publish a National Housing Code (Department of Housing, 1997).

#### *2.7.1.3 Municipal Systems Act of 2000*

The Municipal Systems Act (2000) seeks to regulate the relationship between citizens and local government (with special emphasis on government services). This Act articulates the values of accountability, transparency, efficiency, and consultation through the generation of reliable structures for community participation in municipal affairs. This Act further makes reference to the mechanisms, processes and procedures (such as IDPs) which allow communities to participate (Esau, 2007).



Through the improvement of service delivery, the Act aims to advance the agenda of developmental local government and good governance by 'putting people first'. Public consultation and participation are key themes of the Municipal Systems Act. The Act states that a municipal council must establish appropriate mechanisms, processes and procedures to enable residents, communities and stakeholders in the municipality to participate in local affairs in the municipality. From the side of local government services, the Act calls for the establishment of performance indicators and targets tied to the delivery of core services (Ndinda, Adebayono & Adebayo, 2007).

#### *2.7.1.4 The Housing Code*

The Housing Code of 2000 subsequently notes the importance of better health by improving living conditions. Better housing conditions lead to improved labour productivity as workers are less susceptible to diseases associated with poor living conditions. Furthermore, community pride leads to further investments in the maintenance and upgrading of housing and related infrastructure, and indirect forward employment opportunities are generated by new homeowners who have a demand for consumer products such household appliances and furniture, thus stimulating production in these sectors (Department of Housing, 2000).

#### *2.7.1.5 Breaking New Ground (BNG)*

In September 2004, the Cabinet approved a Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements as a five-year plan, which would form the basis for housing delivery. This was not intended to be a new policy but a renewed plan to sharpen existing instruments. BNG offers some specific objectives committing the Department of Housing to move towards more responsive and effective delivery as part of the broader new housing vision which seeks to accelerate housing delivery and utilise the provision of housing as a major job creation strategy.

This would support the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump by utilising housing as an

instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements (Department of Housing, 2004; Vermeulen, 2006).

BNG recognises the importance of community participation in decision-making processes. In the context of Joe Slovo, the government should fully engage with the community in order to promote social cohesion and give ownership to beneficiaries. BNG also attempts to address the plight of informal settlements in South Africa. One of the programmes used to eradicate informal settlements is the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (Huchzermeyer, 2006).

## **2.8. State capacity in housing delivery**

### ***2.8.1 Institutional and administrative capacity***

The South African approach to housing has insisted on limited state involvement and encourages the private sector to invest in low-income groups. The state promotes a favourable environment for the private sector to invest in housing (Swilling, 1998). According to the 1995 Housing White Paper, the new institutional structure has been sidelining negotiation groups such as non-government organisations and social movements (Department of Housing, 1995).

One of the objectives of the new housing policy is administrative restructuring to enhance efficiency of the housing support system. The restructuring was not only horizontal at the central government level, but also vertical through various tiers of government.

According to Jenkins and Smith (2001), the process of restructuring government department personnel has proved to be complex and resulted in a drain of skilled higher level civil servants who opted to take early retirement packages. There is further a growing dissatisfaction within the existing civil service as officials feel undervalued and under-trained for their changing roles.

However, it is at this level that local government needs to act together with the communities and prioritise development needs in the municipal areas and create a participatory forum to enable a range of role players in the housing process.

### **2.8.2 Political and economic capacity**

The power and responsibilities conflicts between central and provincial government were resolved by 1996. New local governments were elected and there were numerous debates on the power and responsibilities between metropolitan and municipal levels of local government (Pottie, 2004). The elected representatives assumed that no other group had the same level of legitimacy in policy and decision making with regards to resource allocation. The absorption of several activists within organised labour and civil society into government increased this tendency (Jenkins & Smith, 2001).

Members of Parliament (MPs) are elected on the basis of an electoral list system and thus there is no direct link between an MP and a constituency, although the ANC has encouraged its MPs to work with allocated constituencies. However, this non-geographical nature of political representation, the relative political inexperience of many newly elected members to government, as well as the overarching sense that government knows best, have downgraded societal participation in decision-making from the high point of the transition period (Jenkins & Smith, 2001).

Chapter 3 discusses the role of local government in housing provision. It explores the IDP processes that act as guidelines for integrated community development, and also interrogates the IDP provision that encourages community participation in housing delivery.

# **CHAPTER 3. THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CAPE TOWN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES**

## **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter explores the role of developmental local government in relation to its role in housing provision in South Africa. It provides an overview of local government during both the apartheid era and in post apartheid South Africa. In addition, this chapter outlines the role of developmental local government as mandated by the constitution, and challenges (with special reference to the City of Cape Town) currently confronting local government. It concludes by providing a brief historical background of the Cape Town metropolitan area and its development strategies.

## **3.2. Developmental local government in theory**

Developmental local government has a multi-pruned definition; understanding the importance and the magnitude of its mandate further conceptualises developmental local government. Local government jurisdiction over a community can be defined in terms of geographical, functional or geographical functional elements (Lombard, 1992). Within this context, participation refers to people's involvement in processes that affect them. One can therefore deduce that effective community participation in Joe Slovo should involve the community and housing solutions in a bottom-up, as opposed to a top-down, approach. In this regard Huchzermeyer (2001:321) notes that 'local government autonomy in the post apartheid policy in South Africa has thus far referred only to operational independence'.

### **3.2.1 Role of local government in the apartheid context**

During apartheid, the local government structure in South Africa was designed to reproduce the urban system in accordance with the policy objectives of the state which were to perpetuate the structural design of apartheid (Swilling, 1991). This structural design aimed at excluding the black majority from proper housing, and simultaneously providing superior housing opportunities for the white minority. This paradigm was further propagated by the Influx Control Act of 1937 which allowed central government to enforce the 1923 Act provisions and extended early influx control. The Group Areas Acts set about designating every square centimetre of land for occupation by one of four racial groups (African, Indian, coloured, and white) (Goodlad, 1996; Buckley & Kalarickal, 2005).

Apartheid local government was primarily responsible for the provision of basic municipal services such as water, electricity, internal roads, street lighting, storm-water drainage, sewerage, etc. It played a minimal developmental or redistributive role (Pycroft, 1998). In the apartheid era, local government existed predominantly to perpetuate local separation and inequality in service delivery (Nyalunga, 2006).

During the apartheid period, local government received its housing mandate from national government, as opposed to the community it served. This housing mandate was about ensuring segregation and played a critical role in implementing housing policies which were meant for control by excluding people from urban areas and discouraging communities from determining their developmental needs. For instance, local government enforced the Native Urban Areas Act which prevented Africans from entering urban areas which were predominantly earmarked for whites, resulting in long commutes and economic hardship for black South Africans.

### **3.2.2 Post apartheid developmental local government**

Post apartheid local government inherited a system which was aimed at providing quality services for the privileged white minority and systematically excluding the majority of black South Africans (Nyalunga, 2006).

In order to counter the apartheid regime, the democratically elected government reformed previous legislations and policies to address inequalities, discrimination, poverty, etc. According to the South African Constitution (Chapter 7, Section 157) municipalities are responsible for the delivery of a range of services; to provide a democratic and accountable government; to provide services to the communities in a sustainable manner, to promote socio-economic development; to promote a safe and healthy environment; and to encourage the community engagement. The Local Government White Paper of 1998 further reiterates the constitutional role of local government (Nyalunga, 2006). It can be inferred that local governments' developmental role is a constitutional obligation, thus forcing this entity to ensure community participation in development initiatives.

One of the critical roles of local government in the post apartheid context is to continue integrating the developmental roles of the three spheres of government. Local government now has the task to reduce poverty and social inequalities and administer local issues (Smith & Vawda, 2003). The South African Constitution assigns local government a role in the provision of basic services in its definition of the objectives of local government. Thus local government should encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of governance and accountability (Pillay, 2008). Broadly speaking, municipalities are to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner; set metropolitan or local housing delivery goals; create and maintain public environment conducive to viable development and healthy communities; provide and maintain revenue generation services; and provide community and recreational facilities in residential areas (Department of Housing, 1995).

Local government in South Africa has constitutional powers to raise their own revenue and spend it as they see it fit (Nyalunga, 2006). Local government has a significant role in managing development initiatives at a local level. It is therefore critical that local decision-making involves local communities. Local government is further responsible for creating an environment for access, rather than the direct provision of goods and services (Pottie, 2004).

In terms of Chapter 7 of the Constitution 1996, three categories of municipalities were created in the sphere of local government to cover the whole territory of the Republic. Municipalities, as institutions of the local sphere of government, have been identified for the implementation of the national developmental agenda (Asmah-Andoh, 2009; Zerbe, 2006; Roux, 2005).

For Nel and Binns (2003:169), 'Developmental Local Government is defined as local government that is committed to progressively work with citizens and groups within a community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs'. In this regard, local knowledge is useful in finding workable solutions. This is fundamentally because local people understand local issues better than outsiders. It is therefore logical that local government creates a favourable environment for local communities to express their concerns. In this respect local government can play a critical role in representing and articulating the interests of their respective communities. To further elaborate, local government is generally understood as the political entity which is in control of local affairs. It is a rule-making and law-enforcing component that has autonomy and a legal status distinct from central government.

Broadly speaking, the delivery of basic services such as water; sanitation and housing are theoretically the responsibility of the local municipality, Ward Councillors and Ward Committees. Municipalities and Ward Councillors need to be sensitive to community views and respond to local housing issues. Local government should be sensitive to community feelings and priorities.

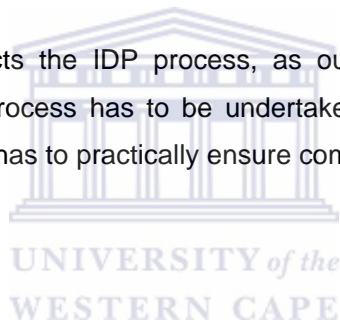
Moreover, the City of Cape Town can be considered a developmental local government by its efforts to work with citizens and community groups to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, material needs and improve of their lives. The City of Cape Town should also ensure that they target members of communities such as women, the disabled and vulnerable people to ensure inclusivity. In order to achieve developmental objectives, municipalities use the municipal planning methodology which is the Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

### **3.3. IDP as Municipal Planning Framework**

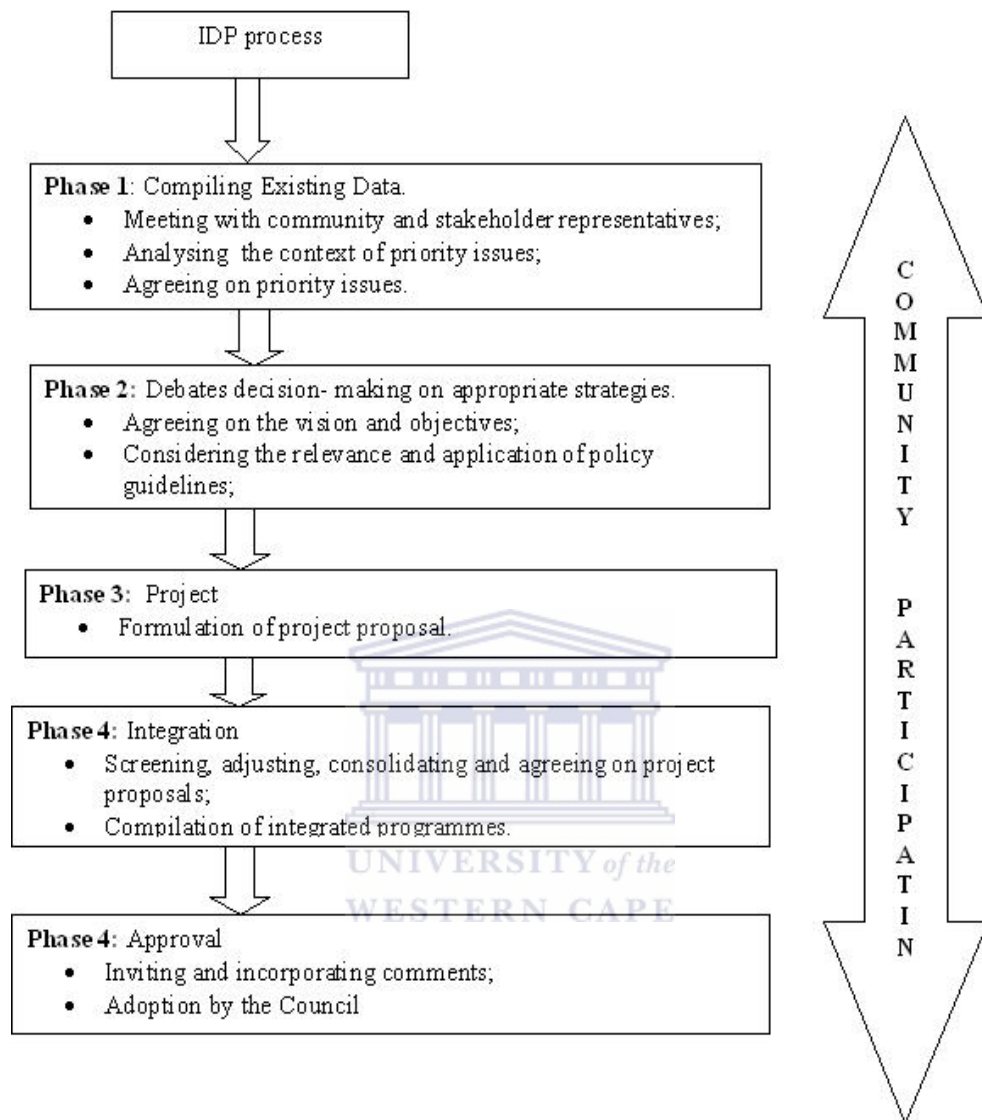
The IDP is guided by the Constitution, which gives specific powers and responsibilities to local government. According to the Cape Town IDP, it is responsible for providing roads, electricity distribution, water and sewerage systems, wastewater treatment, public health, traffic safety, urban planning, by-law enforcement, and sites and services for housing. The division of responsibilities between different spheres of government is important to understand. Local government cannot address problems in schools, hospitals, or in the South African Police Services, to give just three examples. These are under the control of the Provincial Government (City of Cape Town, 2008).

#### ***3.3.1 Overview of the IDP process***

The following schema depicts the IDP process, as outlined by the Department of Human Settlements. The process has to be undertaken by all Municipalities in the compilation of the IDP and it has to practically ensure community participation.



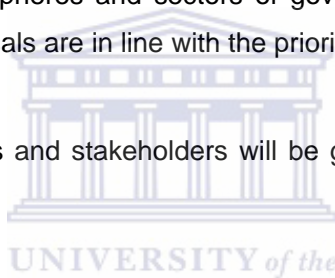




**Figure 3-1 Overview of IDP process (Adapted from the Department of Human Settlements, 2009)**

According to the above diagram, participation and consultation must take place during all the phases of IDPs, not only during assessment and prioritisation of needs and problems in phase one. The opportunities for participation are outlined below for each phase:

- In phase one community representatives and stakeholders are given an opportunity to analyse their problems and determine their priorities;
- In phase two there should be an opportunity for a broad public debate on the appropriate ways and means of considering the problems raised by community members and addressing priorities;
- In phase three, community members and stakeholders affected by a concrete project will be consulted on specific issues related to the project design;
- In phase four the IDP Representative Forum, comprising representatives of the municipality, community and stakeholders within the municipality and representatives of other spheres and sectors of government, will need to confirm whether the project proposals are in line with the priorities, objectives and strategies;
- In phase five communities and stakeholders will be given the opportunity to make comments on the IDP.



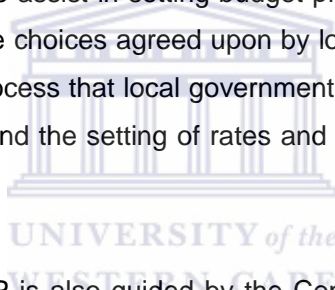
At the heart of developmental local government is the concept of integrated development planning, where municipalities coordinate all development activities within their areas of jurisdiction. For Levin (2008), IDPs are important because they are instrumental in promoting local economic development and they harmonise the planning processes of national sector departments, provinces and municipalities.

In order to eradicate the legacy of the past, the South African democratic government adopted a developmental approach to local government. This necessitated a commitment on the part of local government, through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), in facilitating community participation by finding sustainable ways of meeting their social, economic and material needs, and improving their quality of life (Tshabalala & Lombard, 2009; Nel & Binns, 2003).

According to Scott (2005; 696), 'the IDP process involves specific priorities for the municipality, which requires agreement on value judgments, informed as far as

possible by pertinent information'. The IDP process involves the identification of all developmental needs, priorities and strategies in a comprehensive manner for communities. Furthermore, Williams (2006:201) says that 'theoretically, the IDP is a process in which a municipality can establish a development plan for the short, medium and long term, through which it can enable communities to define their goals, needs, and related priorities'.

According to the Municipal Systems Act, Section 35, the City of Cape Town adopted the IDP as its principal strategic planning instrument to guide and inform its planning, management and development. It binds the City in the exercise of its executive authority, except in cases where it conflicts with national or provincial legislation, in which case such legislation prevails. The City of Cape Town's IDP is a plan for how the City of Cape Town envisages spending its budget until 2012, on what, and where. The IDP is therefore a plan to assist in setting budget priorities. Furthermore, the IDP is about making cost effective choices agreed upon by local government and residents of the city, and part of the process that local government follows includes drawing up a draft budget, a final budget and the setting of rates and service charges (City of Cape Town, 2008; Williams, 2006).



The City of Cape Town's IDP is also guided by the Constitution, which gives specific powers and responsibilities to local government. The Constitution states that municipalities are responsible for providing roads, electricity distribution, water and sewerage systems, wastewater treatment, public health, traffic safety, urban planning, by-law enforcement, and sites and services for housing. After careful public consultation, the City of Cape Town decided to prioritise infrastructure-led economic growth. Investments in infrastructure are to ensure that Cape Town is more attractive to investors (who create jobs and drive development) and skilled workers, and more globally competitive (City of Cape Town, 2008; Plato, 2009).

### **3.3.2 *Municipal IDP housing chapter***

As part of the IDP process, housing chapters, or housing sector plans, are programmes that support municipalities in the housing planning process. Housing chapters are part

of a comprehensive planning exercise which includes other development priorities of a municipality. These may include infrastructure provision, environmental issues, and socio-economic issues of a particular municipality. Within the housing chapter, the municipality should outline its housing backlog, its planned housing projects, and presentations of maps showing development priorities, Local Economic Development, informal settlement plans, and public participation strategies. The housing sector plan is another key document that encourages community participation in housing provision, but there are several problems with regards to alignment.

In the context of the City of Cape Town, the housing chapter is up-to-date and shows compliance with the requirements of the housing chapter. According to a Project Manager from the City of Cape Town, they are still struggling with aligning housing chapters within their IDP. Different sector plans from different government departments are not consolidated to one development plan. The IDP and housing chapter have different housing priorities because of a lack of alignment. Furthermore, there is inadequate community participation in developing these housing chapter plans.

#### *3.3.2.1 Local government and community participation*

With the political transformation after the apartheid regime to democratic government, community engagement has become one of the key priorities for the ANC-led government; i.e. the creation of public opportunities to enable citizens to engage with their local leadership (Cebekulu & Steyn, 2009). Community participation can be understood as the direct involvement of local people in planning and management, and the overall development at the grass roots level (Joyal, 2001).

Community participation has become one most important ingredients of sustainable community development and is an integral element of democratic South Africa (Williams, 2006).

According to Mohamed (2006:37), 'Community participation can be defined as an overall strategy in the development processes, and entails the involvement of citizens, especially the disadvantaged groups'. In the field of human settlement, it is as an end

in itself and a self generating activity which stimulates people to seek participation in other aspects of their lives.

The notion of participation is closely linked to democracy. Community participation is a means of empowering people by creating the space for them to engage in developing their skills and abilities to negotiate their needs in the face of forces that often appear to obstruct and discourage them. Community participation does not take place in a vacuum, but is subject to the political, social and economic influences within which it occurs. Consequently, to ensure meaningful participation, procedures for democratic decision-making should be created at the local sphere. This would enable the community to engage in, and contribute to, decisions affecting them. The developmental approach therefore aims to re-direct municipalities away from the silo approach of only upgrading physical infrastructure to one that addresses community needs in an integrated manner, as intended by the IDP (Tshabalala & Lombard, 2009; Lodge, 2005; Graham, 2006).

The White Paper on Local Government (Republic of South Africa, 1998) defines developmental local government as a government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways of meeting their social, economic and material needs and improving their quality of life. For Kollapen (2008), community participation is not just a *means to an end* but has relevance and value as both an *end* and a *means*.

On the one hand, through participatory mechanisms, communities can achieve desired project outputs. On the other hand, proper community engagement helps to concretise relationships between government and the community. A constitutional imperative, such as transparency and accountability, is ensured because local people are empowered to constructively question decisions made by government. Within this developmental framework, community participation is an essential aspect of democracy and thus forms an important element of South African policies. There is, however, no universal agreement on what community participation entails (Emmett, 2000).

According to Mohamed (2006), participation in informal settlement communities is a crucial ingredient for developing inclusive policies for future development. Beyond participation in decision making, community involvement in project implementation fosters ownership of the process and its products, and can also contribute toward social and economic development. There is considerable scope for community involvement in the construction of infrastructure, housing and facilities, and in ongoing maintenance (DAG, 2001).

Through active community participation in informal settlement communities, layout plan that accommodated specific needs and concerns can be designed. By contrast, beneficiaries in most other housing projects have little input into the technical solutions chosen by professionals. Participation is especially critical in informal settlements as they are complex, diverse and socially stratified. Significant numbers of poor and vulnerable households reside in these areas and their livelihood strategies are at risk when upgrading is planned.

A one-size-fits-all approach to informal settlement upgrading that ignores the differences between and within informal settlements is thus unlikely to succeed. Where there is no existing structure, beneficiary participation should be coordinated through a committee elected by beneficiaries to enable their participation. Some decisions may also require the direct involvement of each beneficiary household and care will also be needed to ensure the participation of vulnerable and marginalised groups. Existing but ineffective structures may need support to become more democratic and functional. NGOs can and do play an important role in building the capacity of communities to participate in the development process and providing ongoing advice and support (DAG, 2001).

Furthermore, low income women in South Africa have actively participated in the construction of self- help housing. The majority of women work as unskilled labourers on the self-help housing systems. This labour includes carrying water, mixing the concrete, digging the foundations and clearing the grounds for construction (Ndinda, 2004). It can be concluded that women's inputs are important for the actual construction of housing.

### 3.3.2.2 *Assessing developmental local government in South Africa*

Pottie (2004) cites four fundamental challenges hampering the role of local government in the provision of low-cost housing in South Africa. Firstly, the overall national expenditure in housing is aligned with housing projects. Secondly, the constitutional provisions for cooperative governance rest in a sometimes uneasy tension with the introduction of unfunded mandates for local government, as in the case of housing provision. Thirdly, the role of traditional authorities in municipal government and the development decisions process remains largely unaddressed. Fourthly, the political character of many development decisions is being settled in favour of an increased role for the private sector in basic needs provision. For municipal councillors and their staff with insufficient capacity to deal with this situation, these decisions affect not only the bottom line of the council's budget, but also the accountability and transparency (Plato, 2009).

For local government to be developmental, it is necessary that there is institutional innovation and a competent bureaucracy to concisely implement community-based solutions. This means that government officials (with particular reference to the City of Cape Town, Department of Local Government and Housing, and National Department of Human Settlements) should have the appropriate skills necessary for community consultation. Further, this means that they must be able to understand local needs and translate them into an appropriate and responsive housing policy.

Moreover, government officials should have adequate planning skills and be able to align other departments' plans within a housing chapter where the local communities' voices can be considered. Intertwined with planning capacity, political will at a local level is critical. Furthermore, they must appropriately engage with communities to find workable solutions for housing delivery. The local Councillors and Ward Committees can play a critical role in ensuring that development information is disseminated to local people, regardless of their political affiliations.

### 3.3.2.3 *Assessing the City of Cape Town metropolitan area*

According to Nyalunga (2006) metropolitan areas are defined as large urban areas with high population density, an intense movement of people, goods and services, extensive development, and multiple business districts and industrial areas.

The City of Cape Town is challenged by a lack of adequate land, local community politics, bureaucratic 'red tape', and difficulties in accessing finance and resources. The City of Cape Town is at a standstill over the land problem, because additional housing development depends of the identification and location of appropriate land. The lack of available land for de-densification, relocation, and the construction of new housing is a critical issue for informal settlement intervention in Cape Town.

The lack of appropriate land forces housing projects to be located on the periphery. Furthermore, there are high political tensions for land acquisition (Graham, 2006). The housing crisis within the City of Cape Town is compounded by a growing demand for access to adequate housing due to urbanisation dynamics, amongst others. The lack of adequate housing forces people to live under poor conditions, in uninspiring neighbourhoods lacking basic services. Land invasion has become the norm as people feel that the government is not responsive to their housing demands. In the City of Cape Town's jurisdiction, there are a number of families living in overcrowded informal settlements and backyard structures. This situation poses an immense challenge for the City of Cape Town. The problem is also compounded by the increase in migration; where people mostly from the Eastern Cape move to the Western Cape for better services, employment and access to public infrastructure.

Community politics, especially in the context of Joe Slovo, pose a significant challenge to the prompt implementation of housing projects. Political disagreements between the officials and within community organisations over the level of services and location of services are the result of lack of consultation and engagement. According to Graham (2006), political infighting causes many disruptions in the housing delivery process. In addition to community politics, bureaucratic constraints are evident during the procurement of funding.



Officials are also challenged by constant reporting and unnecessary paperwork. Most officials are reluctant to approve anything because of the many legislative considerations. Intertwined with bureaucratic red tape is the lack of funding and resources. Government officials are concerned that financial support for upgrading informal settlements is strongly linked to the continued political support which can at times be uncertain.

#### *3.3.2.4 The housing mandate of developmental local government*

With regards to housing, local government has the primary responsibility of ensuring the constitutional right of adequate housing on a progressive basis. Furthermore, local government is in charge of planning, coordinating, facilitating and enabling the environment for housing development, and most importantly, to facilitate and support the participation of other role-players in housing development (Plato, 2009).

Local government is also involved in the administrative and managerial aspects of housing delivery. For Pottie (2004) and Isaacs-Martin (2009), the role required for housing provision needs every municipality, as part of their integrated development planning, to take all reasonable steps to ensure that residents have access to adequate housing and service delivery. Municipalities are also instructed to establish housing goals and to designate land for housing development in accordance with the national housing programme (Department of Housing, 1995; Pottie, 2004; RSA, 1997).

For Gurren (2003), local government can play a critical role in the facilitation of better housing. Developmental local government can play a significant role in setting the housing policy agenda, and the administration of housing assistance programmes. With regards to housing provision, local government is responsible for the physical processes of planning. The role of the metropolitan government, and especially local government, is enabling, promoting and facilitating the provision of housing in all segments of the population in areas within their jurisdiction.

Developmental local government functions include the identification of current and prospective community housing needs (Gurran, 2003). Furthermore, they identify and

develop land for housing purposes; initiate, plan and coordinate appropriate housing development; give facilitative support to housing delivery agencies; and provide funding for the provision of bulk engineering services. The absence of legitimate, functional and viable local authority structures will jeopardise both the pace and quality of implementation of housing programmes (Department of Housing, 1995; Premier of the Western Cape, 2009). It is thus safe to conclude that the City of Cape Town should be more proactive and at the forefront of development in the Western Cape. Accreditation of municipalities can be useful in the implementation of housing projects by municipalities.

### **3.4. Accreditation of municipalities**

One of critical roles of local government is the integrated planning of service delivery. This requires close coordination and the understanding of community issues. For proper community engagement, it is important to move towards decentralisation of power with the three spheres of government (Pycroft, 1998). This means that local development decisions should not be taken at a national level.

Centralisation of housing development has been criticised in the Joe Slovo community on the grounds that it does not give them a conducive space to define their development preferences. The Joe Slovo community feels that the N2 Gateway project failed partly because of the National Department of Housing's direct involvement which compromised the role of both provincial and local government and because of minimal engagement with the relevant communities. There is thus a need for decentralisation of power to municipalities to secure a uniform and integrated system of municipal planning. According to Pycroft (1998), unless municipalities are able to control their development resources, including land utilisation, developmental local government will remain unattainable.

In this light, accreditation of municipalities is seen as an important part of housing development. One of the objectives of the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements is to expand the role of municipalities, particularly

the metropolitan areas in the management and development of sustainable and integrated human settlements.

Consequently, the National Department of Human Settlements (NDoHS) approved a Policy Framework for the accreditation of municipalities to administer national housing programmes. The municipal accreditation programme is a progressive process that entails incremental delegation and ultimate assignment of housing functions to municipalities. The devolution of the housing function to local government proves to be the way to integrate housing and infrastructure planning and delivery processes at a local level. The Constitution explains the developmental duties of municipalities, requiring each municipality to structure and manage its administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community and to promote social and economic development.

The Constitution also encourages the democratising of development by encouraging the fullest participation of citizens. The concept of developmental local government is perceived as a mechanism to overcome the socio-economic inequalities of the apartheid government. If municipalities are accredited they subsequently take over provincial functions, such as land acquisition and servicing, provision of housing for gap markets and rental stock, and informal settlement upgrades etc. The NDoHS has prioritised metropolitan municipalities such as Tshwane Municipality, Ekurhuleni, City of Johannesburg, Ethekewini, City of Cape Town, and Nelson Mandela (Pucroft, 1998).

### **3.5. The developmental framework of the Western Cape province**

#### ***3.5.1 Isidima (Western Cape Sustainable Human Settlement Strategy)***

In line with the framework document Breaking New Grounds, which is a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements formulated by the National Department of Housing (NDoH) and related national policy and strategic guidelines, the Western Cape Department of Local Government and Housing (DLG&H) is responsible

for conceptualising what the term 'sustainable human settlement' means within the Western Cape context (DLGH, 2006).

According to Isidima, the core problem of housing in the Western Cape is that the existing subsidies and interventions will deliver 14 360 project linked housing units per annum, mainly on the urban peripheries of the Western Cape's towns and cities. These calculations are based on the assumption that there will be R1 million available per year, and that each unit will cost R70 000 to build. This might address the backlog in 15 years, but cannot address other needs such as migration, natural growth, and an increase in number of informal settlements. Isidima recognises that the current approach to housing exacerbates poverty by locating the poor on the urban peripheries and this is not sustainable with regards to financial and resource use perspectives (DLGH, 2006).

The ultimate objective of Isidima is to absorb people who choose to live in the Western Cape into vibrant, safe, efficient and sustainable human settlements. The point of the Isidima intervention is to create an environment which allows citizens to engage with government to access a wide range of services, facilities and benefits that can satisfy their basic human needs without degrading the eco-system (Housing MEC, 2009; Sokupa, 2009).

The Sustainable Human Settlements Strategy (2007) pays much attention to the growing housing backlog and the futility of the current systems to remove the backlogs. It proposes several mindset changes and a set of objectives with action plans as alternative mechanisms.

### **3.5.2 Ikapa Elihlumayo- Growth and Development Strategy**

The iKapa Elihlumayo puts forward 'a Home for All' as the overall visionary ambitions for the Western Cape.

*'By 2014, the Western Cape visions to have good progress towards becoming communities regardless of their background. In this year, the*

*Western Cape will be an empowering place to live. All residents will enjoy a quality of life based on improved economic and social opportunities, greater equality and better access to assets, resources and healthy living environment that foster the well-being for the current and future generation. This vision will be supported by broader economic participation, which will fuel a higher- than average growth rate within the capacity of the natural resource base- including our ecosystems of air, water, land and biodiversity' (Department of the Premier, 2005).*

Ikapa Elihlumayo is isiXhoza for 'The Growing Cape'. The Western Cape Growth and Development Strategy (iKapa GDS) deepens the province's commitment to achieving the vision of the Western Cape as 'A Home for All' which aims to build these homes by shifting the development path of the Western Cape towards a future of shared growth and integrated, sustainable development. The Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC) is leading this process but its success depends on strong partnerships with labour, civil society and business (Department of the Premier, 2005). According to Ikapa Elihlumayo, housing for everyone is important for the socio-economic development of the Western Cape.

UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

The following chapter provides the socio-economic status of Joe Slovo and an overview of the N2 Gateway Project. It explores the role of local government officials and community representatives in the housing delivery process. It assesses opportunities for participation and the extent of community engagement. Furthermore, it explores obstacles relating to community participatory processes.

## **CHAPTER 4. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND HOUSING DELIVERY IN JOE SLOVO**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter firstly outlines the methodology used in gathering the data, provides a brief overview the Joe Slovo informal settlement and examines the significance of the N2 Gateway project in relation to the Joe Slovo informal settlement. Thereafter, the existing participatory structure, opportunities for participation in Joe Slovo, and the nature of community participation and engagement is investigated in order to determine whether the participation has been meaningful. The chapter concludes by highlighting obstacles and constraints which hamper meaningful community participation.

### **4.2. Data gathering methods**

With regard to data gathering methods, eight interviews were conducted with officials who included two representatives from the City of Cape Town (Housing Department), two N2 Gateway Joe Slovo project managers from both the City of Cape Town and Local Government and Housing (DLGH), one Joe Slovo liaison person, and two Ward Committee members of Ward 52 (Joe Slovo). In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 representatives from the community which included the Joe Slovo Task Team, the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence, and the Ward 52 Councillor.

Interviews with community representatives were conducted in their homes for about 30 minutes per interview. Additionally, three semi-structured interviews were held with representatives of the Community Organisation Resources Centre (CORC) and the IKhayalami and Housing Development Agency (HDA) to understand their roles in Joe Slovo and their perceptions of the nature participation. Interviews with CORC, Ikhayalami and HAD were conducted in their offices for about 30 minutes per interview.

A structured questionnaire was administered to 30 beneficiaries in order to investigate their perception of community participation, nature of participation, levels of participation, barriers to effective participation, as well as their suggestions for the improvement of participatory processes and/or structures. The questionnaire was compiled in Xhosa, which is the local language of beneficiaries. Furthermore, because of time constraints and limited financial capacity, the 30 questionnaires were distributed using the random sampling method to houses in Joe Slovo. Only 25 questionnaires were considered to have usable data. Problems of question interpretation were encountered during the data collection phase.

In addition, community meetings were observed in order to determine the extent to which community members are involved in decision-making processes, to assess the level of participation of community members, and to determine the different roles that community member play in meetings. The structure of the meetings was observed in order to evaluate whether the meeting setting and/or power structures encouraged or inhibited participation. Secondary data, such as government documents and reports, newspaper articles and meeting minutes, were examined to inform the study and gather supporting information relating to the housing process and community participation.



### **4.3. Overview of Joe Slovo and the N2 Gateway Project**

#### **4.3.1 *The Joe Slovo informal settlement***

Joe Slovo is an informal settlement situated in Langa Township, 10 km from Cape Town (see Figure 4.1). It is the largest informal settlement in South Africa. There are about 20 000 residents living in 2 799 households; with youth making up of 35% of the total population (Cape Argus, 2009; Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

For the past 15 years, there has been a legal conflict with the government around the right of Joe Slovo residents to live in Langa Township. Residents named their community Joe Slovo hoping to attract the attention of the then Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, and make her honour the ANC's promise of shelter as a constitutional

right. The current Joe Slovo settlement area was undeveloped land owned by the City of Cape Town and occupation of the land began in the early 1990s. It was necessary for those who occupied the land to clear away vast vegetation tracts before rudimentary structures could be established on the land. During the early days of the settlement and during the apartheid years, security operatives repeatedly and forcibly removed the occupants from the land and destroyed their accommodation and possessions. However, the occupiers inevitably returned (Cape Argus, 2009; Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

People live in very high densities in Joe Slovo; it is not uncommon to find three families sharing 20m<sup>2</sup> shacks. The majority of residents are presently unemployed or underemployed, undereducated and living below the Household Subsistence Level (HSL) (Lewis, 2009). According to the Western Cape Department of Housing (2009), only 36% of the Joe Slovo adult population is employed.

Most of the population live in fewer than two rooms per family. Due to high prices of rentals and housing in the broader area, people resorted to informal settlements (such as Joe Slovo) as the only affordable and accessible housing alternative. Most of the household heads in this settlement originally lived in the Eastern Cape Province; they came to Cape Town in anticipation of employment and formal housing.





**Figure 4-1 Location of the informal settlement (source: Department of Local Government and Housing, 2009)**

The monthly expenses in terms of food, electricity, school fees and transport absorb the vast majority of the income of almost every household in Joe Slovo. The amount spent by households on basic expenses ranges from R800 to R1500 per month. Water is delivered free to the community. Toilet facilities are poor and one toilet can be used by up to nine people. There are no ablution facilities and people have to wash in the open (Cape Argus, 2009; Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

#### 4.3.1.1 *The N2 Gateway project*

The N2 Gateway project was approved by the National Cabinet in August 2004 as a pilot and lead project of National Department of Housing's new sustainable human settlement development strategy (Chance, 2008). The then Minister of Housing announced the adoption of this new strategy and government's policy of integrating South Africa's first and second economies, and simultaneously announced that the strategy would be piloted by the N2 Gateway project (Chance, 2008).

The N2 Gateway project was intended to demonstrate a move away from the approach of providing freestanding, freehold title RDP houses to households in informal settlements next to the N2 freeway (Legassick, 2007).

The main objective of the N2 Gateway project was to provide a range of higher-density, affordable rental housing options on well-located land, targeting communities that are severely impacted by adverse social conditions. The project specifically targeted communities living in informal settlements such as Joe Slovo, New Rest, Gxagxa, Kanana, Boys Town, Lusaka, Vukuzenzale, Barcelona, Delft 7-9, Delft Symphony and District Six, as well as backyard dwellers from Langa, Gugulethu, Bonteheuwel, Bokmakkierie, and Nyanga. However, in order to clear space to construct units in Joe Slovo, scores of households who were living in informal settlements were removed. They were sent to live in open spaces between shacks in the wider Joe Slovo area with the prospect of returning to the new formal housing (Legassick, 2007; Powell & Ndenze, 2007).

However, a return to the new rental housing was not feasible due to the significantly higher costs associated with government's decision to develop higher-density housing that was provided by the N2 Gateway project compared with contractor-built RDP houses or public rental housing. Subsidies used for social housing are approximately three times more per unit than that of freestanding units, and monthly rentals are significantly higher than public rental housing; making it generally unaffordable for households living in informal settlements (Bush Radio, 2007).

The N2 Gateway project is critical for the Joe Slovo community because it is located next to the N2 freeway. Some of the projects, such as N2 Gateway and Joe Slovo phase one houses, did not benefit the intended community of Joe Slovo because of the unaffordable high rentals. Phase one of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo forms part of the national pilot programme in accordance with the national government's Breaking New Grounds (BNG) sustainable settlement plan. The project was intended to demonstrate an innovative initiative to developing human settlements, including all social and economic amenities in addition to housing units. The broader N2 Gateway project was initiated as a joint project of all three spheres of government, specifically the national, provincial and local departments of housing.

At policy level, the N2 Gateway project aimed to be a highly integrative approach with all three spheres of government playing a specific role in the development. A total of 705 medium-density housing units were built for phase 1, consisting of 154 bachelor units, 333 one-bedroom units, and 218 two-bedroom units. Bachelor units are 27m<sup>2</sup>, while one- and two-bedroom units vary from 40m<sup>2</sup> and 48m<sup>2</sup> (Legassick, 2007).

According to the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign (2007), the N2 Gateway project is a reflection of unfair capitalism where prices for housing are excessively expensive. The community feels that there needs to be more resistance from the community and the process should be people-driven and community-based. Unemployed people in the community should be trained to build houses in their communities and participate in the process.

The Joe Slovo community feels that the N2 Gateway project is a failure because government did not engage sufficiently with nearby communities. As a result, backyard dwellers from both Joe Slovo and Delft forcefully occupied unfinished N2 Gateway houses during December 2007 (Chance, 2008). Currently (2010), some beneficiaries from Joe Slovo, who are living in the N2 Gateway houses, are unhappy having to pay a rental of R1 050 per month for defective flats.

Beneficiaries argue that the N2 Gateway project is not designed for poor people. They state that there are newly built flats in Langa Township which cost a maximum of R250 per month (Anti-eviction Campaign, 2009). In addition, they are not content that the management of the project is based in Johannesburg and feel it must be replaced by local management; they do not want to engage with Thubelitsha Homes on the grounds that it (Thubelitsha Homes) supported the removal of Joe Slovo community to Delft. Thubelitsha Homes was a Section 21 company founded in 1997 as a critical government entity to obtain housing stock. In 2006 Thubelitshas' mandate was extended to include the upgrading of informal settlements, the unblocking of housing projects; and the fast tracking of emergency housing solutions. In addition, the Minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, has voiced great concern regarding the building quality of the houses and the standard of living of the beneficiaries.

The N2 Gateway project is critical to this study because it was initially designed to accommodate informal settlements along the N2. It has partly failed to achieve its objectives because there was no proper community engagement or participation of the beneficiaries of the project. It was a top-down housing development approach where the national government, in conjunction with the provincial and local housing governments, decided on quickly cleaning up the N2 for the soccer World Cup visitors (Tonkin, 2008).

## **4.4. Existing participatory structures**

### **4.4.1 Government structures**

#### *4.4.1.1 Department of Local Government and Housing (DLGH)*

The South African Constitution of 1996 states that provincial government is responsible for determining the provincial housing policy within the national guidelines. The provincial government is also responsible for monitoring housing delivery, liaising and negotiating with national departments on issues of fiscal transfers, provincial priorities and national housing programmes (Department of Housing, 1995; Goodlad, 1996; RSA, 1996; Ndinda, 2007).

The DLGH wanted to conduct a socio-economic study (which was already done by CORC in 2009) to understand the needs of the Joe Slovo population. DLGH want to build working relationships with the community of Joe Slovo, City of Cape Town, and the non-government organisations involved in Joe Slovo. The MEC of DLGH appointed the Deputy Director from the Research Unit to liaise with the community on the nature of densification, as proposed by the both the Western Cape Premier and the DLGH MEC.

According to both the MEC and the Premier, their proposed densification would include double-storey units with not less than 44 single floor units for the disabled and elderly. Some ground floor units would be used for business and shopping facilities, and power

line servitudes would be utilised for public spaces, sports fields and agricultural gardening (Department of Local Government and Housing, 2009). Furthermore, the research unit is required to report back to senior management. The research units and project managers fundamentally used *ad hoc* and general meetings to liaise with the Joe Slovo community in terms of the N2 project.

On the technical aspects of densification, the housing MEC appointed a Project Manager to manage the construction project, in terms of monitoring and evaluation, facilitation and coordination in Joe Slovo. Furthermore, the Project Manager is required to implement decisions from top management and report directly to the Western Cape Premier and the MEC. The Project Manager is also required to give technical advice on densification, and identify and collaborate with beneficiaries who are willing to be relocated to the Delft rental stock.

#### 4.4.1.2 *Housing Development Agency (HDA)*

The HDA falls under the National Department of Human Settlements, and it was formed to fundamentally encourage public and private partnerships and attract private investment in the low-income housing market. The HDA supports provincial and local government in their attempts to achieve the government's objective of creating integrated human settlements near work opportunities, schools, clinics and other amenities. The HDA was established under the Housing Development Agency Act No 23 of 2008. The Agency operates, and is classified, as a national public entity with its executive authority vested in the Minister for Human Settlements ([www.thehda.co.za](http://www.thehda.co.za))

The HDA is to replace the liaison role of the DLGH and bring all relevant stakeholders in a steering committee which includes the Joe Slovo Task Team; the Backyard Dwellers (who will benefit from the Joe Slovo densification project in Joe Slovo); Joe Slovo Councillors and the ward committee; and representatives from the DLGH, the City of Cape Town and the CORC. It is the view of the MEC of Housing that the HDA should bring together Joe Slovo leadership and have an inclusive engagement with the community.

According to Paton (2010) the HDA is acting as the agent of the National Department of Housing that will attempt to reduce rents for the tenants of Joe Slovo phase one. The HDA has been critical in Joe Slovo because it replaces the role of the Thubelitsha Homes.

In a semi-structured interview with an official from DLGH, it was indicated that the HDA has been able to obtain the full cooperation of the Joe Slovo community in the densification of Joe Slovo in order to obtain the optimal return of scarce land.

#### *4.4.1.3 The City of Cape Town*

According to Putu (2006:18), the Local Government Municipal Systems Act (2000) (Chapter 4 Section 17 (2)) maintains that 'a municipality must establish appropriate mechanisms processes and procedures to enable the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality'. Municipalities must therefore develop a culture of municipal governance that works closely with community structures. According to Isaacs-Martin (2009), local government is distinct from the national and provincial government as it consists of municipalities that reflect the groundwork successes and failures of national government. Local government is the closest form of government that every citizen can access.

One of the primary responsibilities of local government in the post apartheid government was to integrate a historical three-tiered approach to service delivery. Local government is responsible for promoting and facilitating the provision of housing to enable access to all groups of society (Department of Housing, 1995). According to Smith and Vawda (2003), local government should be committed to working with citizens and groups within their jurisdictions to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. Furthermore, the South African Constitution provides that local government, in the administration of low cost-cost housing, should promote transparency and accountability, ensure provision of services in a sustainable manner, and encourage community involvement (Pottie, 2004; Mackay, 1996).

Since 1996, local government (City of Cape Town) has functioned as a separate sphere of government. When the ANC won the first local government election in the City of Cape Town in 1996, it inherited a city with high levels of poverty, social dysfunctionality, and growing levels of inequality. The task of the ANC-led local government was to democratise the city in order to mobilise the support various stakeholders for reconstruction. The democratically elected local government was largely responsible for overcoming the engineering structures of segregation and faced the task of reducing inequality through greater equity in the distribution of services (Smith & Vawda, 2003).

The City of Cape Town has therefore assumed the critical role of meeting the development needs of the Cape Town population. One of the key roles of local and metropolitan government is physical planning, implementation, and the delivery of housing through the IDP process in conjunction with participating members from different communities in the region (Pottie, 2004; Mokoena & Marais, 2007). The City of Cape Town is currently not directly involved in Joe Slovo, but is responsible for the construction of houses approved by the MEC of Housing and the Premier of the Western Cape. In housing delivery, the City of Cape Town liaises with the Joe Slovo Councillor and the Ward Committee. The land that Joe Slovo residents are occupying belongs to the City of Cape Town. For the City of Cape Town, 30% of new houses should be allocated to people living in backyards from other settlements, and 70% should be allocated to Joe Slovo residents.

#### *4.4.1.4 The Councillor*

The Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 (2000) provides that councillors be a channel of communication between their respective communities and local government. They should therefore encourage community engagement in the IDP processes. In addition, they should represent community interests and concerns in the Municipal Council. They play a critical role of facilitating, managing and monitoring community development (RSA, 2000). The Ward 52 Councillor (Mr Gophe) is not visible in Joe Slovo. The Councillor does not attend most of the general meetings but only attends special meetings organised by the City of Cape Town and the DLGH.

#### 4.4.1.5 *The Ward Committee*

Theoretically, Ward Committees exist primarily to act as advisory entities to councillors. They exist to uphold participatory democracy and identify needs and challenges facing the community. Furthermore, they act as a communication channel between communities, local government and councillors. According to the Municipal Systems Act (2000), Ward Committees are mandated to assist councillors to improve community and/or public participation in local governance processes. All decisions and issues addressed by Ward Committee must be referred to the Municipal Council through the responsible Ward Councillor. Legislation provides that Ward Committees can only be useful when there are more pragmatic and all-encompassing participation mechanisms.

According to the South African Ward Committee Resource Book (2005: 38-39) Ward Committees should create formal, unbiased communication channels and cooperative partnerships between municipalities and the communities they represent. They should act as an advisory body on council policies and matters affecting communities in their respective wards. They should serve as official organs of governance, identifying and specialising in participatory structures in their municipalities. Finally, they should facilitate public participation in the process of development, and review and implement the management of IDP of municipalities. Ward Committees receive and record complaints from the community within the ward and provide feedback to their community on council's responses.

The Ward Committee in Joe Slovo, represented by nine elected individuals, is perceived to represent different interest groups within the community. The Ward Committee in Joe Slovo is chaired by Mr Gophe (Ward 52 Councillor). The members of the Ward Committee have different portfolios; i.e. Housing Portfolio, Education Portfolio, Public Transport Portfolio, Community Engagement or Community Mobilisation Portfolio, and Service Delivery Portfolio.

During the telephonic interview with the Chairperson of the Ward Committee, it was that four committee members do not have specific portfolios. They are responsible for



communicating with different sections in Joe Slovo. Furthermore, it was observed that there is no clear understanding of the different portfolios within the Ward Committee. It seems that the Councillor is in charge of all developmental roles and the Ward Committee members act as a communication channel between the Councillor and the community.

#### **4.4.2 Community structures**

##### **4.4.2.1 The Joe Slovo Task Team**

The study found that in 2006 the Joe Slovo Working Committee/Task Team was established and their first structure comprised 12 members which were all males. This male domination of the task team was purposefully done because the previous committee was comprised predominantly of women who were manipulated by Councillor Gophe. The community felt that the female committee perpetuated corruption and did not represent their interests. The female committee was not trusted by the community and thus the emergence of the resistance to relocate to Delft.

Joe Slovo community members chased away female representatives to Delft and Councillor Gophe was discharged from his duties as Councillor. The Joe Slovo Task Team was established primarily to oppose the eviction of Joe Slovo residents and their relocation to Delft. In addition to its fundamental tasks, it organises and mobilises the community through community meetings. It addresses community grievances, ensures community representation and participation, and provides technical assistance to the community.

In 2006, the community democratically elected women to the Joe Slovo Task Team and some team members received specific portfolios. The chairperson of the Joe Slovo Task Team is responsible for chairing the meetings, approving the agenda and approving the minutes. These functions are performed by the deputy chairperson in the absence of the chairman. The coordinator is responsible for coordinating the Task Teams' programmes and projects. The secretary is responsible for the logistical organisation of meetings, taking notes in meetings, and administrative support.

The treasurer is responsible for all finances which includes fund-raising, budgeting and fund allocations. The community liaison function is performed by all the members. The Joe Slovo Task Team members alternate the duty of publicly announcing special meetings. There are eight additional members performing *ad hoc* duties.

#### 4.4.2.2 *Joe Slovo Committee of Residence*

According to several informal interactions with the community, the study found that the Joe Slovo Committee of Residents is made up of nine members who mostly live in back yards of formal structures. The ideology of the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence fundamentally opposes that of the Joe Slovo Task Team. Informal discussions with members of the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence revealed that the structure comprises a group of some Joe Slovo residents who believe that they are the oldest settlers in Joe Slovo which makes them the founders of the Joe Slovo settlement.

These residents are of the view that they deserve priority on the grounds that they are mostly people who are in the Cape Town municipal housing database; some of them are Backyard Dwellers. They argue that shack and housing allocation is complicated by new people who settle in Joe Slovo for transport purposes. According to this group, housing allocation should be made according to the housing database. And within the housing database, housing allocation must be done according to date. This means that people who registered first in the municipal housing database must get first preference for housing.

Like the Joe Slovo Task Team, the Committee of Residence has both a Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson who are in charge of giving direction to the committee, prioritising discussion topics, and approving agendas and minutes. The Secretary is responsible for undertaking numerous administrative duties and safekeeping the records of the Committee. The Treasurer position does exist but is not that visible because there are no funds. There are other members performing *ad hoc* duties. In an informal discussion with the Chairperson, it was indicated that some portfolios are vacant because their structure lacks support.

Furthermore, at the present time anyone is welcome to join their structure, and when it is strong, it will democratically elect a committee.

### **4.4.3 Other structures**

#### **4.4.3.1 Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI)**

The SDI works in collaboration with the Joe Slovo Task Team. Both IKhayami and CORC belong to the SDI which is a confederation of participating countries in the global south. SDI was launched in 1996 and was formally registered in 1999. The overall objectives of the SDI are to link poor urban communities from cities across the South; and transfer and adopt the successful mobilisation, advocacy, and problem-solving strategies they develop in one location to other cities, countries and regions.

#### **4.4.3.2 Community Organisation Resources Centre (CORC)**

The CORC is a non-governmental organisation which comprises many professionals and grassroots activists who think independently, yet plan and act collectively. It provides support to networks of urban, rural poor communities, and informal settlements who mobilise themselves around their own resources and capacities. The CORC's interventions are designed to enable rural and urban communities and informal settlements to learn from one another and to create solidarity and unity in order to be able to broker deals with formal institutions, especially the state. The CORC links Joe Slovo with community organisations like the Federation of the Urban Poor (Fed up) and the Poor People's Movement (PPM) (Community Organisation Resource Centre, 2009).

The CORC empowers and networks with communities through social technologies which are instruments used to empower communities to take responsibility for their development. Social technologies support visual learning to assist illiterate populations to have meaningful engagement with government. Social technologies include Enumerations, Housing Models, Community Layouts, and Community Savings.

Enumerations give communities a chance to participate in local research. Furthermore, they can be involved in horizontal learning through sharing information with other communities. Housing Models are given to participants to build the type of house they would want to live in.

In the modelling process, participants are required to consider land issues and community structures. Community layouts allow the community to decide on how they want their community be physically structured. It also addresses the representative structures of the community. Furthermore, CORC encourages the Joe Slovo community to fully participate and contribute towards their housing construction. Social technology, such as community savings, addresses the issue of credit. This is because people in Joe Slovo and other communities do not have access to bank services. The community collects money through the Fed-up Savings Scheme Initiative (which is linked to the CORC) to assist them with bookkeeping and management. These social technologies empower the Joe Slovo community to take responsibility for their own development.

In addition, the CORC supports informal settlement communities such as Joe Slovo but requires them be properly organised to allow for meaningful engagement with government structures. The CORC also requires the Joe Slovo Community to take responsibility of their development and be able to propose solutions in their interactions with government structures. The CORC protects, creates space for dialogue, and advocates for the Joe Slovo informal settlements through working with government for solutions.

The CORC also assists with the layout of shacks in Joe Slovo to prevent fires, protect against floods, and reduce hidden corners which encourage rape and the abuse of children. They educate and empower Joe Slovo residents about the nature of meaningful engagement with government. During observation, it was realised that the CORC plays a critical role in facilitating both general and special meetings in Joe Slovo. They are represented at most of the meeting in the Joe Slovo community hall which they funded and mobilised the community to build.

#### 4.4.3.3 *IKhayalmi*

IKhayalami is a non-profit organisation whose primary aim is to upgrade informal settlements such as Joe Slovo. It focuses on designing and manufacturing affordable housing solutions that are easy to transport and quick to erect, and offers a range of opportunities for future upgrading. This is primarily an immediate solution to the national crisis of inadequate shelter, but also provides an effective and rapid response in the event of township hazards such as fire and flooding.

IKhayalami is involved in research and upgrading of informal settlements (Herbstein, 2009). According to the CORC members, iKhayalami was involved in reengaging shacks in Joe Slovo to create walkways between shacks. In conjunction with the Joe Slovo Task Team, IKhayalami was involved in blocking fires in 2009 (see Figure 4.3.1). Both IKhayalami and the Joe Slovo Task Team collaborate to prevent future fires. IKhayalami also encourages the Joe Slovo community to determine their own development and to meaningfully engage with government. Furthermore, IKhayalami worked with the Joe Slovo Task Team and the CORC in data collection, filing and the capturing of the Joe Slovo enumeration report in 2009.



#### 4.4.3.4 *The Community Forum*

The Community Forum was established on 5 March 2009. It was organised by the CORC and the University of Cape Town's African Security and Justice Programme (ASJP). ASJP provides employment for qualifying community forum members. The forum was intended to create a platform where 200 members of government, professionals, academics and local communities discuss development interventions for informal settlements and poor communities. The main objective of the forum is to upgrade informal settlements in the area of Cape Town. There are 30 members of the Joe Slovo leadership who participate in this forum. The Community Forum is involved in Joe Slovo by broadly discussing housing issues facing its members.

#### 4.4.3.5 *Fed-up Savings Scheme Initiative*

The Fed-up Savings Scheme Initiative is a small savings organisation which was created in Joe Slovo. It is directly linked to the CORC and also supported by iKhayalami. It seeks to assist small savings and small businesses with training in finance in Joe Slovo and other neighbouring informal settlements. In addition, the scheme initiatives primarily seek to assist women who are saving in Joe Slovo. Its objectives are to support Joe Slovo residents to save money for future improvements to their housing, with a special emphasis on women investing in their educational development. This structure can also be used by women to share ideas (Ndinda, 2007).

According to Fed-up members, this savings scheme is good because it allows women to define themselves outside the prevailing patriarchal system. About 65 members usually meet at the end of every month. They meet at the Chris Hani Hall and sometimes in an open space next to the hall. At the meetings, they give their financial contributions. The process is assisted by Ikhayalami. It was observed that the Joe Slovo Task Team opposed and blocked Fed-up because of a lack of understanding around its operation. This was done through discouraging Fed-up membership and meetings. This behaviour by Joe Slovo Task Team can be seen as gatekeeping where trusted community leaders block initiatives they are not interested in.

### **4.5. Community assessment of existing structures**

This section provides a critical assessment of existing participatory structures in the context of Joe Slovo informal settlements. During informal discussions and semi-structured interviews, respondents commented on the significance and value of certain existing structures. They commented on the role of the Councillor and Ward Committee, the Joe Slovo Task Team, and the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence. The views of the respondents are documented below.

#### **4.5.1 Role of the Councillor and Ward Committee**

The majority of the respondents revealed that the Councillor and the members of his Ward Committee were chased away from Joe Slovo on the grounds that they were not performing their duties. Furthermore, the Councillor was accused of bribing his Ward Committee for political gains. In an informal discussion with a community member, it was discovered that the Councillor had several women in his Ward Committee because he felt that they would be submissive to him.

Approximately 80% of respondents were of the opinion that the Councillor was generally not accountable, corrupt, mismanaged his powers, and did not meaningfully consult with people at grassroots level. The respondents indicated that the Ward Committee is politically controlled by individuals who support the Congress of the People (Cope).

Most respondents were of the opinion that both the Councillor and the Ward Committee were not effective in their role as a channel of communication between the community and government structures. These negative perceptions were also perpetuated by the fact that the Councillor, as an agent of change, does not do enough to distribute information to the community. However, according to the Councillor, the community does not want to engage with him on critical community issues and they lack respect for his position. The Councillor indicated that welcome opportunities to address community issues, but political differences hinder noteworthy engagements. In addition, in an informal discussion, the Councillor argued that there are emerging community structures such as the Joe Slovo Task Team which are compromising legal channels of development for individuals' populist gains.

Despite these allegations, some respondents are of the opinion that the Councillor played a critical role in assisting with the provision of basic needs, such as water and sanitation in Joe Slovo. For instance, in 2002, the Councillor, in collaboration with Eskom, ensured the provision of electricity for the entire Joe Slovo population. About 20% of the respondents viewed the role of the Councillor as the channel through which consultation and development activities can take place and that he represented the

interests of the community in the Municipal Council. Furthermore, a number of respondents revealed that the Councillor played an important role in addressing the community during the process of community eviction.

With regards to the Ward Committee, about 90% of the respondents indicated that the inactiveness of the Councillor has impacted on the visibility of the Ward Committee. They only attend community meetings when they are invited by the MEC of Housing. The respondents felt that the Ward Committee did not act in the wider interest of the community. The Ward Committee only assist people who are political affiliated to the Councillor. Furthermore, respondents were of the view that members of the Ward Committee did not understand their constitutional mandate, which is to create harmonious relationships between the community and the Ward Councillor.

Moreover, the Ward Committee does not facilitate public participation, thus the community is not informed about the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process. About 70% of the respondents did understand what an IDP is. Some of the respondents indicated that failure of the IDP process was evident at the inception of the N2 Gateway project. The N2 Gateway project could have been used to adequately involve the community in the planning of development. The respondents noted that there was a lack of engagement with regards to project design. Government structures engaged with the Ward Councillor and direct engagement with the community was extremely limited.

A total of 90% of the respondents noted that the Councillor is ineffective and this impacts on their engagement in the IDP process. Respondents revealed that their Councillor is 'unacceptable' and 'illegitimate' and his ineffectiveness result in minimal community participation in the IDP process. It is almost impossible for the Joe Slovo community to participate in the IDP process because the legal participatory structures are invisible in the community. It can therefore be concluded that the Councillor and Ward Committee in Joe Slovo pay lip service to the notion of participation to a great extent.



#### **4.5.2 The role of Joe Slovo Task Team**

According to several community members, the current Joe Slovo Task Team is strong, patient, and represents the interests of the community. They feel that the Task Team gives the community the chance to voice their grievances. Additionally, during community meetings it was raised that the Joe Slovo Task Team should replace the role of the Councillor. The Joe Slovo Task Team is legitimate because they opposed Joe Slovo residents having to relocate to Delft. Respondents indicated that members of the committee are well known and very approachable. Only 10% of respondents felt that the Joe Slovo Task Team is intolerant to other people's views. It was observed that the large support base of the Joe Slovo Task Team was one of the reasons that prevented consideration of the views of the minority.

#### **4.5.3 Joe Slovo Committee of Residence**

According to the informal discussions, this committee is weakened by the fact that their constituency is old; they are also not popular because they did not resist relocation to Delft and they ideologically oppose the Joe Slovo Task Team. The committee only meets when there is a critical service delivery problem they need to address. Furthermore, they agree with the Joe Slovo Task Team about the removal of the current Councillor, but indicate that he must be replaced by a lawfully and democratically elected Councillor.

The committee membership is not that strong, partly because of the rapid emergence and rapidly growing legitimacy of the Joe Slovo Task Team in the. Furthermore, the committee seems to be less organised compared with the Joe Slovo Task Team. Despite their weak support base, the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence seems to be committed to be representing the interests of the community, but their approach is not approved by the majority of the community.

The Joe Slovo Committee of Residence believes that housing should be allocated to people who have been on the housing waiting list at the City of Cape Town. On the other hand, most of Joe Slovo residents are new residents and are not on the waiting

list. Most of the community therefore feel that their interests are not addressed properly by the Joe Slovo Committee of Residence.

#### **4.5.4 Government structures**

Government officials from both the City of Cape Town and DLGH work closely with the Joe Slovo Task Team, Joe Slovo Committee of Residence and CORC to organise community meetings. Recently, the National Department of Housing directed HDA to replace Thubelitsha Homes and organise community meetings and liaise with relevant stakeholders regarding housing in Joe Slovo.

Most of the respondents indicated that participation is distorted when government officials give limited rigid solutions to housing problems. During observations of special meetings it was noted that government officials pay lip service to the notion of community participation. In some meetings, community members would congregate after the meeting to get clarity on certain issues. It was further noted that individual members would raise important issues outside Chris Hani Hall. One of the reasons given was that some residents are not comfortable expressing themselves in English; they prefer using Xhosa or Afrikaans. This impacts on their ability to discuss issues in public meetings and forums. Additionally, translators in the community are frequently unable to translate technical terms, and most of the time their translation of the proceedings are inadequate. The content of many presentations is complicated and technical which seems to be confusing to residents.

According to the Chairperson of the Joe Slovo Task Team, solutions that were successful in other communities were filtered down to the local level without understanding the Joe Slovo socio-political context. Local indigenous knowledge is not used, which can create problems in the implementation phase of the housing programme. One of the participants of a general meeting in Joe Slovo indicated that beneficiaries or local people need to be active in the development process. This is because they understand their community problems better than people from outside.

## **4.6. Levels of participation in Joe Slovo**

The White Paper on Housing articulates that participation in housing delivery should be an open and honest process. According to the research findings, it was noted that the conventional paradigm of one-size-fits-all to participation in housing delivery is not functioning and there is clearly a need for government, civil society, and communities to deliberate and participate in development projects.

Joe Slovo community members can participate in decision-making on three different levels. Respondents noted that each level has a different set of dynamics. The different levels will be explained in more detail below.

### **4.6.1 *Participation at government level***

In terms of participation at government level, responses revealed that officials do not fully involve the community in the decision-making process. Respondents noted that the decision-making process is top-down and beneficiaries are not engaged in the process in a meaningful way. Their participation is thus passive and they attend meetings in order to receive information from government officials. To a great extent, the community is not given a platform to define themselves or their needs and priorities. At a number of meetings, government officials would merely present their solutions for the Joe Slovo housing problems prior to any community engagement. Community members were not given any opportunity to give input or voice alternative solutions. Thus community engagement with government is not an empowering process in Joe Slovo.

These findings give cause for concern, as scholars such as Dalal-Clatton, Dent and Dubouis (2003) inform that the so-called top-down approach to development planning is detrimental in terms of participatory democracy and hinders both the implementation and sustainability of projects. The literature clearly indicates that people at the grassroots, as beneficiaries of projects, must function as implementation agents; thus they need to be fully involved in their own development initiatives.

Furthermore, CORC members argue that both provincial government and the municipality are very technical when dealing with community problems. In most cases politicians and government officials believe there is need to 'rescue' people in Joe Slovo with pre-designed programmes. They do not seem to understand that sustainable housing solutions should emanate from the community.

Respondents highlighted additional problems relating to participation at government level. One such problem is that government fears engaging with poor people because of the perception that they cannot provide solutions to problems as they do not have the technical knowledge or expertise. Another problem that prevents meaningful participation is that government officials are of the view that participation will slow down service delivery which will, in turn, translate into higher project costs.

#### **4.6.2 Participation at community level**

Responses indicate that community members trust each other as they are local people; they also view their current leadership as legitimate because its members are drawn from the community, and they share the same experiences and local conditions. Community residents are very dissatisfied that government is imposing foreign and impractical ideas on the community and not taking their needs and priorities into account.

On the other hand, a small number of respondents believe that the community leadership does not represent their interests. They would prefer to be relocated to Delft rather than remain in Joe Slovo. This section must only discuss the nature of participation at community level – how does participation take place – what is the form of this participation – remember it is only at the community level you are discussing now - is this level of participation of any value – who represents the general public at ward meetings for example

### **4.6.3 Participation at NGO level**

For both CORC and iKhayalami, for participation to be meaningful in Joe Slovo, it must allow for local solutions, enhance capacity, and empower local people through employing local people. According to a semi-structured interview with representatives from CORC and iKhayalami, meaningful participation can benefit both government and the Joe Slovo community.

Government can avoid implementation problems by involving people in the project design. The government can cut costs by involving local people and paying them a bit less than contractors. For CORC and iKhayalami, participation should be about the community taking responsibility for their development, ownership and collaboration, and community decision-making. Respondents emphasised that the residents of Joe Slovo should be given an opportunity to drive the development process through power-sharing between government and the community.

## **4.7. The extent of community participation in Joe Slovo**

In this section, opportunities for participation of community members will firstly be discussed. Thereafter, the extent of participation in terms of these opportunities will be documented.

### **4.7.1 Opportunities for community participation**

The term 'participation opportunity' refers to chances created for community members to be involved in decision-making and raise their concerns regarding their neighbourhood. In this section, participation opportunities will firstly be discussed in terms of residents' participation in community meetings, and thereafter, community participation in special meetings.

#### 4.7.1.1 *Community meetings*

Community meeting in Joe Slovo are used as a platform to disseminate information about a pressing issue; usually service delivery. According to the Joe Slovo Task Team, community meetings are created for community members to raise issues and concerns and share ideas. The Joe Slovo Task Team is critical in organising community meetings and they use a loudhailer and door-to-door approach for announcements. Community meetings take the form of either general meetings or special meetings. Community meetings are generally full as there is limited space in the community hall.

- General meetings

General meetings are held once every two months, and are announced by the Joe Slovo Task Team for the purpose of discussing general community issues. It was observed that participation in general meetings is very minimal. Most respondents feel that general meetings are poorly organised and the scheduling of such meetings is not convenient for most of the employed residents in Joe Slovo.

- Special meetings

Special meetings are often advertised by posting large notices in public areas. There were many special meetings during the community resistance phase with regards to the Delft relocation. Government officials assist in organising these meetings and use media such as local radio stations to advertise their meetings with the community. These special meetings are mostly attended by government's top management officials, including the MEC, Acting Head of Department, Deputy Director General, Chief Directors and Directors. These officials are representatives from the DLGH and the City of Cape Town, and from the National Department of Housing.

#### *4.7.1.2 Community liaison*

In addition to community meetings, community liaison representatives play a critical role in acting as an information channel between government and community structures. Their role is crucial due to the lack of capacity of the community members. The Deputy Director: Research (Department of Local Government and Housing) and the Chairperson of the Joe Slovo Task Team and two additional individuals are charged with disseminating information.

This method of communication has been criticised on the basis that community liaison representatives do not represent the interests of their stakeholders who initially appointed them. Furthermore, discussions with community members indicated that these individuals often act as gatekeepers and do not communicate information to the broader community.



#### **4.7.2 The extent of community participation**

Discussions with members of community organisations and ordinary residents reveal that they have a good understanding of participation. Respondents stated that they view community participation as a two-way process where the Joe Slovo community can determine their own development and also contribute meaningfully to housing delivery. For them, participation in community opportunities encourages them to own their development, take responsibility for paying municipal rates, and change their living conditions according to their own desires. The community of Joe Slovo feels that participation by local people is crucial on the grounds that they have intimate knowledge of their situation and community dynamics.

In order to fully comprehend community engagement in the context of Joe Slovo, one has to understand that the community does not have clearly established basic community structures with well defined responsibilities. This is partly attributed to the fact that Joe Slovo is a relatively new community which is not yet well organised or cohesive. As a result, there is not a wide range of participation opportunities for community members.

Respondents have revealed that the leadership structure in Joe Slovo is not democratically elected. The community of Joe Slovo generally value engagement with several stakeholders in housing delivery. Research findings depict that there is a general perception that people's participation in planning and decision-making directs housing delivery in the desired direction. Poor people in Joe Slovo feel their needs and that of rich government officials are always in conflict. Approximately 70% of respondents were of the opinion that the value of participation is found only when all their issues are addressed.

During informal discussions with community members, it was revealed that most people have no expectations of government or community leadership, which makes monitoring projects difficult. This lack of expectation is due to perceived corruption, inefficiency and self-interested behaviour by community leaders. Political infighting, especially within the Joe Slovo Task Team and Committee of Residence, is a serious obstacle to community participation. Respondents also revealed that there is a fair amount of community apathy; particularly from new community members and that they did not contribute in a meaningful way in community meetings.

## **4.8. Community participation successes**

### **4.8.1 Collaboration**

Despite the limitations and concerns raised over community participation, there is some evidence that participation can be meaningful. For example, the meeting on 7 December 2009 with the MEC of Housing (Bonginkosi Madikizela) marked a significant change in the nature of participation. The MEC promised the community at the meeting that Joe Slovo would receive 100% of its housing allocation, as opposed to the 70/30% split indicated in previous engagements. This indicates that the concerns of the residents in terms of the split had been taken into account and that their requests had been heeded by officials.

Furthermore, there was an agreement that during the construction phase, there would be a programme to facilitate the transfer of skills in order to realise the objectives of the



EPWP and to ensure that local community sub-contractors benefit from the development. This was also viewed as a positive response to requests by community officials. It was decided that in order to ensure community participation, a representative Project Steering Committee should be established to ensure transparency and accountability within the project. In addition, the MEC and the Joe Slovo community agreed that the role of Thubelisha Homes in housing construction would be replaced by a more responsive HDA, and that the Provincial Department of Housing would take the responsibility of monitoring the entire process.

#### **4.8.2 Blocking**

Blocking represents one of the best examples of successes in terms of community collaboration and participation in Joe Slovo. Blocking refers *in situ* upgrading of sites and involves the realigning of structures. This process is usually implemented in informal settlements areas where dwellings are built too close to each other and the settlement has not evolved according to formal planning standards. During the blocking process, structures are reorganised and aligned in rows, back-to-back, with straight pathways between the rows. The process of blocking also prevents subsequent haphazard growth by ensuring sizable free spaces between structures (Herbstein, 2009).

In Joe Slovo, blocking presented an opportunity for the community participate in the process, thereby taking ownership of their own development. On 9 March 2009, 512 shelters were burned to the ground. This marked the beginning of blocking in Joe Slovo. Both the Joe Slovo community and iKhayalami decided there must be a 1.5m walkway in between shacks. Participating in a blocking process requires that all participants be involved in decision-making (Herbstein, 2009). Blocking out of fires was an opportunity for the community to be involved in decision-making and contribute through physical labour.

Respondents indicated that this process helped the community to control fires which was prevalent in Joe Slovo previously. Blocking also enabled ease of access to the settlement area. For example, when community members had serious medical

problems and required urgent assistance, ambulances could easily reach patients via the newly designed pathways between the rows of structures. Other advantages mentioned by community members were that the blocking process resulted in the reduction of rape and criminal activities that had previously occurred in small dark corners of the settlement area.

#### **4.9. Obstacles relating to community participatory processes**

There are many obstacles that can hinder community participation. These community obstacles, in the context of Joe Slovo, are usually as a result of mistrust, political intolerance, and misunderstanding. Furthermore, top-down decision-making processes and unclear communication strategies has contributed to the lack of participation in Joe Slovo. According to Hindson and Swelling (1994:12) these obstacles are problematic because they mostly found within the implementation agency, which is usually the local authority.

##### **4.9.1 Participation as political platform**

During the observation phase of the research it was noted that the Joe Slovo community is used by politicians to disseminate information about political parties. On the one hand, it was clearly apparent that the Democratic Alliance (DA) use participation at community meetings for gaining votes and also encourages participation of community members to obtain legitimacy. It was observed at these meetings that the DA makes independent decisions and presents these to the community. Community participants indicated that this does not amount to participation and community decision-making.

On the other hand, African National Congress (ANC) officials were of the view that there was no need to involve the community in decision-making due to their legitimacy as the ruling power. They felt that as the community had elected them, they trusted their input and thus had free reign to make independent decisions.

Furthermore, it was revealed that during the election period, the ANC government wanted to be 'seen' as having a grassroots approach to housing and voiced their intention to enable the Joe Slovo community to take responsibility for their development. However, this did not materialise. Both these political parties therefore had their own agenda and were not committed in any way to the notion of participation and the objectives of participatory democracy.

#### **4.9.2 Gate keeping**

Community leaders can play a critical role in representing community interests. However, according to Le Roux (1998) and Burkey (1993) there are community leaders who, in many cases, act as gatekeepers and prevent participation of community residents by enforcing their own agendas. With regard to the Joe Slovo community leaders, namely the Councillor and Ward Committee, it is clear that neither have attempted to foster the wider community interest.

About 70% of respondents felt that some community leaders keep control of information in order to advance their political interests and use the community as stumbling blocks. During community meetings, it was observed that there is no credible information sharing from government officials to community representatives. Government officials can therefore be viewed as gatekeepers in the sense that they control the process and present a 'one-size-fits all' solution to housing problems. True community participation, in terms of being actively involved in the process from conceptualisation to implementation, is non-existent.

#### **4.9.3 Illegitimacy of Ward Councillor**

The Councillor for Ward 52 is not perceived as credible by community members. His lack of respect can be attributed to his support for Judge John Hlophe's ruling that the people in Joe Slovo must be relocated to TRAs in Delft. Semi-structured interviews revealed that most people in Joe Slovo feel that the Councillor and his Ward Committee do not address community issues.

This is evident through the lack of information dissemination which makes accountability and transparency difficult; as noted above, communication only takes place when votes are needed.

Community members were very outspoken in terms of their views of the Ward Councillor. They were adamant that the Councillor did not represent their interests which were evident, despite the protests of the wider community, when he agreed to have the Joe Slovo people relocated to Delft. In addition, respondents noted that the Councillor did not assist the community on the 9 March 2009 when the fire left 512 families homeless when their shelters burnt to the ground. Respondents accused the Councillor of nepotism and stated that he was only concerned with self-enrichment.

In addition, the community feels that the Councillor cannot address their issues because he lives in Langa, the township next to Joe Slovo. The Langa population has different challenges which are not relevant to Joe Slovo. During observation at community meetings, it was revealed that there is a growing general perception that the Councillor's developmental responsibilities should be shifted to the Community Task Team. This is because the community views the Councillor as a gatekeeper as development projects are only given to those who belong to the Councillor's political party. On the other hand, the Community Task Team has been able to use limited community resources optimally through involving the community.

#### **4.9.4 Intimidation and language barriers**

Intimidation is closely linked to language barriers. According to observations, government officials utilise a very technical approach when engaging with the community. Such technical approaches exclude the majority of the community in meetings as they do not have the confidence to questions decisions. The low levels of literacy of the majority of the community compounds this problem.

Community intimidation was evident during engagement between the government and the community on the nature of densification; the community requested three-storey structures in order to accommodate everyone on the waiting list. On the other hand,

DLGH proposed a two-storey structure, due to their perception that the community cannot maintain three storey flats. Furthermore, the government argued that building an additional floor would be too expensive.

#### **4.9.5 Non-qualifiers**

Non-qualifiers are those people that do not qualify for a government subsidy because they have either previously received a subsidy, do not have dependants, or they are single. According to government this group must be relocated to Delft or to rental accommodation. According to the Project Manager, only 2000 houses have been allocated to 2734 families (Western Cape Department of Housing, 2009). There is thus a shortfall of 734 families who have not been allocated housing. This group of non-qualifiers expressed the view that government officials are not considerate of their needs and even frequently disturb meetings to force their agenda. One of the responses from a community member was that, 'government is forcing us to get married or have children in order to get a house; this is unfair'.

The exclusion of certain members of the community has created disunity within the community and residents further organise themselves according to non-qualifiers and beneficiaries. As a result, the main developmental focus of the community, which is to obtain proper housing in Joe Slovo, is weakened.

#### **4.9.6 The Chris Hani Community Hall**

The Joe Slovo community hall is well located, almost in the centre of Joe Slovo. It is used for several functions which include funerals, church gatherings, weddings, community meetings, etc. Maintenance costs and cleaning of the hall are borne by church organisations. The fact that the hall is small, yet in demand by many organisations, creates tensions. Observations at community meetings indicated that there were conflicts about which community organisation has complete control of the hall.

Furthermore, the structure of the community hall it is hazardous to one's health and not conducive for long, mass community meetings. It is poorly constructed and there are no appropriate ablution facilities. There are also no toilets nearby. The community hall is very small and can only hold approximately 200 people. Both government officials and NGOs use the hall for community meetings. These factors also impact on community participation as many residents are excluded from meetings due to lack of space.

#### **4.10. Allocation of housing**

The Joe Slovo community wants 100% allocation in phase three because of the existing networks and social fabric. Furthermore, phase one, which is N2 Gateway rental stock, only benefited 2-5% of the Joe Slovo community. Phase two, which is bonded houses, was not designed for the Joe Slovo population because less than 2% of the population earns more than R3500 per month, and most people are unemployed.

On the other hand, the land that the Joe Slovo population occupies belongs to the City of Cape Town. The City of Cape Town gives a condition that 30% of the housing units should be allocated to backyard dwellers from nearby communities. The 70% of housing units will be allocated Joe Slovo qualifying beneficiaries (Mail & Guardian, 2009). The non-qualifiers will be relocated to rental stock or Delft. Furthermore, housing allocation is highly political; those who are in power in the community give support to their political members.

##### **4.10.1 Government priorities**

###### **4.10.1.1 *In situ upgrading and relocation***

Development must follow the articulated principles of the core of Breaking New Ground policy, of which the N2 Gateway is a key pilot project. According to this policy, the Department seeks to eradicate informal settlements through structured *in situ* upgrading, and if necessary, relocation.

In this policy, the Department of Human Settlements seeks to eradicate informal settlements through structured *in situ* upgrading, and, where this is not possible, through the relocation of relevant communities (Chance, 2008).

In the case of Joe Slovo, *in situ* upgrading was not feasible and thus the community should accordingly be relocated to Delft. An initial commitment that 70% of those relocated would be able to return to low-income housing in Joe Slovo morphed over time into an undertaking to apply objective criteria in allocating the housing units in Joe Slovo to the relocated community. The trust between communities and the representatives of the various spheres and agencies of government was further eroded by the fact that the first phases of the development did not give effect to the promise to accommodate 70% of the Joe Slovo residents (Chance, 2008).

In addition, the expectations of several homes was becoming ever more elusive as rentals in the development were pitched far higher than initially envisaged and more emphasis was placed on bonded housing which was inaccessible to the vast majority of the families whose incomes were below R3500 a month. Likewise, many residents feared that the relocation to Delft would destroy their already fragile livelihood and communal networks, and that they would lack access to the schools, transport and other facilities on which they depended in the Joe Slovo settlement (Western Cape Department of Housing, 2009).

#### **4.11. Conclusion**

This chapter explored the existing participatory structures and opportunities of participation in Joe Slovo and investigated the nature and extent of participation in order to determine whether participation is meaningful. The next chapter will draw conclusions and give recommendations with regards to community participation in housing delivery. Furthermore, the limitations of the study will be outlined, and difficulties experienced by the researcher during the data collection phase will be documented.

# **CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

## **5.1. Introduction**

The focus of this research was to investigate the nature of participation in the Joe Slovo informal settlement. To do this, it firstly identified existing participatory structures and explored the role of local government officials, community representatives and other relevant role players in the housing delivery process in Joe Slovo. Secondly, it indicated opportunities for the participation of beneficiaries in the housing process, as well as the extent and nature of community engagement. Thirdly, it highlighted existing barriers to effective community participation and other problems related to housing delivery in Joe Slovo.

Based on the research conducted, this chapter draws general conclusions within the framework of the government's housing policy and provides recommendations to policy makers, urban planners and other stakeholders. The limitations of the study are outlined and topics for future research are recommended.

## **5.2. General findings**

During this research, it was found that municipalities play a critical role in development because they are simply closer to local communities. They are legislatively obliged to foster participatory democracy and encourage the participation of beneficiaries in all development initiatives. The process is intended to be transparent, empowering and inclusive, and local government must be responsive to community input and be held accountable for their decisions.

However, in the case of Joe Slovo, research findings indicate that participation and community engagement does not necessary result in effective outcomes. Empirical fieldwork in the community revealed that there are many reasons for the lack of



effective participation and the inclusion of the voice of the people in development outcomes. These reasons are as follows:

- Community participation can sometimes be time consuming and becomes a tedious process, especially if there are disagreements on a particular issue.
- Government officials at times impose their ideas in community meetings to make their job easy and fast.
- In some cases, community representatives do not participate in the IDP formulation process.
- Even if they do participate, there is a general feeling that their concerns are not taken into account.

This research project also came to the conclusion that political affiliations and gatekeeping are critical impediments to meaningful community engagement. This is because people who belong to the same political party as community representatives receive valuable information while the rest of the community does not.

### **5.3. Impact of participation**

#### ***5.3.1 Local and provincial level***

Local government should be exceptionally participatory, fundamentally by the fact that they are closer to the Joe Slovo community than any other sphere of government. The close proximity of local government to the Joe Slovo community also means that transparency and accountability take place. Local government is placed in a favourable position to work closely with the Joe Slovo community. The local government and the Joe Slovo community can take advantage of this platform to enhance the democracy of South African.

If community engagement does not happen; local people do not take ownership of development initiatives. Local communities would resort to violent demonstrations, as was evidenced in Joe Slovo when they felt that their relocation to Delft was not properly communicated to them (see Chapter 1). The legitimacy of local leadership, such as the Councillor, would be questioned. This illegitimacy of local leaders would result in the community undermining the developmental role that the Councillor plays. The social fabric and community trust can be affected as there is unfair treatment of the community. It can be concluded that participation at a local level is important for sustainable housing delivery in Joe Slovo.

#### **5.4. Housing policy reflections**

Housing provision and community participation in the process is a legal requirement in South Africa. The Constitution, Housing White Paper, Housing Act, BNG and the Housing Code oblige local government to work with their respective communities in housing delivery. The Joe Slovo community can use the IDP process to communicate their needs. Within this process, the Councillor and the Ward Committee play a critical role in channelling information back and forth. It can there be deduced that an effective Councillor will lead to meaningful community participation. In the context of Joe Slovo, the Councillor does not allow the community to participate in the IDP process of the City of Cape Town because of the lack of communication.

#### **5.5. Conclusion and recommendations**

Based on the information gathered throughout the research project, it can be concluded that there is some form of community participation in Joe Slovo. Community structures, in particular the Joe Slovo Task Team, play a critical role in ensuring participation and community engagement. The Joe Slovo community is eager and prepared to give solutions to their developmental problems. The community views participation as a critical ingredient for sustainable housing development. An understanding of the extent of participation by different stakeholders seemed to be a predicament as government structures such as the Ward Councillor and the Ward Committee pay lip service to participation.

Furthermore, the Ward Councillor and the Ward Committee only engage people who are within their political party, which leads to gatekeeping tendencies.

It was also realised that the opportunities for participation are to a large extent limited in the Joe Slovo community. In community meetings, people have a platform to raise burning issues concerning housing delivery and other community issues. Most people feel that meetings are important because their leadership gets to listen to their grievances. It was also realised that the IDP process plays a significant role in involving the community. The Joe Slovo community is not involved in the IDP planning because their leadership does not disseminate information.

Even though community meetings have such a high value, there are some limitations identified. Both general and special meetings are not conducted frequently. Some critical community issues are removed from the agenda because some community members are more influential and do not consider other issues important. It was also observed that some community members are just negative about community participation; they disrupt meeting proceedings by introducing insignificant topics.

Throughout this research project, it was shown that the community closely associates meaningful community participation with democracy and that community engagement by government is critical for strengthening democracy and the construction of good governance. This shows that community members and non-government organisations can play a vital role in improving government accountability and social accountability where the community can directly or indirectly participate in government budgeting, administrative scrutiny, and social audits. Community participation is not a simple process, but critical for community development.

Participation in the Joe Slovo informal settlement does exist, but the nature and extent of participation is questionable. The community understands that sustainable development involves community participation, and community participation is viewed as a critical component for policy formulation.

## 5.6. Recommendations

The following are the recommendations proposed, based on the information and analysis gathered:

- The National, Provincial and Local Government should play a critical role in keeping the community structure accountable to the community they represent.
- Participation should be public and grassroots-driven. Individual community members should take the initiative in community affairs. Community members should act as whistle blowers when they see non-performance.
- The Joe Slovo Community Leadership should not give preferential treatment to their political acquaintances. If possible, the City of Cape Town and DLGH should facilitate training of Councillors and Ward Committees as part of their constitutional mandate.
- The Joe Slovo Councillor and Ward Committee should be involved in all community planning processes. They should also improve information sharing with the community; and liaise with the community and municipal officials regarding development needs and community priorities.
- Government officials should use local people in their vernacular language, such as Xhosa and Afrikaans, when communicating with the Joe Slovo community and refrain from using technical jargon. This will create a better understanding of community roles and encourage the community to take an active involvement in community issues.
- The community's needs should be taken into account when planning for housing. For instance, a family that comprises eight members cannot live in a two-roomed house.

- Government should involve the community in planning, project designing, and implementation processes. The involvement of the community directly affects the outcomes of housing projects, thus is necessary from project inception.
- Structures such as CORC, SDI and Ikhayalami should be given a platform to play an advocacy role and participate more in the Joe Slovo community meetings.
- Community meetings should be held in a larger venue than the Chris Hani Hall.

## **5.7. Limitations of the study**

The following section seeks to draw attention to the limitations of the study, and highlight some of the difficulties experienced by the researcher.

During this study, there were inadequate resources (financial and time constraints) to comprehensively address the research question. Some people work during the week and have other commitments on weekends. Because of the lack of capacity, the study did not include all households. Therefore, 30 questionnaires were distributed to randomly selected households.

The Councillor and the Ward Committee did not provide enough time for the researcher to properly explore the issue of participation in the Joe Slovo informal settlement.

During field work, the researcher experienced numerous difficulties. Some respondents did not see the importance of the study and would not contribute positively. There were those that demonstrated irritation and impatience during interviews. In some of the informal interview, respondents were under the influence of alcohol but had a valuable contribution to the research topic. Of the 30 questionnaires distributed, only 25 were considered to be valid.

Some community members did not want to participate in the research because they felt that the researcher wanted sensitive community information, while others felt that the research would assist in fast-tracking housing delivery in Joe Slovo informal settlements.

## **5.8. Future research**

The following are suggested for further research:

- A study on the human settlement policy in South Africa. This study should seek to understand the relevance of the human settlement policy in addressing the current housing needs.
- An assessment of service delivery in the Joe Slovo informal settlements.
- The effectiveness of the N2 Gateway project in addressing the housing problems for the Joe Slovo informal settlement.



## References

Abahlali BaseMjondolo, 2007: Placing Poor out of sight is no solution. *Abahlali baseMjondolo*. 24 October 2007. Available: <http://www.abahlali.org/node/2741>  
Accessed 04 September 2009.

Abahlali BaseMjondolo, 2009: Court seals fate of Joe Slovo residents 2009 *Cape Times*. 23 April: page 1. Available: [http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=nw20090610104514469C157459](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=nw20090610104514469C157459) 11 September 2009.

Asmah-Andoh, K. 2009: Implementation of developmental local government for alleviating poverty and inequality. *Journal of Public Administration*. 44 (1): 100-109.

Babbie, S. 1992: *The practice of social research*. California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Babbie, E., Mouton, J. 2001: *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Basset, K. & Short, J.R. 1989: Development and diversity in urban geography. Gregory & Walford (eds), in *Horizons in human geography*. 175-193. London: Macmillan.

Beland, D. 2007: Neo-liberalism and social policy: the politics of ownership. *Policy Studies*. 28 (2): 437- 448.

Berner, E. 2001: Learning from informal market: innovative approaches to land and housing provision. *Development in Practice* 11 (2 & 3): 88-101.

Buckley, R.M. & Kalarickal, J. 2005: Housing policy in developing countries: conjectures and refutations. *The World Bank Research Observer*. 20 (2): 234-257.

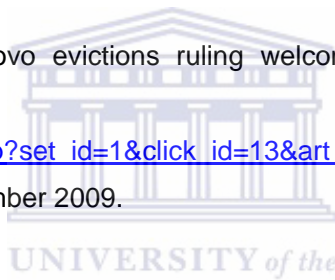
Burger, J. 2001: Closing the gap- service delivery by regional government in South Africa. *Politeia*. 20 (3): 61-90.

Buckley, R.M. & Kalarickal, J. 2005: Housing Policy in Developing Countries: Conjectures and Refutations. *The World Bank Research Observer*. 20 (2): 234- 257.

Burkey, S. 1993: *People first: a guide to self-reliant participatory rural development*. London: Zed Books.

Bush Radio, 2007: Joe Slovo Residents protest on N2. *Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign*. Available: <http://antieviction.org.za/2007/09/11/pics-joe-slovo-residents-protest-on-n2/>. Accessed: 04 September 2009.

Cape Times, 2009: Joe Slovo evictions ruling welcomed. *Cape Times*. 11 June. Available: [http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=vn20090611083905730C811314](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20090611083905730C811314) Accessed: 11 September 2009.



Cebekhulu, E. & Steyn, I. 2009: Community participation in social dialogue institutions. *New Agenda*. 33, 1:30-33.

Clapham, D. 2002: *Housing pathways: A post modern analytical framework*. UK: Cardiff University.

City of Cape Town, 2008: *5 year plan for Cape Town: Integrated Development Planning (IDP) 2007/8-2011/12*. City of Cape Town.

Community Organization Resource Centre, 2009: *Joe Slovo household enumeration report*. Langa, Cape Town: June 2009.

Conradie, I. 2007: Yes, we are free, but we are not completely free: Capabilities and its application in Khayelitsha. ISD: UWC. Unpublished paper.



Dentlinger, L. 2008: *Gateway evictees wait for shelters*. Cape Argus. 03 June. Available:

[http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=vn20080603114041765C373614](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20080603114041765C373614). Accessed: 11 September 2009.

DAG. 2001: *A place to be free: a case of the Freedom Park Informal Settlement upgrading*. Development Action Group.

Dambuza, B. 2009: *Thubelisha home closure report, Joe Slovo Informal Settlement briefings, Management Committee appointment*. Parliamentary Monitoring Group. 8 July. Available: <http://www.pmg.org.za/report/20090708-thubelisha-homes-closure-report-joe-slovo-informal-settlement-briefin>. Accessed: 16 June 2010.

Department of Human Settlement, 2009: *Housing project process guide*. September 2009.

Department of Local Government and Housing, 2006: *Isidima: The road map to dignified communities*. Cape Town.

Department of the Premier: Western Cape, 2005: *Ikapa elihlumayo: a framework for the development of the Western Cape Province 2004-2007*.

Department of Housing, 1997: *Housing Act 107 of 1997*. Pretoria: Government Publications.

Department of Housing, 2000: *National Housing Code*. Pretoria.

Department of Housing, 2004: *Breaking New Grounds: A Comprehensive Plan for the development Sustainable Human Settlements*. Pretoria: Department of Housing.

De Vos, P. 2008: *No compassion for people who do not drive a Porsche?* Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign. Available: <http://antieviction.org.za/2008/03/16/no-compassion-for-people-who-do-not-drive-a-porsche/>. Accessed: 16 March 2008.

Emmett, T. 2000: Beyond community participation? Alternative routes to civil engagement and development in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 17 (4): 43-67.

Esau, M. 2007: Deepening democracy through local participation: Examining the ward committee system as a form of local participation in Bonteheuwel in the Western Cape. Bellville: Policy Management, Governance and Poverty Alleviation in the Western Cape.

Giddens, A. 1984: *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goodlad, R. 1996: The housing challenge in South Africa. *Urban Studies*. 33 (9): 1629-1645.



Graaff, J. 1994: *Structure and action: Anthony Giddens's answer to an old question*. In Romm, N & Sarakinsky (Eds) *Social Theory*. Johannesburg: Lexicon.

Graham, N. 2006: *Informal upgrading in Cape Town: challenges, constraints and contradictions within local government*. In Huchzermeyer M. & Karam, A. (Eds). *Informal settlements: a perpetual challenge?* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Gurran, N. 2003: Positioning Australian Local Government Housing for a new century. *Urban Policy and Research*. 21 (4): 393-412.

Hartly, A. 2008: *Joe Slovo families start vacating voluntarily*. Cape Times. 28 May. Available: [http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=vn20080528095854461C789115](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20080528095854461C789115). Accessed: 11 September 2009.

Hartley, A. 2009: *More families move into N2 Gateway*. Cape Times, 01 April. Available:

[http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=vn20090401061546132C134485](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20090401061546132C134485). Accessed: 11 September 2009.

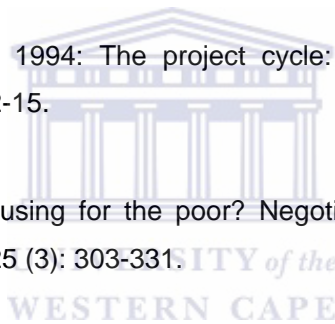
Hartley, A. 2009: Joe Slovo residents no longer have to move - housing MEC. Cape Times, 9 December 2009.

Herbstein, T. 2009: *The Joe Slovo blocking project*. A diary of events.

Hoinville, G. & Jowell, R. 1978: *Survey research practice*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Hindson, D. & Swelling, M. 1994: The project cycle: how communities can drive development. *Track Two*. 12-15.

Huchzermeyer, M. 2001: Housing for the poor? Negotiated housing policy in South Africa. *Habitat International* 25 (3): 303-331.



Huchzermeyer, M. 2006: *The new instrument for upgrading informal settlements in South Africa*. In Huchzermeyer M. & Karam, A. (eds) *Informal settlements: a perpetual challenge?* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Isaacs-Martin, W. 2009: Facilitating housing delivery by inculcating patriotism on citizenry. *Journal of Public Administration*. 44 (1): 145-155.

Institute of Housing, 1997: *Local housing strategies*. Good practice briefing. April 1997.

Isandla, 2009: *Pioneers of Participation: international workshop for local government practitioners in Southern and Eastern Africa*. 9-13 November 2009.

Jayal, N.G. 2001: Democracy and the state: welfare, secularism and development in Contemporary India. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, P., Smith, H. 2001: An institutional approach to analysis of state capacity in housing system in developing world: case studies in South African and Costa Rica. *Housing Studies*. 16 (4): 485-507.

Jones, A.G., Datta, K. 2000: Enabling markets to work? Housing in the new South Africa. *International Planning Studies*. 5 (3): 393- 416.

Joubert, P. 2007: *Victory for Joe Slovo residents*. The Mail and Guardian. 29 October: page 5.

Kauko, T. 2001: Combining theoretical approaches: the case of urban land value and housing market dynamics. *Housing, Theories and Society*. 18 (3-4): 167-173.

Katsura, H., Hoffman, M., Struyk, R. 1990: *The market for shelter in Indonesian cities*. Washington: Urban Institute Press.

Khan, F., Thring, P. 2003: *Housing policy and practice in the post-apartheid South Africa*. Johannesburg: Heinemann Publishers (Pty) Ltd.

Kissick, D., Leibson, D., Kogul, M., Bachmann, J., Anderson, J., Eckert, J. 2006: *Housing for all: essential to economic, social, and civic development*. Vancouver: The World Urban Forum III.

Kollapen, J. 2008: Public participation in our democracy. *New Agenda*. 3 (3): 33-35.

Legassick, M. 2007: *South Africa: N2 Gateway and the Joe Slovo Informal Settlement- the crossroads*. 01 March 2007. Available: Abahlali baseMjondolo-<http://www.abahlali.org/node/2827>. Accessed: 03 September 2009.

Levin, M.R. 2008: Public service capacity and organisation in South African developmental state. *New Agenda*. 29, 3: 28-35.

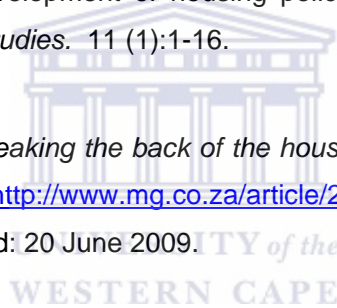
Lewis, E. 2009: Survey of Joe Slovo is an eye-opener: one toilet for every nine people. Cape Argus, 25 August 2009.

Le Roux, S. 1998: Cloete Breytenbach. The spirit of district six. *South Africa Journal of Cultural History*. 12, 2: 127-128.

Lodge, T. 2005: Provincial government and state authority in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 31 (4): 738-753.

Mackay, C.J. 1996: The development of housing policy in South Africa in the post apartheid period. *Housing Studies*. 11 (1):1-16.

Mail and Guardian, 2009: *Breaking the back of the housing backlog*. Mail & Guardian 18 June, page 1. Available: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2005-09-22-breaking-the-back-of-housing-backlog>. Accessed: 20 June 2009.



Makhatini, M. 1995: *The case of Cato Manor*. In Doug, D, Hindson, McCarthy, J (eds.) Here to Stay: Informal Settlements in KwaZulu- Natal, Durban: Durban Indicator Press.

Malcolm, W. 2003: *Making sense of social research*. London: SAGA Publications.

Marais, L., Van Rensburg, N., Botes, L. 2003: An empirical comparison of self-help housing and contractor-driven housing: evidence from Thabang and Manguang. *Urban Forum*. 14 (4): 347-364.

McDonald, A.D. 1998: Hear no housing, see no housing: immigration and homelessness in the new South Africa. Canada: University of Kingston.

Mohamed, S.E. 2006: From ideas to practice: Involvement of informal settlement communities in policy-making at city level in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 37 (1): 35-47.

Mulder, C.H., Lauster, T.N. 2010: Housing and family: an introduction. *Housing Studies*, 25 (4): 433-440.

National Department of Housing 2004: A Comprehensive plan for the development of human settlements: breaking new ground. Pretoria.

Neale, J. 1997. Homelessness and theory reconsidered. *Housing Studies*, 12 (1): 47-61.

Nel, E., Binns, T. 2003: Putting developmental government into practice: the experience of South Africa's Towns and Cities. *Urban Forums*, 14, 2-3:165-182.

Ndinda, C. 2006: Large and Small houses in Luganda: housing construction and gender in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 23 (3): 402-416.

WESTERN CAPE

Ndaba, D. 2008: Affordable-housing programme is maturing, but the delivery pressures are mounting. *Engineering News*, 11 July, page 4.

Nyalunga, D. 2006: The revitalisation of local government in South Africa. *International NGO Journal*, 1, 2: 15-20.

Ndinda, C. 2004: Sweat equity: woman's participation in subsidized housing in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, 34 (3): 58-64.

Ndinda, N., Adebayo, P., Adebayo, A. 2007: The role of the church in housing Provision: Implications for South Africa. *Africa Insight*, 37 (1): 76-93.

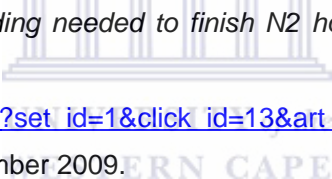
Paton, C. 2010: *Room for a new view*. Sunday Times. Available: <http://www.netassets.co.za/article.aspx?id=1110977>. Accessed 17 May 2010.

Penderis, S.P. 1996: Informal settlements in the Helderberg Basin: people, place and community participation. MA Thesis, Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Pillay, U. 2008: Urban policy in post- apartheid South Africa: context, evolution and future directions. *Urban Forum*, 19 (2): 109-132.

Pottie, D. 2004: Local government and housing in South Africa: managing demand and enabling markets. *Development in Practice*, 14 (5): 19-45.

Plato, D 2009: Key notes: International housing conference. Executive Mayor of Cape Town. 11 October 2009.

Powell, A. 2008: *Private funding needed to finish N2 housing*. Cape Times. 28 May. Available:   
[http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set\\_id=1&click\\_id=13&art\\_id=vn20080528061122384C248440](http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20080528061122384C248440). Accessed: 11 September 2009.

Powell, A., Ndenze, B. 2007: *N2 Gateway to cost R3 bn*. Cape Times. 28 March. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/index.php>. Accessed: 03 September 2009.

Poswa, N. 2008: Characteristics of households living in poverty. City of Cape Town.

Pugh, C. 2001: The theory and practice of housing sector development of developing countries, 1950-1999. *Housing Studies*, 16 (4): 399-423.

Pycroft, C. 1998: Integrated development planning or strategic paralysis? Municipal development during the local government transition and beyond. *Development Southern Africa*, 15, 2: 151-163.

Republic of South Africa (RSA). 2000: *Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000*. Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa (RSA), 1998: *The White Paper on local government*. Pretoria: Government Publications.

Republic of South Africa 1996: *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (Act No. 108 of 1996). Pretoria: Government Publication.

Republic of South Africa (RSA), 1997: *Housing Act, Act 107 of 1997*. Pretoria: Government Publications.

Roux, N. 2005: Unrest at the Local Sphere of Government in South Africa: Unrealistic Expectations or the Inability to Implement Policies? *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 27 (2): 20- 42.

Scott, L. 2005: Participatory multi-criteria decision analysis: a new tool for integrated development planning. *Development Southern Africa*, 22 (5): 696-716

Somerville, P. 1992: Homelessness and the meaning of home: Rooflessness or rootlessness. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16 (4): 529- 529.

Statistics SA. 2008: *Statistics in brief*. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Smit, W. 2006: *Understanding the complexities of informal settlements: insight from Cape Town*. In Huchzermeyer M. & Karam, A. (eds). *Informal settlements: a perpetual challenge?* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Smith, L., Vawda, A. 2003: Citizen vs. Customer: different approaches to public participation in service delivery in Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 14. (1): 26-52.

Swilling, M. 1998: *Rival future: struggle visions, post- apartheid choices*. In Judin, H. & Vladislavic, I. (eds) *Blank Architecture, Apartheid and After*. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.



Swilling, M. 1991: *Apartheid City in Transition*. In Swilling, M. Humphries, R., & Shubane, K. (eds). Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

The Department of Housing. 1995: *A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa*. White Paper. Cape Town: Government Printer.

Tonkin, A. 2008: *Sustainable medium-density housing*. Cape Town: Development Action Group.

Turok, I., Watson, V. 2000: Divergent Development in South African Cities: Strategic Challenges facing Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 12(2):119- 138.

Turok, I. 2001: Persistent polarisation post-apartheid: Progress towards urban integration in Cape Town. *Urban Studies*, 38 (13): 2349-2377.

Turner, J. 1976: *Housing by people: towards autonomy in building environment*. London: Marion Byers.

Tshabalala, E.L., Lombard, A, 2009: Community participation in the integrated development plan: case study of Govan Mbeki municipality.

Urban Foundation, 1994: *The urban foundation 1994 annual review*. Johannesburg: The Urban Foundation.

UN- Habitat, 2003: *Rental housing: An essential option for the urban poor in developing countries*. Nairobi: Kenya HPDS Co-Publisher.

UN Human Rights Council. 2007: Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living and on the Right to Non-Discrimination. In this Context, Miloon Kothari, on his mission to South Africa (12-24 April). 12.24.09. Available: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/7session/reports.htm>. 25 September 2009.

Vermeulin, S. 2006: Informal settlement policies in the polycentric city: The case of Durban. *South African Review of Sociology*, 37 (1): 65-77.

Western Cape Anti- Eviction Campaign 2007: *Why should we be patient and wait for service delivery? We need delivery now. Abahlali baseMjondolo*. 10 October 2007. Available: <http://abahlali.org/node/2772> Accessed: 05 September 2009.

Western Cape Housing. 2009: *1000 Volunteers help: fight housing backlog*. 01 April 2009.

Williams, M. 2003: *Making sense of social research*. London: SAGE Publications.

Williams, J.J. 2005: Development planning and citizenship in Cape Town. *Development Southern Africa*, 22 (1): 48- 65.

Williams, J.J. 2006: Community participation: lessons from post apartheid South Africa. *Policy Studies*, 27(3): 198- 217.

Zerbe, N. 2006: Developmental local government: a case study of South Africa. *African Studies Review*, 49 (3): 145-147.