AN ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME OF THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: A STUDY OF MITCHELL'S PLAIN

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirely or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signed :

Date :....7 June 2006...

ABSTRACT

The local sphere of government in South Africa, whether it be local municipalities, district or metropolitan, has been given a distinct role to fulfil in the reconstruction and development planning for its citizens in its jurisdiction. This developmental task, which requires the establishment of sustainable infrastructure, the promotion of socio-economic development and the building of a moral society, could be accelerated through the effective implementation of an urban renewal programme.

Urban Renewal Programmes (URP) requires successful development planning methods, with inclusivity at its heart. The assumption is that the adoption of a comprehensive strategy of development planning, ecological design for community building, and a strong and committed leadership with a participatory approach, could largely be a contributing factor in ensuring long-term sustainability of the URP. Urban renewal seeks to address social exclusion in order to alleviate poverty, thereby reducing unemployment, and advancing spatial and economic integration in the urban core (City of Cape Town, 2004c; Department of Provincial and Local Government, November 2001, March 2004; Hindson and Associates, 2003; South African Cities Network, 2003a, 2003b).

This case study, which analyses urban renewal of the City of Cape Town in Mitchell's Plain, was conducted from October 2004 until October 2005, in order to determine whether the community's living conditions were improved through the introduction of the URP. The empirical method used was participant observation at the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council Meetings, Urban Renewal Steering Committee Meetings, Urban Renewal Plenary Meetings for the Mitchell's Plain communities; Mayoral Listening Campaign Meetings on Integrated Development Planning (IDP) in Mitchell's Plain; Meetings of the Mitchell's Plain Development Forum (MPDF) and semi-structured interviews with officials of the City of Cape Town involved in urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain, as well as Councillors deployed to the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council and community members in Mitchell's Plain including the committee members of the MPDF. The study reveals that the City of Cape Town's urban renewal programme in Mitchell's Plain, since its inception in 2001, has been poorly managed and the prospects for its sustainability are limited. The findings of the research conducted through a SWOT-analysis show that the City has strived in its utmost to improve the living conditions of the poor in Mitchell's Plain although this effort is short-term. This indicates that speedy and urgent measures are needed to achieve the desired goals through an urban renewal programme. This thesis argues that a well-managed and successful implementation of the urban renewal programme can improve the lives of the Mitchell's Plain community.

OPSOMMING

Die plaaslike regerings in Suid Afrika ongeag of hul munisipaal, distrik of metropolitaans van aard is het 'n besonderse rol om te vervul in die heropbou en ontwikkelingsbeplanning vir hul onderskeie gemeenskappe in hul jurisdiksie. Hierdie ontwikkelingsverpligting vereis die totstandkoming van volhoubare infrastruktuur, bevordering van sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling en die totstandkoming van 'n morele gemeenskap. Dit kan bespoedig word deur die effektiewe implementering van 'n stedelike hernuwingsprogram.

Stedelikehernuwingsprogramme (SHP) vereis suksesvolle ontwikkelings-beplanningsmetodes wat ingeslotenheid ten harte dra. Die veronderstelling is dat die aanvaarding van 'n oorkoepelende strategie van ontwikkelingsbeplanning, 'n ekologiese ontwerp vir gemeenskapsontwikkeling, en 'n sterk en vasberade leierskap met 'n deelnemende aanvoeling, kan 'n groot bydraende faktor wees in die versekering van die langtermyn volhoubaarheid van die SHP. Stedelike hernuwing streef na die oplossing van sosiale uitsluiting om armoede te verlig, en daarbenewens werkloosheid te verminder ten einde ruimtelike en ekonomiese integrasie in die stedelike kern te bewerkstellig (Stad Kaapstad, 2004c; Departement van Provinsiale en Plaaslike Regering, November 2001, November 2001, Maart 2004; Hindson en Vennote, 2003; Suid Afrikaanse Stedelike Netwerk, 2003a, 2003b).

Hierdie gevalle-studie wat die onderneming van stedelike hernuwing van die Stad Kaapstad in Mitchell's Plain analiseer was uitgevoer vanaf Oktober 2004 tot Oktober 2005 om te bepaal of die lewensomstandighede van die gemeenskap verbeter het, deur die daarstelling van die SHP. Die ervaringsmetode wat gebruik was is deelnemende observasie tydens Mitchell's Plain Sub-struktuurontwikkelingloodskomitee- en ontwikkelingforumvergarderings vir die Stedelikehenuwingsprogram vir die gemeenskap van Mitchell's Plain; die Burgermeester Luisterberaad aangaande die heropbou-en ontwikkelingsprogram (HOP) in Mitchell's Plain; Vergaderings van die Mitchell's Plain Ontwikkelingsforum (MPOF) en gedeeltelike gestruktureerde onderhoude met amptenare betrokke in stedelike ontwikkeling in Mitchell's Plain; asook onderhoude met ontplooide Raadslede in die Mitchell's Plain Sub-struktuur en gemeenskapslede in Mitchell's Plain insluitende komiteelede van die MPOF. Die studie openbaar dat die Stad Kaapstad se SHP in Mitchell's Plain vanaf 2001 swak bestuur is en die vooruitsigte van volhoubaarheid skraal is. Die bevindings van die studie wat bepaal is deur middel van 'n SWOT analise toon dat Stad Kaapstad tot die uiterste gestreef het om die lewensomstandighede van arm mense in Mitchell's Plain te verbeter, alhoewel die poging kort-termyn van aard is. Dit toon dus dat spoedige en dringende maatreëls benodig word om die verlangde doelwitte deur 'n SHP te bereik. Die studie beklemtoon dat 'n goed bestuurde en suksesvolle implementering van die SHP die lewens van die gemeenskap in Mitchell's Plain kan verbeter.

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Thanks to the lecturers Anneke Muller (development planning theory, law and policies), and Firoz Khan (urban governance and policy directions). To Eve Annecke (strategic thinking and human philosophy), for creating an environment suitable for learning and teaching. It was not only a privilege but also an honour to be taught at the Sustainability Institute with practically sound, well-designed programmes suitable to take South Africa forward in the 21st century.

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To the City of Cape Town, the Urban Renewal Directorate, in particular the Director, Mr George Penxa and Ivan Anthony, the Manager for the URP in Mitchell's Plain, for allowing me to conduct research in the Directorate. Your assistance with future research will be appreciated.

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CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

"Cities and towns have been engines of growth and incubators of civilisation and have facilitated the evolution of knowledge, culture and tradition as well as industry and commerce. Urban settlements, properly planned and managed, hold the promise for human development and the world's natural resources through their ability to support large numbers of people while limiting their impact on the natural environment"

(Urban Development Framework, 1997)(RSA, 1997a)

As pointed out by the Urban Development Framework, 1997 (RSA, 1997a) 'cities are shaped by a myriad of socio-economic forces'. Government and local government, in this instance the City of Cape Town, can by means of the Urban Renewal Programme (URP), guide the transformation process. Various stakeholders such as the public sector and civil society organisations must support this process. The URP, which includes investment in economic and social infrastructure, human resources, local business and local capacity-building as well as the enhancement of development of local government, poverty alleviation and the strengthening of the criminal justice system, is a suitable programme that could be applied to achieve government's developmental objectives (Department of Local Government, 2001). The study under discussion is the URP of Mitchell's Plain, which has been in operation since 2001 and was officially launched on November 1, 2003 when the

City of Cape Town took responsibility for its management. The co-operative governmental role played by the national and provincial spheres together with the established community body, the Mitchell's Plain Development Forum's (MPDF), in the facilitation of the URP, is of significance to the study. Mitchell's Plain is an area that is isolated and dysfunctional – it is overcrowded, has many social evils and has limited opportunities for economic growth (Department of Local Government, 2004). The empirical method used to conduct the analysis is performed by means of observation and semi-structured interviews that start in October 2004 and end in October 2005. Through the analysis of the URP, the study envisages to give an indication of whether or not the lives of the community have improved since the introduction of the programme.

1.2   *Background to the study*

The URP for the City of Cape Town focuses on two areas of the Cape Flats, namely Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain. The programme seeks to alleviate poverty in areas with high levels of service backlogs. Furthermore, it aims to address the distorted spatial patterns and facilitate the economic integration of the core urban economies to eradicate social exclusion. In other words, it plans to re-integrate a programme with a strong vision for the divided city (Turok, 2001: 2355) and thereby give meaning to the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) which has an outdated understanding of Cape Town's spatial economy (Turok and Watson, 2002: 115). The re-integrated programme should do away with separate economic development; transport planning, housing, poverty relief and environmental management and should link each sector. Spatial integration of our settlements is critical to enhance economic efficiency, facilitate the provision of affordable services, reduce the transport costs of households and enable social development (Turok, 2001: 2354).

Urban renewal is a fairly new concept in the South African urban development debate. In 1997, the President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, in a speech delivered in Johannesburg, for the first time mentioned the regeneration of South African society. The President made mention of the renewal of social, economic and cultural relations between the citizens of this country. The programme, which was initiated by the President, was officially launched in the State of the Nation's Address on 9th February 2001 when he announced the Urban Renewal nodes for South Africa (Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), 2005: 56; Hindson and Associates, 2003; Department of Local Government, 2001) (See Map 1 below). The programme subsequently became known as the Urban Renewal Programme.

1.2.1   Map 1: The Urban Renewal Nodes of the Republic of South Africa

(www.Dplg.gov.za/progs/urp_publications.htm)

1.3   Aims and objectives

Firstly, the study emphasises the importance of urban renewal as a critical element of

the developmental goal of the City of Cape Town in its quest to improve the living conditions of the Mitchell's Plain communities. Secondly, it aims to highlight some of the challenges which the City of Cape Town faces in her endeavour to implement the URP. Lastly, it seeks to correct possible constraints/problems which the City of Cape Town encounters when planning the urban renewal programmes.

1.4   Significance of the study

The URP can make a significant contribution to prioritising and meeting the needs of communities by reducing levels of urban poverty, crime and gangsterism as well as unemployment. This programme could be a platform for enhancing the management of the city's local economic development (LED) programme and thereby empower and build the capacity of local entrepreneurs through training and development. Effective implementation of the URP could foster good governance, promote institutional development of the municipality and increase its legitimacy. Urban renewal projects could be linked to the annual budgetary programme, namely the Integrated Development Planning (IDP) process and concurrently be implemented to achieve the developmental objective of the City of Cape Town. In so doing, the URP could add to resource allocation, institutional co-operation, spatial integration, economic generation and resource conservation (Day, 1998: 7-12).

1.5   Literature review

Related research done by Gibson and Langstaff (1982) and Mills (1987) shows that urban renewal is not a new approach in the global development vocabulary. This development method, designed to improve the living conditions of citizens in specific geographical areas, started to take root in developed countries such as Britain in the 1930's and the United States of America in 1949. Urban renewal contributed

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significantly to the plight of poor people after its introduction into the inner cities of Baltimore and Boston in the United States of America and London and Liverpool in England (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982; Mills, 1987). According to these authors, progress was made in the following areas: environmental consciousness, the upgrading of houses and the removal of communities to improved living facilities, the creation of jobs through spatial discrimination in resource allocation, the improvement of business infrastructure, capacity-building and skills development. Argued from the historical perspective of development in South African inner cities, the (ANC, May 2001; City of Cape Town, 2004b; Day, 1998; Fensham, 1982; 1983; Khan and Cranko, 2002; Mufamadi, October 2001; Pieterse, 2003a, Parnell and Pieterse, 1998; Pòlese and Stren, 2000; South African Government, 1979; Turok, 2001; Turok and Watson, 2002 and Williams, 2000), all attempt to give insight into how development was managed socially, economically, politically and ecologically. In addition, urban development planning was managed through policies that supported the behaviour of the government of the day. Beside, the limited South African literature on urban renewal, a few references such as the (City of Cape Town, 2003, 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; DPLG, November 2001; March 2004; Hindson and Associates, 2003; South African Cities Network, 2003a; 2003b), have contributed to the conceptual framework of the topic by exploring its usefulness in improving the lives of communities. Adding to the latter, the rationale of the programme expounded in (City of Cape Town, 2004a; 2004b; DBSA, 2005; DPLG, March 2004; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 1997; Hindson and Associates, 2003; Khan, 2004; Malik, 2001; Muyonjo and Theron, 2002), gives a deeper perspective to the significance of urban renewal in addressing capacity-building and empowerment, poverty and social exclusion.

The urban renewal programme of Mitchell's Plain could not have been effectively implemented if sustainability were not taken into account. The following authors provide answers to the urban challenges facing the communities in Mitchell's Plain - they cover the various aspects of sustainability such as development planning and management, democracy and governance, performance monitoring and evaluation, financial management and governmental relations. These are (Attahi, 1997; Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005; DBSA 2005; UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, September 2002; Harrison, Huchzermeyer and Mayekiso, 2003; Hauck and Sowman, 2003; Hemphill, Berry and McGreal, 2003; Khan, 1998; Khan and Cranko, 2002; Khan and Thring, 2003; Khan, 2004; Marx, 2003; Parnell and Pieterse, 1998; Pieterse, 2003b; 2003c; 2004; Pòlese and Stren, 2000; South African Cities Network, 2003a; 2003b; Parnell, Pieterse, Swilling and Wooldridge, 2002; Theron, van Rooyen and van Baalen, 2000; Theron, 2005a; 2005b; SALGA, 2004a; Satterthwaite, 2001; Swilling, 1997; 2004a; 2004b; UNDP 2005 and Van der Molen, van Rooyen and van Wyk, 2002). Sustainability for urban renewal is addressed in this study from an ecological point of view. Although a significant body of literature exists on the ecological topic, the following authors attempt to give answers in this regard: (Birkland, 2002; Hugo, 2004; Lampkin, 1999; Mollison, 1991. Networking Sustainable Development Solutions, 2004; Satterthwaite, 2001 and Swilling, 2004a; 2004b). The success of the urban renewal programme in Mitchell's Plain could not have been effectively implemented if the sustainability factors of planning and development management as outlined above, had been ignored. Not only did these authors contribute to the sustainability debate, but they also provided solutions for sustainability of the urban life forms of Mitchell's Plain's communities. Although no existing South African legislation prescribes the implementation of urban renewal as a governmental programme, certain macro and micro legislation could be used as a statutory

requirement for implementing urban renewal. This legislation covers local government management, land development policies, spatial and environmental planning and management, transport, housing and built environment and financial management.

1.6   Problem Statement

South African local governments are facing uphill battles in meeting their constitutional obligations, namely that of effective and efficient service delivery to the communities in their jurisdiction. The service delivery tool of local governments, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), is poorly managed and the newly adopted programme, urban renewal, puts additional pressure on the implementation, co-ordination and the evaluation and performance management of local projects. Local governments, in particular the City of Cape Town, face resource constraints and the participatory democracy process is poorly managed, not to mention the fact that the URP is operating under political pressure from both sides (the proponents and the opponents). In adding to these problems, Fihla (ANC, 2001: 30) states that areas targeted for urban renewal are faced with environmental and social backlogs such as large hectares of urban sprawl, a skewed allocation of resources, uneven development and social polarisation.

The Mitchell's Plain URP is confronted with the following problems:

➢ A narrow interpretation of the URP – misrepresentation or no clear strategy as to how to implement urban renewal projects in order to alleviate poverty.

➢ Economic development – in addition to the challenges which the eight urban renewal nodes seek to address, the Department of Local Government (2001) singles out Mitchell's Plain as one of the areas which does not have an

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economic base but which is dominated by informal and small formal economies, and of which most of its employed citizens work outside the nodal area.

➢ High crime, gang activity and civil disorder/disobedience are common in Mitchell's Plain. The South African Cities Network (2003a: 74) suggests that the considerable amount of vacant land in Mitchell's Plain could be seen as a contributing factor to the increase in crime-related activities.

➢ Mitchell's Plain Development Forum (MPDF) – since the introduction of the URP not much has happened in terms of service delivery improvement projects. Since the official launch of Cape Town's Unicity Urban Renewal Programme in Mitchell's Plain on 1 November 2003, the project has faced many hindrances. Research done on the Skills Development and Skills Delivery Plan during the second quarter of 2004 by QSJ Consultants on behalf of the Social Development Directorate of the City of Cape Town, shows that the Mitchell's Plain Development Forum, which is instrumental in managing urban renewal programmes locally, faces obstacles with little prospect of overcoming them. The development concerns faced by the MDF are consultation, co-ordination and leadership (i.e. leadership styles and management). Leadership problems that hamper the progress of the MPDF are centred on leadership conflicts, interpersonal conflicts and issue-based conflicts (City of Cape Town, 2004a: 22-23).

➢ Institutional problems/dilemmas – apart from the problems faced by the MPDF, the newly-established Urban Renewal Directorate is still understaffed and lack of communication between the Directorates, the IDP, Social Development, Transformation (the body that deals with public participation), Planning and Economic Development and community organisations in

Mitchell's Plain, is apparent. The South African Cities Network (2003a: 74) is of the opinion that the slow pace of the city's restructuring programme contributed to delays in establishing a comprehensive strategy for the URP.

➢ Intergovernmental relations – there is a lack of co-ordination of urban projects between the provincial Department of Business Promotion, Tourism and Economic Development and the City of Cape Town's Economic Development Unit in meeting the economic objectives of Mitchell's Plain (Western Cape Provincial Development Council, 2001: 29).

Based on the problems previously mentioned, the following questions comprise the basis of the study: What is urban renewal and why is it chosen as the suitable programme tool to address the above-mentioned problems of Mitchell's Plain? Who are the important role players in the planning, decision-making and implementation of the URP in Mitchell's Plain and what criteria are necessary to ensure a successful and sustainable development urban renewal planning programme for the City of Cape Town?

1.7   *Hypothesis*

The research is based on the following hypothesis:

The study assumes that the living conditions of communities in Mitchell's Plain would not improve if the URP is not effectively implemented but sustainability could be achieved with proper management of the programme.

1.8   *Research Methodology*

Visits were undertaken from October 2004 to November 2004 to gain more understanding and knowledge of the topic under discussion. The following individuals

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and institutions were visited: Academics (Firoz Khan), Institutions – The Provincial Department of Development Planning and Environment: Provincial Urban Renewal Co-ordinator (Elmien Steyn) and the Foundation for Contemporary Research (Ashley Losch).

Municipal officials dealing with high profile urban renewal projects: Allistar Graham; Alexander Forbes; Wesley Paulse; Bruce Malagas in the City of Cape Town, Area Manager of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council (David Cedras) and the Manager for URP in Mitchell's Plain (Ivan Anthony) (See Appendix I and II).

The research is *literature-based* and draws on primary and secondary sources in order to answer the research question. Primary sources used were South African development policies and legislation while secondary sources were articles in journals, academic books and websites (Internet).

The research is a *qualitative study*. Through qualitative research, information is processed in a specific way by asking questions such as (what, how and why) to probe the hypothesis. As Holiday (2001: 6) points out, 'many possible social variables could be explored with set boundaries to manage the scope of the research'. The researcher has experienced a similar outcome as referred to by Holiday (2001: 6) when he stated that the qualitative research approach gives the necessary confidence to achieve the research goals. This type of research gives the researcher the freedom to creatively explore the context in which the data becomes the evidence and the writing becomes the presentation and discussion of that evidence (Holiday, 2001: 35). Moreover, the quantification format of the research is minimal and statistical data is not the central focus.

The researcher, as an Official of the City of Cape Town, conducted *participant observation* techniques at various meetings. This method of collecting data allows for a deeper insight into the problems (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000: 104) pertaining to the URP in Mitchell's Plain. The meetings that were attended are: Mitchell's Plain Development Forum Meetings, Mitchell's Plain Sub-council Meetings, the Urban Renewal Nodal Steering Committee Meetings and the Public Participation Meeting of the Integrated Development Planning process through the Mayoral Listening Campaign (MLC) in Mitchell's Plain. The researcher was allowed to participate in the Steering Committee Meeting and the Sub-council Meetings. As Bless and Higson-Smith (2000: 104) point out, participant observation gives a researcher an adequate platform to observe and record the activity in a systematic way by hiding the real purpose of the researcher's presence. For example at the MLC where the researcher attended the meeting as a member of the broader community to record the event and the behaviour of the community members in a non-biased way.

The second data collection technique used semi-structured interviews as part of the empirical study (See Appendix I) to obtain clarity on concepts. In addition, new aspects of the problem were discovered through exploration (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000: 108). A questionnaire was drawn up and this was used to collect information from the respondents. These interviewees were members of the various stakeholder organisations listed in the MPDF and were members of the community living in the vicinity of the urban renewal projects. Group interviews were also held with members who attended Sub-council Meetings, MPDF Plenary Meetings and MLC Meetings. The group interviews were conducted with between three to five community members and gave the researcher a deeper insight into the problem faced by the community than would individual interviews (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2000: 110). Semi-

structured interviews were also conducted with Councillors of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council including the chairperson of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council (Charlotte Williams). In order to save time and transport costs, three telephonic interviews were conducted with the members of the MPDF who had not attended the scheduled appointment for the semi-structured interview. Lastly, staff members of the City of Cape Town involved in the URP, such as the Area Manager of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council, the Manager for Urban Renewal in Mitchell's Plain, the Development Facilitation Officers deployed in Mitchell's Plain and officials responsible for certain key projects of the various departments who acted as project managers, were interviewed. In some cases this was followed up with a telephonic conversation to obtain clarity on certain matters.

1.9   Framework of the research

Chapter 1 defines the research problem and gives an overview of the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter also reviews related research and key concepts on which the structure of the study is built. The methodology outlines the way in which the research is conducted.

Chapter 2 gives an historical explanation of urban development in Cape Town and Mitchell's Plain. The conceptualisation of an URP is given from the perspective of sustainability. Furthermore, this chapter delineates a framework of criteria in which the urban renewal programme could effectively be planned and managed to ensure sustainable implementation.

Chapter 3 put forwards a policy framework in which an effective URP could be implemented.

Chapter 4 forms the basis of the empirical study. It gives an outline of the implementation process of the Urban Renewal Programme of the City of Cape Town in Mitchell's Plain and an analysis of the views of the important role players namely the Council officials involved in urban renewal; the Councillors; members of the MPDF as well the beneficiaries/community of Mitchell's Plain. The data is collected through participatory observation, semi-structured and focus group interviews and telephonic conversations.

Chapter 5 gives a narrative of the empirical experience described in Chapter 4 through a SWOT analysis.

Chapter 6 makes public and development policy recommendations and suggestions (based on the study), to enhance urban renewal of the City of Cape Town in Mitchell's Plain.

CHAPTER 2

2. THE HISTORICAL, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND A CRITERIA FOR AN EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME

2.1 Introduction

Firstly, the chapter gives a historical overview of urban development processes in Cape Town and Mitchell's Plain in particular. Taking into account the historical background, state intervention is needed to address the urban problems encountered in Mitchell's Plain. Secondly, the urban renewal programme, an urban-based development planning tool, used *inter alia* for upgrading urban areas, is conceptualised. The study gives an explanation of what urban renewal is, how urban renewal evolved, its contribution towards community development and the important features taken into account for the successful management of the programme. Thirdly, a framework, which prescribes the criteria, is drawn up to ensure an effective urban renewal programme for Mitchell's Plain.

2.2 Historical background of the study in an urban development context

Cape Town is a divided city and starkly polarised (Turok, 2001: 2349). These racial divisions caused deep social, economic and spatial problems which have an impact on development trends. Despite the affluent suburbs and prosperous centres which offer economic opportunities to a tiny minority, the vast majority of the communities in Cape Town face overcrowding (Turok, 2001: 2349), remote residential location on the periphery of the city in the form of dormitory suburbs with inferior housing and a poor transport system – all these factors contribute to inaccessible facilities (Turok

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and Watson, 2002: 109-113). The crippling level of unemployment and the under-employment of more than 60% of the economically active population (Pieterse, 2003a: 179) and hazardous living conditions, exacerbate crime which contributes to a vicious circle of insecurity, ill-health and a threatening HIV/Aids pandemic and family stress (Pieterse, 2003a: 179 and Turok and Watson, 2002: 113). About 30% of the population in Cape Town live below the poverty line (Pieterse, 2003a: 179). Conditions of this magnitude undermine social stability and environmental quality. The Cape Flats, a large area in which Mitchell's Plain is situated, is well known for its low-income housing and public investment with low prices for land development.

Local government officials, at this critical time of urban change, lack the information required to make adequate decisions. The policies and practices of the past have resulted in a city with a structure and a form which aggravate poverty, and an inequality which is ineffective in resource use. Communities are socially excluded by factors other than personal income. These factors include poor education and low skills which ill-equip community members for jobs (Turok and Watson, 2002: 111). Separate racially-based local authorities have reinforced residential and economic separation based on class differentiation (Khan and Cranko, 2002: 263, Parnell and Pieterse, 1998: 4; Watson, 2003: 142 and Williams, 2000: 172). Black urbanisation was strictly controlled and pushed Black people into townships away from industrial, commercial and retail development (Turok, 2001: 2350). White municipalities served smaller populations with larger concentrations of economic activity and taxable wealth. Suburbs were established along two radial rail and road transport routes to the south and north-east of the central business district. These poorly-resourced, overcrowded and segregated dormitory suburbs and illegal settlements (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 16; Khan and Cranko, 2002: 263; Turok, 2001: 2351; Pieterse, 2003a:

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175; Watson, 2003: 142-143 and Williams, 2000: 173) were breeding grounds for social evils such as systemic violence, criminal activities by gangsters and drug trafficking as well as the collapse of households through domestic violence. These unsustainable lifestyles, as illustrated by these authors, led Satterthwaite (2001: 107) to profess that poverty leads to conflict that in turn undermines social stability.

Mitchell's Plain is located approximately 30 kilometres from the centre of Cape Town (SACN, 2003a: 74) and bounded by the Phillipi horticultural area to the west, the False Bay coastline to the south, Khayelitsha to the east, separated by a buffer area along the alignment of Swartklip Road and the R300 (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 16). Mitchell's Plain was planned as a Coloured township for a population of approximately 250 000 in the early 1970's, to alleviate housing shortages in the Coloured communities of Cape Town. This occurred during the relocation period which enforced apartheid legislation (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 16; SACN, 2003a: 74 and Watson, 2003: 142) in line with the Western Cape labour policy (Pienaar and Muller, 1999: 370). This area was developed differently to other zones developed according to the apartheid spatial planning policies which formed buffer zones between people of various race groups with Coloureds located in the middle, thereby separating Blacks from Whites. Coloureds were placed in marginalized positions (Pieterse, 2003a: 175).

Mitchell's Plain is spatially separated from the working economy of Cape Town's CBD and faces transport problems to and from the economic hubs in the rest of Cape Town (Fensham, 1982; Pieterse, 2003a: 175; Turok and Watson, 2002: 109 and Williams, 2000: 173) due to land use patterns that separated living areas from areas of employment. As a result, residents were socially excluded as they were forced to

commute long distances to participate in employment and economic opportunities. Rail services eventually came into operation in June 1980, about six years after the start of the construction period and four years after the official opening ceremony that marked the occupation of the area. This rail service, noted by Fensham (1983), was launched amid agonising and infuriating schedule delays, breakdowns and serious overcrowding which did nothing to ease the resentment, which had built up over the four years that the city had been in existence. For many, as Fensham (1983) explains, the daily safari to the city was still a three hour ordeal in cramped, overcrowded buses and short-hop train trips from station to station or an expensive bumper-to-bumper crawl in lift-club cars on inadequate roads as construction of the Mitchell's Plain express way continued.

Mitchell's Plain was built at a rapid rate. Amazing to see was the whole surburb in the making with homes being completed at a rate of 700 a month or, if you prefer it, 33 every working day (Fensham, 1982; 1983; South African Government, 1979). Construction started in December 1974 in a wilderness of scrub-covered sand-dunes populated by nothing more than a few grysbok, rhebuck and veld tortoises (now removed to the Cape Nature Reserve) and within the sight and the smell of the great silver crescent of False Bay, harbouring Muizenberg and Simonstown naval base. The first residents took occupation in March 1976 during an official opening ceremony presided over by the then-Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster. Three years thereafter 45 000 people occupied 86 000 homes. With the figures growing day by day, 8 500 houses were due to be built in 1979 alone at a cost of R1m a week which means that the population would have doubled to 90 000 living in 17 000 houses per year end. The development teams consisted of architects, engineers, surveyors, sociologists, government officials and 51 contractor companies (South African Government, 1979).

People clawed their way to respectability after having lived in backyard loggings with separate entrances, sometimes six or more in a room, lodging or boarding wherever they could find place. Some of these residents were suddenly proud homeowners but this came at a high price. Thus, Fensham (1982) referred to Mitchell's Plain as the 'wrong place for the wrong reasons'.

Mitchell's Plain is a place both loved and hated, its afterthought status both an improvement on previous thinking and an indictment of the thoughtlessness, the ideological blindness that led to its establishment (Fensham, 1983). It has become apparent that most of the design, construction, organisational and managerial defects have been accepted by the community as is. But the political, sociological and psychological problems are more and more affecting the people of Mitchell's Plain and the newly established City of Cape Town. Leadership of the City had accepted the challenge and burden with both resentment and enthusiasm, even elation, as it believed that the challenges could be overcome with a sustainable implementation of the URP.

2.3   *Conceptualisation of the Urban Renewal Programme*

2.3.1   Narrative of urban renewal

The City of Cape Town, in her Business Plan for Urban Renewal Programme, City of Cape Town (2004c: 8) defines urban renewal as an integrated process targeting the regeneration of certain underdeveloped geographic areas to achieve sustainable development by bringing a balance between the social, economic, environmental and infrastructural aspects of life. Urban renewal is a sustainable programme that enhances human development, participation, behaviour and is on a continuum as a means to an end. The URP forms part of an overall strategy to enhance budgetary

planning in an integrated manner. This programme, similar to other projects, has an initiation and a handover phase. It is a medium and long-term programme for the duration of 10 years, starting from its inception in 2001. Urban renewal is a multi-sector intervention, which entails the allocation of considerable resources to achieve its redevelopment goals (SACN, 2003a: 4-5) as set by the South African government.

2.3.2 Evolution of Urban Renewal Programmes

From where does the urban renewal programme originate? Urban renewal evolved from cities in developed countries, namely Liverpool in Britain and Baltimore in the 1930s and Boston in the United States of America in the mid-1990's (Mills, 1987: 14). In the United States of America (USA), the concept was introduced under the Federal Housing Act of 1949. Urban renewal was seen as a programme of national consensus to alleviate the plight of the urban poor living in the slums in Baltimore and Boston (Mills, 1987: 12). Prior to the 1970's, the inner cities in Britain and the USA were confronted with problems of extreme poverty, high unemployment, inadequate housing, low levels of education, a weak social infrastructure and deteriorating environmental conditions (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982: 158; Mills, 1987: 12). In Britain, in 1977, the Secretary of State for the Environment advocated the idea of urban renewal to improve the living conditions of the millions of poor urban communities that were facing complex economic, social and environmental problems. During that period the urban renewal programme became a prominent inner city policy debate in housing and development planning. According to Mills (1987: 12-17), the urban renewal programme contributed significantly to the physical and social fabric of cities occupied by poor people. As Mills (1987: 12-17) states, urban renewal change taught city planners that development could take on a different format to that of previous projects. The following changes took place: communities were replaced

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not through the 'bulldozer' type of clearance but by means of 'spot' clearance; housing facilities for low and middle income groups were improved and priority was given to conservation and expansion; self-help housing development projects were the preferred option with an increase in participatory democracy. Development aimed to increase employment opportunities for the unemployed and the underemployed (Mills, 1987: 15). Comprehensive planning policies were introduced in Baltimore and Boston, and the transport problem was addressed by means of inter-urban motorways to link living spaces with workplaces. This type of planning resulted in a renewal and the growth of industries, which added to job creation (Gibson and Langstaff, 1982: 158).

2.3.3   Critique on Urban Renewal Programmes

Beside the prospective positive aspects of the URP, the programme is not without problems. As stated by the DBSA (2005: 57), the URP arguably rests on an outmoded understanding of 'urban' which feeds old, counter-productive geo-political and ideological feuds and does not reflect the complex reality of movement and interdependency among people in urban places in South Africa. Furthermore, the idea that a problem, backlog or gap has to be addressed in the space where it manifests is illogical. People will move and will often remain on the move to greener pastures or as the situation requires. The best that we can do for them (people) is to invest in human capital rather then in places with limited potential (DBSA, 2005: 57). The URP does not inform the philosophy of the transformational debate, that of equality. Historical legacies had profound impacts on more than just eight nodal areas in South Africa and more so in the Western Cape Province where not only Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha but also Mannenberg, Elsies River, Langa, Wallacedene in Kraaifontein and Gugulethu face similar social, economic and spatial problems if not worse.

Mannenberg, an area known as the Mecca of gangsterism and drug trafficking, together with the adjacent areas such as Heideveld and Athlone on the Cape Flats, could also qualify as urban renewal nodes. As the SACN (2003a: 10) points out, this unequal process of countering urban underdevelopment, generates an increase in polarization and fragmentation within cities. It therefore undermines the city's economic base and productivity (SACN, 2003a: 10) which has resulted in political and social instability as impoverished communities in the adjacent urban renewal nodal areas tussled for scarce resources. The application of urban renewal in this sense causes inequality in access to economic opportunities and in a different form contributes to social exclusion of other communities to enhance their living conditions. Because of the comprehensive nature of the URP, it harnesses a large concentration of energy of provincial and Council officials, finance and logistics to the advantage of a particular area, thereby compromising the rest of the poor communities in Cape Town. This triggers a further question: Is the introduction of urban renewal to Mitchell's Plain a fair decision when taking into account the many other poor areas in the Western Cape? Mitchell's Plain is an area with a better infrastructure than many areas within the Western Cape due to the historical reasons for its establishment as a Coloured Preferential Area with an improved infrastructure for water, sanitation, roads, housing and amenities. Regardless of the previously mentioned reasons for its establishment, Mitchell's Plain, together with the rest of the other disadvantaged areas, were excluded from the mainstream of the social and political decision-making processes.

The URP, unlike the IDP that legally binds municipalities to comply, is not legislated in South Africa. No single legislative policy document prescribes to municipalities *how* urban renewal must be implemented; nor are there any draft documents for public

participation on urban renewal compiled by a group of South African development policy experts or a governmental department. The existence of this programme could be seen as a top-down political strategy. But some form of institutional mechanism should be introduced afterwards as a *post ex facto control* instrument. A Report on Urban Renewal Strategy was compiled by the Department of Local Government (DPLG) in November 2001, which stated that MINMEC meetings, the Urban Forum at national level, be conducted to do the assessment of the programme at national level. This progress report on urban renewal excluded the MEC's for Public Works at this important gathering. The researcher holds the view that public works portfolios in the five nodal provinces could initiate a job creation project for the unemployed in these nodal areas through the national public works programme. Responsibility for the implementation of this project is placed solely on the doorsteps of Mayors and Chief Executive Officers (CEO's) of municipalities to give an account of the progress of the programme. Irrespective of whether the DPLG (2001) states that the delivery of the programme occurs at local level through the structures of local governments, no legislation binds these municipalities to comply with the implementation of urban renewal. However, discussions about the drafting of a policy document that guides the URP and reviews the UDF is underway at the Department of Provincial Affairs and Local Government (SACN, 2003a: 15).

The projects of the URP do not guarantee development, as we understand the term to be the 'improvement of living conditions of communities'. Projects accordingly often fail to distribute benefits in an equitable manner and jobs often fail to benefit local residents due to the outflow of jobs to other communities rather than to those of Mitchell's Plain. Even the generation of service sector jobs may not be linked to the underlying skills base of disadvantaged residents not to mention the employment

opportunity barriers posed by racial discrimination. Flagship projects which are developed with substantial state funds only change the urban face - as the SACN (2003a: 20) states, the projects promote new urban images and boost civic pride. These flagship projects do not fulfil the initial goal of reducing unemployment and alleviating poverty but rather enhance business confidence and increase land value of adjacent areas (SACN, 2003a: 20).

2.3.4   Rationale of the Urban Renewal Programme

The URP is intended to support areas with the largest concentration of poverty and underdevelopment. The targeted areas are specifically those with prospects of growth but which experience high levels of social-economic infrastructural needs with weak social capital (DPLG, 2004: 1). In addition, the targeted areas are urban pockets experiencing decay and which are ravaged by social ills that discourage potential investors (DBSA, 2005: 56). The primary principle of the programme centres on addressing the 'global enemy number one' - poverty.

According to the DPLG (2004: 4), urban renewal seeks to address a range of social, economic and spatial issues in the various nodal points and in the case of Mitchell's Plain, it especially seeks to address key strategic issues. These are local economic development, crime prevention, skills development through education and training, environment, an effective transport system, job creation through intensive works programmes and the managing of safety nets (City of Cape Town, 2004a; 2004b; DPLG, 2004: 4). Furthermore, the programme pursues participatory approaches to development and fosters partnerships to mobilise resources for local government (DBSA, 2005: 56). It also aims to improve 'collective developmentalism' between the spheres of government, secure private sector co-operation in projects, re-prioritise and

re-align budgets and to ensure cluster and inter-cluster co-operation in pilot programmes across the sphere in their planning, budgeting and implementation (City of Cape Town, 2004b: 8). URP could not be introduced at a better time than now, as we enter the middle-term of the final phase of metropolitan local government restructuring. This programme can contribute to a large extent to the transformational debate. The advancement of an integrated sustainable urban development agenda city-wide, could contribute towards making Cape Town a democratic, productive, educational/learning, cultural, sustainable and inclusive city (Malik, 2001: 880 and Pieterse, 2003b: 12-17). Urban renewal, if effectively implemented, could successfully address social exclusion in Mitchell's Plain. A similar study, which addresses social exclusion through area-based development, was conducted during 2002 in Bloekombos (see Muyonjo and Theron, 2002: 492-495). The study highlights the need to identify the priorities of the underdeveloped poor - the jobless urban dwellers who are settled in an informal settlement in the northern suburbs close to Kraaifontein. In a situation of severe deprivation, a specific infrastructural development could be a starting point and could initiate a chain reaction which will encourage people to participate in community activities and thereby improve their lives. In the case of Bloekombos, a physical programme, namely the construction of a housing project, was accompanied by other 'hard needs' such as infrastructural development projects (roads, water, sanitation) as well as 'soft needs' such as education and training, economic development and health. Common to the social exclusion study was that not all community members' needs were the same. The developmental role of local government, in particular the IDP, participation and Performance Management and the responsibility of municipal managers and skills development, were revealed by the study as areas that needed attention. The outcome of the *"Bloekombos case study"* is a recent example in the pursuit of a solution for an

effective and integrated sustainable urban development programme such as the URP, in order to address unemployment and poverty, and simultaneously enhance active community participation. The rationale of URP is that it could address social exclusion. As Khan (2004: 13) states, a reduction in social inequality and exclusion are paramount to building social cohesion, good quality institutions and pro-poor growth. Thus (Harrison, Todes and Watson, 1997: 43; Hindson and Associates, 2003: 2-3 and Weiss, 2001: 1-11) contribute to the discussion by adding the following points:

➢ This programme could have the potential to adhere to the central goal of urban development strategy *inter alia* social and economic integration through the rebuilding of Mitchell's Plain and the termination of its dormitory status;

➢ URP has a focus on poor communities where previous programmes have delivered physical development but were still lacking development integration, and had continuing high levels of income inequalities and economic marginalisation;

➢ URP places poverty alleviation at the centre of development;

➢ Urban renewal as an urban upgrading programme can make a difference at relatively modest public cost. The programmes can pay for themselves through private improvements and increases in the value of properties brought about by the residents themselves;

➢ URP stresses the need for more decentralised decision-making and sets priorities at local level to build robust and sustainable municipal governance;

➢ URP makes development integration a central pillar of its approach; and

➢ Stresses the need for partnerships to be formed to pool resources of different actors capable of promoting social and economic development (DBSA, 2005:

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56; Harrison, Todes and Watson, 1997: 43 and Hindson and Associates, 2003: 2-3).

As an essential starting point, URP could provide basic infrastructure and services that could turn Mitchell's Plain from a 'slum' into a neighbourhood, where people can invest in their own housing, families and business ventures with dignity, security, health and opportunity (Weiss, 2001: 11).

2.3.5   Urban renewal as a sustainable development programme

Sustainability is a tricky concept, hard to define and easy to manipulate by vested interest (Networking Sustainable Development Solutions, 2004: 232). It is such a broad concept that it cuts across the different elements of development and links with both decentralisation and governance into participatory models to support the philosophy of sustainable local management (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 30). Sustainability is not only a 'concept on statutes', a 'political slogan' or a 'development buzz word' - substance needs to be given to it by municipal practitioners when dealing with URP. Although difficult to implement as it is currently viewed as an 'add-on' to the core functions of departments (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2005: 12), many policy documents refer to this concept as central to achieving long-term success for development planning as no universal sustainable development framework exists to guide development policies in South Africa. But what is sustainable development and what is its significant contribution to the development discourse? Liebenberg and Theron (Liebenberg and Stewart, 1997: 126) define sustainable development as a holistic development strategy that is multi-sectoral in nature to ensure the long-term well-being of citizens. The standpoint of Liebenberg and Theron (1997: 126) appears in the definition of sustainable development put forward by Brundland at a World Commission on

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Environment and Development 1987, which stated that 'sustainable development is development that meets present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own' (See Barton, 2000: 6; Satterthwaite, 2001: 4 and Xaba, 2002: 246). Sustainable development puts people first (Barton, 2000: 6; Hattingh, 2001: 6 and Reid 1995: 57) linked development to the environment because the environment has the ability to meet people's needs. Ultimately, these needs cannot be met without taking cognisance of the carrying capacity of the natural resource base. Redcliff (1987: 46) argues that there is nothing natural about natural resources to begin with – natural resources, according to this author, are socially determined in any given environment and can be easily exploited. Hattingh (2001: 6) holds the view that a sustainable economy focuses on the quality of life and not only on survival issues. The reason for this philosophical viewpoint is due to the fact that a sustainable economy keeps its natural resource base intact and through continuous adaptation change it by improving knowledge, organisation and technical affectivity.

In the implementation of the URP to enhance city development, the sustainable cities approach needs to be espoused – this is what Swilling (2004b) refers to as *"rethinking sustainability"* when planning for city development. In real terms, when should sustainability commence and what must be taken into account in planning for it? Swilling (2004a) argues that cities move towards sustainability when a trans-disciplinary approach begins to emerge that integrates ecological imperatives into urban design processes. Sustainability needs to address issues such as, water, sanitation, land and space, transport, energy, food, solid waste, building materials and design, air pollution and CO_2 emissions, health, biodiversity and child-centred development and learning (Swilling, 2004a). An ecological city approach, according to Irurah and Boshoff (2003: 250), calls for special intervention to be made by city

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developers to maximally use renewable resources and to minimise resource usage such as waste, to be conservation-conscious and to re-use/recycle resources during the planning process. Although Swilling (2004b) agrees with 'all popular academic statements' *inter alia,* Irurah and Boshoff (2003: 250) and UNESCAP and UN-Habitat (2002: 30), Swilling (2004b) is of the opinion that greenism joined with the basic needs idea known in the sustainability literature as 'ecocentric linked with anthropocentric' notion, is not enough to ensure sustainability. The researcher tends to agree with Swilling (2004b) that concrete steps are needed for a sound sustainability programme for urban renewal, which puts 'people first' to alleviate poverty. At this point in the debate, sustainability in urban renewal could be achieved through the introduction of a pro-poor LED programme and supported by an IDP programme for the City of Cape Town that includes the following: land use management, sustainable urban agriculture, transport management, spatial integration, capacity building projects focusing on skills development and local entrepreneurship for the disadvantaged. Coupled to it should be an improvement of infrastructure through a joint public works programme between provincial and national government to enhance job creation that is needed to alleviate poverty.

2.4   *Public participation in the Urban Renewal Programme*

Urban renewal programmes need to focus on community participation in decision-making to formulate and implement plans for development projects. Even though the concept of 'participation' is elusive, (Arnstein, 1969: 216-221; Davidson, 1998: 14-15; Meyer and Theron, 2000: 1-6), the importance of it to promote the URP holds value. Participation is viewed by Burkey (1993: 57); Rahman (1993: 42); and Crook and Jerve (1991: 43) as a process of conscientisation, awareness (Roodt, 2000: 472), resource mobilisation, knowledge and information-sharing (Meshack, 2004: 61),

releasing the power of grassroots communication (Theron, 2005a: 124) and is an essential part of human growth (Meyer and Theron, 2000: 1-6) (See Mac Kay, 2004: 12-17). If communities in Mitchell's Plain can take an active role in these development processes and in decision-making, attend Council and Sub-council meetings as well as IDP meetings and capacity-building workshops held by the City of Cape Town, the prospect that local delivery through the URP could reflect their needs and priorities will be greater. The encouragement of participatory democracy through the promotion of active community participation in zoning and rezoning, development and other urban renewal programmes through direct representation of community on all standing committees, (Williams, 2001: 222) can further substantiate the important impact that participation could have in urban renewal. Ultimately, the end result of the participation process in urban renewal will be an essential building block to increase the legitimacy of the City of Cape Town. This in turn will ensure that development processes are transparent, fair and democratic. Adger, *et al.,* (2003: 1105) suggest that participation and inclusion could be the main impetus to strengthen the decision-making process in URP, even though some decisions reached may not to the benefit of all.

2.5   *The synergy between an URP and the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)*

IDP's are the most prominent instruments introduced to support municipalities and enable them to enhance their developmental role through forward planning in urban development (Swilling 2004b). IDP's of local authorities lack coherent focus on poverty and livelihood upliftment (Mac Kay, 2004), marginalize environmental and ecological issues and are highly anthropocentric (Swilling 2004b). Urban renewal can be viewed as an extension of the IDP programme because community priorities for urban renewal do not really differ from those of the IDP. As stated by the DBSA,

(2005: 56), urban renewal is demand-driven. By making additional funds available for urban renewal, the same programmes which are outlined by the IDP could be supported through the URP. An Urban Renewal Programme strengthens the IDP programme by adhering to its long-term development of economic, social and spatial objectives in a shorter period of time. Both programmes address issues of a holistic nature and are multiple, interdepartmental and managed and organised by the municipality. The only difference is that there are no legislative requirements for running an URP. Both programmes seek to address issues such as poverty and unemployment and require a strong government and the capacity to manage it. But the URP's duration is until 2010 (the end of the final phase of developmental local government) while the IDP is an annual budgetary programme that is cyclical and includes long-term objectives.

2.6   The synergy between the URP and Local Economic Development (LED)

Local Economic Development (LED) is a popular programme amongst almost all developers, economists, politicians, big business and senior state officials, but most of the time, little or no action is taken. Perhaps the meaning of the programme is not fully understood by these role players, but the fact of the matter is that only a handful of LED programmes in South Africa have successfully been implemented. Local entrepreneurship and skills development for locals are issues that are applaudable but these issues are not being alleviated despite the millions of rands that are pumped into projects from the initial stages up till the implementation stage. A common feature of LED programmes throughout South Africa is that they become 'white elephants' as a result of a lack of financial assistance, a lack of proper project management skills and internal conflicts. Poverty and the belief of locals that participation might offer 'something for me' encouraged people to continue with LED projects. Nevertheless,

one tends to agree with many others that LED can be successfully implemented through the URP as it could be through any other programme because LED programmes are now implemented with a 'new mandate and under a new name'. Urban renewal seeks to incorporate this economic stream to strengthen the economic base of the urban node by addressing micro and local economic development initiatives that seek to complement and sustain macroeconomic stability (DBSA, 2005: 56). Instead of an economic resource outflow, opportunity for economic activities could be enhanced locally and remain home-based. The positive spin-off could result in an increase of local jobs through the blooming of local markets when the adopted philosophy of 'buying local' succeeds.

The dual purpose of LED is to alleviate poverty and create employment. LED falls within the scope of what is refer to as the 'second economy' (Boyle, 2004: 1 and Webster, 2004: 13-20) and named by Gutto (2005: 16) as the 'second part' of the economy. This form of the economy has already made its mark in disadvantaged areas in South Africa in an informal way on a subsistence basis by people who need a means of survival and who have little opportunity. The first economy that arises through systematic underdevelopment, exploitation and marginalisation of the second economy owes its size and shape to it (Gutto, 2005: 16). The South African government has already turned the 'first economy' around and geared it for sustainable economic growth. But do locals benefit from this process? The challenges of unemployment, inequality, poverty and low levels of local economic growth still persist. The Gomes (2004: 95) attempts to answer the question by saying 'what we need to do is to speed up the process of integrating the structurally disconnected second economy with the first economy towards the building of an adaptive and competitive economy which is reliant on the potential of all South Africans'. This

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second economy is incapable of self-generating growth and development and has very little prospect of expanding independently and thereby stimulating a formal economy. Furthermore, we need to bring the poor into the mainstream of the economy with the opportunity of market differentiation because in many instances the *'Spaza Shop'* or *'Stalletjie'* is competing for the same market. URP, as a state interventionist approach suggested by the Webster (2004: 19), could upgrade urban areas through a series of pilot programmes such as micro-credit for the poor, agrarian reform, intensified skills development, the extension of public services and expanded public works programme. What this means is that resources need to be transferred to the 'second economy', thereby empowering the poor/disadvantaged and those in the informal economy[1]. It is believed that through a range of LED pilot programmes, with a few large scale programmes in the urban renewal nodal areas, the second economy could end its marginalisation and become part of the first economy and in so doing tackle poverty and inequality (Webster, 2004: 19) through the URP in Mitchell's Plain.

2.7   *Urban Renewal, decentralisation and urban governance*

Decentralisation, as explained by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat, 2002: 28) is a 'complex web of policies and measures that do not work unless they are tailored to the specific needs and opportunities' of the beneficiaries. Although this 'blue-eyed' concept, decentralisation, becomes highly rated in the development arena, (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 28), it is patently wrong if we argue that decentralisation is better. In the 1970's and 1980's, development policies with a strong decentralised notion failed, especially those that centred on spatial deconcentration when improving

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[1] The informal economy as cited by Boyle (2004: 1) is known as the 'economic sector which is not captured on any formal database, including the companies, Value Added Tax (VAT) and tax registers'.

national population distribution, industrialisation and strategies for urban area management. These policies did not receive the necessary support and commitment at political, fiscal and economic decentralisation levels. What local governments need to focus on, especially in the urban renewal nodes, is decentralisation and governance, because it provides a stronger basis for spatially focused development (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 28). Decentralisation derived from certain dimensions and reform outcomes similar to the fundamental dimensions of the good governance concept in the urban policy debate (Pieterse, 2003a: 158 and UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 28). These fundamental dimensions are representative of society in decision-making processes, greater accountability, increased levels of transparency in public action, improved administrative capacity, consensus orientation, respect for the rule of law, democracy, better resource mobilisation and a responsive organisational environment (Cloete, 2002: 277, Davids and Maphunye, 2005: 64; Pieterse, 2004: 15-16; Attahi in Swilling, 1997: 167; Thakhathi, 2000: 78). Ultimately, such improved systems assist with poverty alleviation, achieving greater equity, and improving the lives of communities which leads to the achievement of sustainability (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 29).

But what is good urban governance? Good urban governance is a complex mechanism that means more than government (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 29) and is central in creating a sustainable environment for development (Davids and Maphunye, 2005: 64). Governance is a manner in which power is exercised in the management of economic and social resources for development (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 29). Swilling (1997: 221), refers to governance by saying that this management process could develop into good governance which in turn leads to sound development management. Good governance is a prerequisite for sustainability. This

form of governance contributes to two aspects in the urban governance debate as pointed out by Pieterse (2004: 15) and Satterthwaite (2001: 59), namely performance and the representative aspect of governance. As Cloete (2002: 278) states, good governance assumes that public service delivery is the implementation of public policies aimed at providing concrete services to the communities. Satterthwaite (2001: 59) claims that good governance can bring economic and social gains, and less environmental degradation. Together with the application of the eight *Batho Pele* Principles[2] ('peoples first') explained in Davids, Theron and Maphunye (2005: 234-235) and the *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Deliver (RSA 1997d),* a philosophy that supports the good urban governance concept, management enhancement methods and entering into municipal service level agreements with community partnerships (Khan and Cranko, 2002: 267) can be contributing factors. Good governance in URP can be assessed to the extent where city, regional and national governments ensure that people within their boundaries have safe and sufficient water supplies, sanitation, education and health care.

In order to ensure the above, a certain amount of confidence and trust needs to be established between the authorities and the organisations of civil society. To remain accountable to the community of Mitchell's Plain is embedded in the philosophy of good governance (Gutto, 1996: 10).

2.8   A framework for an effective URP for Mitchell's Plain

In order to create an enabling environment in which a sustainable urban renewal programme can be operated, the following criteria must be met:

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[2] The *Batho Pele* Principles are service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness and transparency, redress and value for money (Davids, Theron and Maphunye, 2005: 234-235 and the *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, RSA 1997b).*

➢ Urban renewal needs a strong visionary local authority with an informed community organisation to be able to control an effective, sustainable human development-driven policy (Marx, 2003: 316);

➢ A culture of ecological design methods must be introduced so that during development citizens are encouraged to consider the impact of their behaviour and consumption patterns in energy and water usage (Birkland, 2002: 58).

➢ The acknowledgement of local government as a critical sphere to resolve the complex and contradictory issues of sustainable development, democracy and governance, must be pointed out in the development debate;

➢ It is important that role players adhere to financial sustainability and policies related to urban development such as pro-poor growth urban policies which involve investment promotion strategies, incentives, affirmative action in procurement, training and SSME development, partnership building etc.;

➢ Planners need to focus on environmental sustainable policies by making use of planning tools such as EIA and SEA[3] to promote economic growth and urban productivity in order to alleviate poverty;

➢ Authorities must focus on anti-poverty frameworks centred on social exclusion (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998: 9);

➢ During the management process of urban renewal, the competing needs of all local strategies should be balanced, *inter alia,* the economic, environmental and social needs of the Mitchell's Plain community (Bertelsmann Foundation and World Bank's Cities of Change Initiative, 2002: 13).

➢ Crime prevention in Mitchell's Plain through the URP must be seen as an important precondition for its success. The National Crime Prevention

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[3] EIA is an acronym that stands for Environmental Impact Assessment and SEA for Strategic Environmental Assessment (Xaba, 2002: 250).

Strategy makes provision for the establishment of Police Forums, which could contribute towards controlling the levels of crime and violence in Mitchell's Plain to secure hope and prosperity for the communities and local business.

2.8.1   Urban management and planning for a successful URP

Urban integration, as a key strategy in the implementation of the URP, forms the centrepiece of the 1997 *Urban Development Framework* which seeks to reconstruct and develop urban spaces (Pieterse, 2004: 1). Urban management[4] can be seen as a multi-actor and multi-criteria which includes three approaches namely: an urban management approach, an enabling approach and a sustainable development approach (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 30). Firstly, the urban management approach consists of a broader framework of planning and the management of city affairs. The emphasis of this approach, according to Pieterse (2004: 15), can be shifted to municipal capacity and undermine important features such as accountability and empowerment. Secondly, an enabling approach prescribes the legal enabling and empowering of community groups, NGO's and other stakeholders to co-operate in urban management. Thirdly, the sustainable development approach highlights the importance of an eco-centric notion in all development activities including economic feasibility and social acceptability and forms an integral part of the urban development debate (UNESCAP and UN-Habitat, 2002: 30). The above-mentioned approaches are reflected by Pieterse (2004) in which he points out that planning, and in particular the participatory methodology, is integral to promoting integrated urban development and management.

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[4] Urban management according to Pieterse (2003a: 159), is a conceptual agenda that highlights the centrality of institutional capacity and effectiveness, associated with fiscal dimensions, which gives effect to participatory governance and integrated urban development.

Political legitimacy and participation, prioritisation of local needs, partnership building, institutionalisation and participatory monitoring and evaluation, (Rakodi, 2000: 7) are strong factors that could add to an effective planning model for sustainability in the URP. This kind of planning for a sustainable URP should tap into epistemological dimensions of transformation that address tangible issues and bring together black and white; the *'haves* and the *have-nots';* inner city residents and those settling on the periphery; ruling class and working class; developed and under-developed; the employed and the un- and underemployed and takes especially into cognisance the situation of the subaltern and the marginalized (See Williams, 2000: 169). This planning process assists development planners to avoid the pitfalls and failures of the past (Sachs, 1993: 119). In the bureaucracy and professional/ethical context, Khan (1998: 38) suggests that although a high level of professionalism is welcomed in urban development planning, it must not be to the extent that professional values are put above the interest of the local poor. The commitment of participatory planning by planners is fundamental in the re-thinking of urban development because it converges key intra-organisational dimensions such as governance, financial management and service delivery (Pieterse, 2004: 4). Above all, the vitality of a successful URP depends to a large extent as Williams (2000: 168) says, on how South Africans (decision-makers and beneficiaries) understand the dynamics and overall trajectory of their society in the early part of the 21st century, particularly in the light of the country's historical past and the living conditions of communities.

2.8.2   Institutional Arrangements for an effective URP

Management processes aimed at transforming the culture of institutions and the whole of society should focus on developmental public service. In order for the City of Cape

Town to play its role successfully, individual and institutional capacity within the municipality must be strengthened. Institutional capacity should include the capacity to drive the URP, lobby directorates to move away from the 'silo' - approach[5] (Theron, 2005b: 145-146), an administrative capacity that ensures that the right systems are in place as well as the capacity to mobilise the support of external agencies such as academic institutions. Herewith, partnership-building can be another motivating factor to deepen democracy by enhancing democratic relations through community-based development and advocacy (Khan and Cranko, 2002: 268). Mechanisms should exist for mainstreaming URP strategy and integration into every aspect of project activity. The municipal budget should inform the business plans. Project monitoring and evaluation reports should be the key levers of the performance appraisals.

2.8.3 Area-based performance monitoring and evaluation of an URP

Monitoring the plans of the URP is essential for success. The New Public Management Approach adopted by governments globally including South Africa, has put emphasis on management effectiveness and efficiency, which in turn put greater stress on outputs and results (Cloete, 2002: 277; Houghton, 1997: 2). Monitoring should be quantitative and qualitative, formative and summative (SALGA, 2004: 68) of performance from the perspectives of users and beneficiaries (Hemphill, Berry and McGreal, 2003: 726). Sustainability indicators should be put in place for urban policy on certain regeneration outputs such as: the number of jobs created and the amount of private sector investment and on area regeneration such as: quality of life, community enterprise and social economy (Hemphill, Berry and McGreal, 2003: 726). The aim of

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[5] The 'silo'-approach referred to by Theron (2005: 145-146) is when a lack of co-ordination between departments and community stakeholders exist at municipal level. It relates to the effect experienced when departments work on their own without linking or integrating with others.

sustainable indicators, according to Hemphill, Berry and McGreal (2003: 727), are to provide a basis for identifying urban environmental problems and for advocating the need to achieve sustainable development. For the assessment of sustainability practice, the Bellagio principles developed by the International Institute of Sustainable Development, seem to be the most suitable for assessing urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain. These indicators serves as guidelines for the assessment process as well as for the choice and design of indicators, the interpretation and communication of results and to provide a link between theory and practice (Hemphill, Berry and McGreal, 2003: 727). Furthermore, these urban sustainability indicators are useful in planning integration, forward-casting, and the distribution and input of key stakeholders (Maclaren, 1996: 186) in the URP. Indicators commonly used for the practical assessment of government policy programmes as proposed by SALGA (2004: 68) and that we could use in assessing sustainability in urban renewal would be:

➢ Input indicators – to measure the resources required for formulating strategies and delivering projects and programmes;

➢ Output indicators – to measure the direct results of the effort and resources put into the plan. These indicators normally refer to projects, activities and programmes;

➢ Efficiency indicators – to measure the relationship between inputs and outputs;

➢ Outcome indicators – to measure the results that follow from projects, processes and activities;

➢ Impact indicators – to measure the long-term implications of projects, processes and activities for society as a whole. At the level of impact, quantitative data will focus on the impact of the intervention on economic gains, its importance with respect to urban renewal of the Mitchell's Plain node and changes in perceptions and stakeholder participation; and

> ➤ Effectiveness indicators – to measure the relationship between inputs and outcomes of the URP (SALGA, 2004: 68).

An indicator-based approach to the evaluation of regeneration initiatives is acknowledged to be an essential part of delivering a holistic and coherent sustainable-led strategy (Hemphill, Berry and McGreal, 2003: 749) for urban renewal. This monitoring process of urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain could also be a useful planning and urban regeneration strategy tool in assessing progress against the national, regional and local indicators for sustainability.

2.8.4   Intergovernmental relations in an URP

In principle, this co-operative form of governance in terms of section 41 (1) of the *Constitution (RSA 1996a)* permits national and provincial governments to provide effective support to local government institutions. Effective co-ordination, construction of integrated development policies and information-gathering on management systems, are practical mechanisms for a popular intergovernmental support system (Williams, 2001: 223). Intergovernmental relations are ideal to a) enhance the transformational agenda in order to deconstruct the racially contrived development patterns that in the past benefited a tiny minority of the populace and b) to help promote the URP as a compensatory programme in revitalising the ethnic Coloured township of Mitchell's Plain (Williams, 2001: 215).

Steytler (2004: 213) argued that governance of South African cities takes place in a federal system in which local government occupies a subservient role. Barlè and Uys (2002: 147) supported Steytler (2004) by echoing that federal systems of government increase local government development and at the same time provide an opportunity

for provincial governments to continue with their own given functions which is not the case within a centralised system of government. The location of power in metropolitan cities is often a tussle between the state and local government but a smoother relationship exists between local and provincial government. Moreover, through intergovernmental relations, local authorities could ensure that area-based, level-integrated development is promoted *via* urban renewal on a consistent and rigorous basis by aligning the physical planning, the sectoral planning, and the resource planning and by networking with other spheres in a particular locality. In the endeavour by local authorities to move towards a people-centred approach to planning, a commitment to decentralise the technical components of planning and to move away from the 'silo-approach', is needed (Theron, 2005b: 145-146).

Urban renewal is a programme that is nationally, provincially and locally co-ordinated and evaluated. The aim of intergovernmental co-operation is to maximise the impact of nodal programmes by increasing coherency and needs identification in nodal areas. Urban renewal is currently a standing item on the agenda of the Social Sector Cluster at national level. This social cluster is an institutional forum which comprises national director generals of the various state departments. This body reports to the Cabinet Legotla on the progress of URP in the respective nodal areas twice a year, in July and January. MEC's for Finance and Economic Development and for Public Works seem to be excluded from the higher governmental tiers of the five nodal provinces. According to the SACN (2003b: 23) national and provincial governments are not necessarily actively involved in the implementation of urban renewal projects but rather they manage the allocation of resources for successful implementation of the projects. The financial monitoring of local government by provincial and national

government is supported by both *The Public Financial Management Act (RSA 1999)* and the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (RSA 2003).*

2.8.5 Financial arrangements for a sustainable URP

The developmental role of local government, which is more than the delivery of basic municipal services, requires strong and prudent financial management of its limited resources. The funds available for URP are limited, despite the fact that the highest level of state authority, the President, initiates it. Implementation efforts of the URP should be directed at fund raising, self-sustaining activities and the solicitation of sponsorship agencies and the private sector. To achieve the goal of financial sustainability, a process of capacity-building and resource allocation is needed to ensure that municipal accountability and efficiency is acquired. Apart from receiving funds from national and provincial governments to implement urban renewal, local authorities can also secure financial resources from donor funds, through the Urban Development Corporations by the sale of land developed for urban renewal, the introduction of tax incentives by the National Department of Finance and private sector contributions such as in the case of Santiago Business Improvement District (SACN, 2003b: 26). In Santiago, a privately funded business organisation was formed in 1993 with 325-company membership, which included real estate brokers, banks, lawyers, insurance and communications companies, energy institutions, hospitals and many others. In support of development initiatives, these companies raised more than $1 million annually to promote development projects locally in Santiago (SACN, 2003b: 26-27). Infrastructural improvement such as roads, recreational facilities and governmental buildings could also be funded by the Department of Public Works, through its Community Based Public Works Programme which in turn could lead to skills development and local level employment.

2.8.6   Key role players in the URP

The challenge of developmental local government in its endeavour to manage metropolitan cities with their vast populations and minimum resources depends on a fresh and active role by government in the urban development core (Parnell and Pieterse, 1998: 4). Under the new dispensation, municipalities have been entrusted to play centre stage in the struggle to address poverty and improve livelihoods. Powers and functions of local governments should be exercised in such a way as to have maximum impact on the social development of communities to meet their needs; to ensure the growth of the local economy and to create conditions for long-term employment opportunities (Tapscott, 2004: 202).

2.8.6.1 The role of municipal officials in the URP

Besides the fact that these officials are responsible for the roll-out of the URP, Thakhathi, (2000: 81) proposes certain roles to which state officials should adhere in ensuring the upgrading of standards of efficiency and effectiveness in improving the quality of living conditions for Mitchell's Plain's communities: These roles, according to Thakhathi, (2000: 81) are:

> ➤ The Directorate for Urban Renewal should create a strategic direction and plan and promote a shared vision with the MPDF and the rest of the community in the nodal area;
>
> ➤ An internal capacity to carry out initiatives, structure opportunities for broadening participation in the URP and seek external support for its implementation, should be created;
>
> ➤ Area managers and operational managers of URP in Mitchell's Plain should play an interpersonal leadership role by establishing a relationship with

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subordinates which includes motivation, communication, encouragement and influence;

➢ Area managers, operational managers and administrative officers for URP need to conduct development research in Mitchell's Plain to search for vital information to enable them to gain knowledge about the external needs and activities of the Mitchell's Plain community. Through community development research, community needs could be established, prioritised and a detailed community profile consisting of community structures as well as the social dynamics of the community, compiled; and

➢ Officials of the Urban Renewal Directorate have to embark on a role which monitors and disseminates and which conducts public relations and needs analyses to ensure a successful URP implementation (Thakhathi, 2000: 84).

2.8.6.2 The role of Political office bearers (Councillors) in the URP

Councillors involved in the URP and especially those in the Mitchell's Plain Sub Council, should seek to promote the vision and mission of URP as well as to remove backlogs in order to successfully implement the programme (DPLG, 2004) through statutory structures, namely the Sub-council Meetings and Ward Forums.

2.8.6.3 The role of the Mitchell's Plain Development Forum in the URP

The City of Cape Town does not necessarily have to replace the MPDF with an Urban Renewal Forum but the establishment of stronger sub committees of the various clusters is important. This Forum should consist of representatives of the various clusters in the Mitchell's Plain Development Forum such as Environment, Health, Training and capacity-building; LED, Housing and infrastructural services, Youth, Women, the Disabled, the Aged and Anti-crime bodies. The Forum should also

consist of a Chairperson and a Co-chairperson as well as a Secretary to enhance communication between members of the committee, the municipality and other external stakeholders. The role of the Urban Renewal Forum should be:

➢ To ensure broader communication with the rest of the community members on a sectoral basis and to keep them informed about future deliberations of programmes;

➢ To ensure that integration of municipal programmes at the departmental level of the City of Cape Town occurs by making inputs in planning and budgetary processes. This can take place through the finalisation of needs identification after decisions are taken at the broader community meetings on URP;

➢ To play an active participant role in the reviewing process of projects (assessment and evaluation);

➢ To enhance participatory development and to play the role of a community 'watchdog' and 'mouthpiece' by fostering good governance in ensuring that both the officials and Councillors strive towards transparency and accountability. The Forum could thus ensure that decisions taken by the Sub-Council are in line with and honour the needs of the communities.

➢ To take up crime prevention initiatives through the establishment of a Safety Committee for urban renewal and to promote the safety of community and local business programmes.

Sustainability is not an add-on process to project development. Effective governance for URP as a complex programme is an essential component for sustainability, especially when it put people's needs first.

2.9   Conclusion

The exploration of the concept 'urban renewal' has given us an indication that it is a subject matter which is closely allied to human development and is attainable if correctly defined in a programme. The various management tools mentioned in the chapter, such as participation, decentralisation, IDP and LED, seek to advance democracy by enhancing an effective and sustainable urban renewal programme for Mitchell's Plain. But there is no guarantee and there are no universally accepted formulas to ensure that the tools mentioned in this chapter can lead to sustainability. Political commitment from members of Council and senior management, with a clear strategic objective for a broad-based consensus on implementation, co-ordination and policy design features, must feature in the URP. The next chapter deals with the sustainability debate for the URP in Mitchell's Plain.

CHAPTER 3

3.   A POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR AN EFFECTIVE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME

3.1   *Introduction*

The developmental role of local government authorities in modern society is not only to deliver basic services but also to implement primary policies. Urban renewal as an upgrading programme without existing legislation requires some form of legislative control and process planning. This chapter highlights the significance of the relevant South African legislation and development polices which could make a contribution towards sustainable management of the URP in Mitchell's Plain. The legislation and development policies mentioned in this chapter focus on issues pertaining to forms of good urban governance, development planning ethics and management and principles of sustainability, all necessary to achieve a sustainable urban renewal programme for Mitchell's Plain.

3.2   *Policy context*

> *Urban policies conducive to social sustainability must among other things, seek to bring people together, to weave the various parts of the city into a cohesive whole, and increase accessibility (spatial and otherwise) to public services and employment, within the framework, ideally, of a local governance structure which is democratic, efficient and equitable (Polèse and Stren, 2000: 16).*

Metropolitan areas in South Africa are faced with the legacy of the 'inside-out' city as a result of past government policies (City of Cape Town, 2004b; Mufamadi, 2001: 3). The abiding and visible consequence of these past policies is the dual nature of metropolitan areas - the creation of dormitory townships away from economic opportunities and urban infrastructure. This dual nature, according to Mufamadi (2001: 3); Pieterse (2003a: 174) and Polèse and Stren (2000: 24-34), illustrates that cities continue to be characterised by spatial fragmentation; political, racial and social division in employment and economic revitilisation; heavy reliance on subsidies, especially for public transport, urban sprawl and poor management of land use, weak land and housing markets; inadequate planning for urban growth and environmental degradation (Day, 1998: 2-5; Mufamadi, 2001: 3; Pieterse, 2003a: 174; Polèse and Stren, 2000: 24-34 and Williams, 2000: 172). Therefore the challenge of metropolitan urban renewal nodes is to implement successful urban renewal projects within the ambit of available sustainable development policies. But what elements could make development policies sustainable? Sustainable development calls for a move from dealing with the effects after it occurs and then focusing on policy techniques for preventative actions. This phenomenon highlights a shift in the debate of *environment* and development to *development* and environment by pointing out the socio-economic view of sustainable development. In order for development policies to be sustainable in achieving a successful URP, the policy objectives explored by Bartelmus (1994: 8) and Marx (2003: 310) is of significance. These are:

- ➢ Reviving and changing the quality of growth;
- ➢ Meeting essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water and sanitation;
- ➢ Conserving and enhancing the resource base; and
- ➢ Reorienting technology and managing risks (Bartelmus, 1994: 8);
- ➢ Affirmative action for the marginalised and

> ➢ Inclusivity for the excluded communities in processes that impact upon their lives (Marx, 2003: 31).

As stated by the SACN (2003: 15), there are no specific national policy frameworks in South Africa to contexualise and support urban renewal in South Africa. (See chapter 2 in 2.3.3 of the study). During their preparation of strategy plans for urban renewal, local governments should draw on existing strategies and proposals that are already in existence among the various spheres and sectors of government (DPLG, 2001: 5). The policy challenges that URP in Mitchell's Plain should aim to overcome are similar to the urban problems cited by Mabin (2000: 11) - these include urban economies, massive urban poverty, fragmented urban space, ineffective urban local government, delivery of housing and services, urban crime and ecological design methods for community building.

3.3   *The legislative framework for a sustainable Urban Renewal Programme*

3.3.1   The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) - 1994

The RDP is 'an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeks to mobilise all people and resources of the country towards the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future' (ANC, 1994 and the *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994*). We need to mention that the *RDP (RSA 1994)* has failed to promote economic growth and did little to contribute towards generating employment. With a view to creating economic growth, the programme was superseded by Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), which sparked an outcry by the labour unions in South Africa (Paton, 2002: 14-18). However, the *RDP (RSA 1994)* presents a visionary framework for social transformation by the City of Cape Town in implementing URP. A reconstruction and development vision of a people-driven

development, commitment to grassroots, and a bottom-up approach driven by the Mitchell's Plain communities and representative organisations originally envisaged by the RDP, is presented in the URP (ANC, 1994: 15; Hindson and Associates, 2003: 2). If government facilitates effective participation, it must introduce programmes that would enhance the capacity of community organisations (Mac Kay, 2004: 40). Thus, the RDP places considerable stress on the empowerment of poor communities using the argument that human development has in most instances been sidelined through physical development (Hindson and Associates, 2003: 3). Urban renewal has its genesis in the RDP (Hindson and Associates, 2003:1-2; SACN, 2003a: 4).

3.3.2 Land development policies

The *Development Facilitation Act (RSA, 1995)* forms a bridge between old and new planning systems (Xaba, 2002: 247). In principle, this Act spells out in Section 3, the correction of the historically distorted spatial patterns of settlements in South Africa. Moreover, it permits local governments to formulate policies, in this instance the URP, so that their administrative practices and legal frameworks give effect to the fundamental rights as set out in the Constitution. These fundamental rights are the promotion of land development to establish communities, promotion of sustained protection of the environment, and meeting the basic needs of Mitchell's Plain's communities as set out in Section 27 of the *Development Facilitation Act (RSA, 1995)*. The *White Paper on South African Land Policy (RSA 1997c)*, Houston (2001: 210) and the Foundation for Contemporary Research (FCR) (2000) proposes that the Act should be a coherent and integrated institutional, financial and legal framework which could build the capacity of the affected people in Mitchell's Plain when participating in the planning and implementation of the activities of URP and thereby satisfy their needs and facilitate development. The question remains whether this Act

contributes towards policy development or not. It is believed that it does. Behrens and Wilkinson (2003: 169) point out that Chapter 1 of this Act sets a framework that shifts from a control-oriented to a normatively-based spatial and land-use planning and policy management system. It sets objectives favourable to the spatial form of the municipality by providing strategic guidance in respect of location and the nature of development within a municipality. This Act permits faster development in decision-making, conflict resolution between stakeholders and facilitates greater community participation in land development. Land development objectives should form a core focus point in the implementation of an urban renewal programme in settling communities to eradicate compaction and to promote densification.

3.3.3 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996

The preamble of *The Constitution (RSA 1996a)* sets the tone for development by advocating the improvement of living conditions of all citizens. Chapter 2 of the Constitution highlights important features pertaining to human rights based on democratic values and social justice. Liebenberg (2002: 45) stresses the fact that the 1996 Constitution outlines the rights of citizens to access social assistance as an essential component in the development process. Sections 24 (environment), 26 (housing), 27 (health care, food, water and social security) and 28 (children) are seen as integral building blocks for social and environment development. It is argued in this case that the effective implementation of social assistance programmes combined with far-reaching measures to improve access to social assistance, are necessary to give effect to Section 27 and the values underpinned in the Constitution. Significantly, Section 152 (1) of the Constitution spells out the developmental objectives of local governments, which lay a foundation for citizen protection by the law. Section 153 states that 'municipalities must be managed and structured in such a

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way that their budget and planning give priority to the basic needs of communities to improve social and economic development'. It therefore means that URP in Mitchell's Plain could integrate all of society's individual and collective aspirations into a diverse but common community.

3.3.4   The White Paper on National Transport Policy 1996

The Integrated Transport Plan should integrate the planning of URP of the City of Cape Town's transport vision, policy and objectives with national and provincial policies. According to the *White Paper on National Transport Policy, (RSA 1996b),* transport planning should minimize constraints on the mobility of passengers and goods and respond in a flexible manner to customers' requirements. Eventually, this policy should re-direct routes from Mitchell's Plain to the inner-city centres and the economic and industrial hubs and eliminate unnecessarily lengthy rail and vehicle routes. This plan could be an economic benefit to both the government and the community of Mitchell's Plain. The City of Cape Town and the national government could make economic gains from public transport tax, fuel savings, a reduction in pollution and transport congestion and experience an increase in productivity due to the earlier arrival of workers at their workplaces. The policy could be to the advantage of the community of Mitchell's Plain in that they could save on transport costs as well as the fact that their long train, bus or taxi journeys would be minimised. Furthermore, the transport plan should project the time and cost estimated for the construction of the infrastructure for all modes of transport. These periods could also be long term. This plan could be incorporated and be prepared in-line with the IDP of the City of Cape Town. Land development objectives, as specified in the *Development Facilitation Act (RSA 1995),* could be an important focus point in the planning of rail

and roads for urban renewal similar to what was constructed in Baltimore and Boston in the United States of America.

3.3.5 Housing development policies

The *White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998b)* and the *Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000 (RSA, 2000a)* gives local authorities the mandate to exercise any powers necessary to ensure the effective performance of its functions. Urban renewal as a development-planning programme that promotes the pro-poor agenda, for example through housing delivery, could bring the poor closer to high-income communities if a vision of integration is adopted. Integration of environmental considerations is a key determiner in the decision-making process of housing development. Housing project development is subject to the requirements of the *Urban Development Framework (RSA 1997a)* and procedures, including Environmental Impact Assessment (EIAs). This approach is supported by the *Housing Development Act, Act 107 of 1997, (RSA 1997b)* which states that housing development is based on IDP processes, which incorporate housing development plans of URP unlike the *White Paper: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa (RSA 2002)* which does not address housing development in an ecological manner at all. Instead this policy sets a framework of how to deal with the housing backlog by speeding up housing delivery to eradicate fragmentation, overlapping, wastage and inefficiency within the institutional structure. In reality it sets conditions for affordable shelter for the disadvantaged masses in urban and rural South Africa. *The Provincial Government of the Western Cape (2002b)* proposes an integrated housing development in which the IDP is used as a platform to engage and collaborate with CBO's, NGO's and the private sector to address local housing challenges. IDP ensures that all plans (e.g. water service plans, housing development plans, local

economic development strategies, EIAs) are considered during the development of areas. Both the *Provincial Government of the Western Cape (2002b)* and the *Urban Development Framework (RSA, 1997b)* are in-line with the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996a)* in addressing housing for the poor through urban renewal. In essence it addresses issues relating to basic human rights, gives meaning to the needs-based approach expounded by Pieterse (2003c: 124) and is a way of promoting urban densification

General development principles that need preference in housing construction in URP are those cited by Pienaar and Muller (1999: 388-389). These principles include the following:

➢ The needs of the poor must be prioritised and meaningful participatory processes must be introduced to benefit affected communities;

➢ Beside ensuring that housing development is economically, physically, socially and financially affordable and sustainable, communities must have access to a wide choice of tenure and housing options;

➢ The housing plan must be incorporated into the IDP of the municipality and land, service and technical support should lead to capacity-building and the empowerment of the beneficiaries (Pienaar and Muller, 1999: 388); and

➢ Sustainable construction could be an ultimate option for URP. Construction should be in a way that the serviceability of the building during a lifetime could be managed. Therefore, the applicable built environment design method should connote a permacultural belief system[6] (Mollison, 1991: 1-3).

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[6] This belief system seeks to create a sustainable human environment that embraces ethical and moral thinking three-folded by signifying a caring for the earth, its people and the dispersal of surplus time, money, and materials in meeting these ends (Mollison, 1991: 1-3).

In addressing the housing backlog in Mitchell's Plain through the implementation of URP, a programme for urban land reform needs to be conceived, elaborated by appropriate legislation, procedures and financial mechanisms (Huchzermeyer, 2003: 216). Housing must be seen as a necessity, an instrument of urban restructuring to promote qualities of urbanism as opposed to townships (Huchzermeyer, 2003: 216).

3.3.6   Urban Development Framework 1997

The Urban Development Framework (UDF) policy document is developmental oriented and shifts the emphasis from 'control' to a 'process' (*UDF, RSA, 1997a)*. It seeks to address spatial integration, land transport and environmental issues through sound urban planning (Pieterse, 2004: 3) on a medium- to long-term basis (Pieterse, 2003c: 124) and calls for a more co-ordinated and coherent approach to urban development at local level. Capacity-building and access to socio-economic opportunities that support local economic development in urban areas which involves *inter alia,* less rigid zoning, more flexible planning mechanisms and the promotion of mixed land-use management, should be prioritised. This planning philosophy addresses compaction, a problem synonymous with cities in developing countries (Pieterse, 2004: 8). As a result of South Africa's history of spatial segregation and the compaction which characterised apartheid planning, UDF seek to do the 'trick' by pursuing development policies that tackle densification, infrastructure optimisation, and a fragmented and separated unsustainable urban form (Pieterse, 2004: 9). Public-private partnerships and the establishment of a strong urban-based civil society that is able to add to successful urban development (Pieterse, 2004: 19) initiatives at local municipal level, are discerned in the UDF. The policy initiatives of the UDF expounded by Pieterse (2003c: 124), are in-line with the development goals of Vision

2020 which could be incorporated into the implementation processes of urban renewal.

3.3.7   The White Paper on Local Government 1998

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA 1998b) lays the basis for the transformation of existing local government as progress was lacking during the pre- and interim phases of local government restructuring. This legislation is a comprehensive plan, which legislates for a more accountable government to all South Africans and which accelerates the developmental local government process (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, December 2000). It expands local government's mandate to include environmental management responsibilities, enhance inclusivity and adopts a sustainable approach towards its activities. The aim is to link poverty, development, delivery and democracy in all local government functions to improve standards of quality over time (Mac Kay, 2004: 41). This notion of holism is in-line with the objectives of the URP.

3.3.8   Environmental development policies

The National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (RSA, 1998c) sets the framework for integrated environmental planning in South Africa (Müller and Decadt, 2003: 357 and Networking Sustainable Development Solutions, 2004: 146). This Act advocates the inclusivity of communities in development planning for the environment. Mitchell's Plain communities can accordingly participate in the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) processes which form the initial phase of urban renewal. EIA is a legal requirement in terms of the broad principles of the general environmental policy, evaluating projects holistically, and which is part of the EIA Regulations of 1997 (Müller and Decadt, 2003: 358). Together with EIA, the Strategic Environmental

Assessment (SEA) is viewed as a useful tool common to this developmental management approach that provides planners of urban renewal with the information to make an informed decision. These tools are designed to assist the role players during the planning and implementation processes for urban renewal (Sowman, 2002: 195).

The *Provincial Government of the Western Cape, (2002a)* states that environmental activities should be co-ordinated and harmonise environmental policies, plans, programmes and decisions made by government bodies that are responsible for the promotion and protection of a sustainable environment. The latter idea is professed by the *White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa, 1998 (RSA, 1998d)* which highlights integration as an important element to foster sustainability in the URP.

As a principle of sustainability, the *White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management, 1998 (RSA, 1998e)* advocates sustainable management and the use of resources as integral to natural and built environments by making communities aware of the costs of land development and its side effects on the environment. Communities and the economy should be considered when measuring benefits that hold for sustainability (Xaba, 2002: 248) when implementing URP in Mitchell's Plain.

3.3.9   Local Government: Municipal Structures Act 1998

The *Municipal Structures Act (RSA 1998a)* enforces municipal transformation to ensure a truly democratic and developmental local government. The introduction of an Urban Renewal Forum for Mitchell's Plain could be an optimal idea to engage in participation with civil society in meeting its developmental objectives as required by the *Municipal Structures Act (RSA, 1998a).* In addition to the Urban Renewal Forum

the Act further proposed that Ward Committees, as a statutory requirement, would be set up in terms of Section 72 (3) to enhance participatory democracy in local government. These Ward Committees should mobilise a variety of community interests behind the progressive goals of the URP. Representation should be inclusive of civic, business, women and youth, religious, cultural and other organisations (Mac Kay, 2004: 50). Together with the City of Cape Town these bodies should form the core of the decision-making forum for URP in Mitchell's Plain.

3.3.10 The Promotion of Access to Information Act 2000

The Promotion of Access to Information Act, 2 of 2000 (RSA 2000c) operate in a two-fold manner. It seeks to foster a culture of transparency, accountability and propriety and recognises the inherent right of all persons to have access to information during the implementation of URP. Furthermore, the Act requires that those who withhold information should justify their actions. The basis of this Act is outlined in Section 32 of the Constitution, which ensures that everyone has the right of access to any information held by the state or an individual, which is required to protect another person(s). Freedom of information for urban renewal forms an indispensable part of the human rights culture. Through the application of the principle of freedom of information, ordinary citizens will be participating and must be given the opportunity to air opposing views relating to URP implementation.

3.1.11 The Promotion of Administrative Justice Act 2000

South Africa is faced with an inordinate political demand for effective service delivery and the promotion of a process of reconstruction and development of historically disadvantaged communities. The fundamentals for ensuring good governance at local government level are enshrined in this Act. The promotion of the

administrative vision of *The Promotion for Administrative Justice Act, 3 of 2000 Act (RSA, 2000b)* addresses important ethical issues such as openness and accountability and proposes a system of administrative justice that is fair and just and that will prevail during the implementation of URP. Section 33 of the Constitution *(RSA 1996a)* forms the basis of the Act, which provides communities the right to request participation in the URP, which is to be managed by the municipality. This section states that municipalities are not allowed to embark on administrative action that materially and adversely affects the rights or legitimate expectations of persons if these actions are not procedurally fair.

3.3.12 Financial development policies

The Public Financial Management Act (Act 1 as amended by Act 29 of 1999) (RSA 1999) supercedes the national and provincial Exchequers Act and the Reporting of Public Entities Act. This approach towards financial management focuses on outputs and responsibilities instead of rule-driven approach followed by its predecessor, the Exchequers Act. The Act seeks to improve the quality of financial management in the public sector through financial systems development, the introduction of appropriate control measures and the fostering of accountable budgetary management. But the Act is not without criticism when it pertains to local government issues. It does not address or specify matters for local authorities but only caters for provincial and national issues. Hence, this Act gives powers of control to the other two spheres over local governments. A positive aspect for local government is the Act's promotion of intergovernmental relations as specified in section 6 (b) of the Act. Efficiency and effectiveness of best-practice management is the cornerstone of the Act, which could be an ethical guide to municipal officials in handling financial affairs for urban

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renewal projects. It lays the basis for a more effective and co-operative governance framework for state institutions.

The Local Government Municipal Finance Management Act (Act 56 of 2003)(RSA 2003) was introduced to ensure sound and sustainable management of the financial affairs of local authorities. Municipalities are allowed to make provision for additional funds to promote urban renewal in terms of section 17 and to monitor the performance measurement thereof. This Act permits national and provincial governments to agree in assisting municipalities in capacity-building for efficient, effective and transparent financial management of urban renewal and support them in identifying and resolving financial problems. Urban renewal could hold future budgetary implications, thus the Act allows the City of Cape Town to make financial provision for capital projects that enhances its developmental role.

3.3.13 Local Government: Municipal Systems Act 2000

The *Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000a)* makes provision for core mechanisms as well as processes that are necessary to enable municipalities to socially and economically uplift local communities according to the legal mandate in their jurisdiction area. As stated in the preamble of the Act, the fundamental aspect of the Act is the active participation of communities in the affairs of municipal planning, service delivery and performance management. Municipal administration and human resources management must be well capacitated to deal with the challenges of URP. This new system of local government offers the necessary tools to municipalities to assist them in improving the living conditions of ordinary citizens (See Mac Kay, 2004: 51-52).

3.3.14 Global development policy: Agenda 21

Local Agenda 21 (LA 21), a global policy concerned with economic, social and biophysical constraints, serves as a philosophy of transformational governance (Peninsula Technikon, June 2000). This global development policy redefines governance and planning processes and calls for greater inclusiveness and multi-stakeholder participation at local level as well as city-wide strategic planning processes (Pieterse, 2004: 12). LA 21 should not be separated from other municipal development activities but should be seen as a tool to achieve sustainability that involves the development of local policies, and the strategic plans of the IDP, LED and URP, in partnership with local communities (See Theron, 2005b: 138).

The above-mentioned policies point to the important features of integration policy development objectives and specify spatial, sectoral and institutional governance guidelines at municipal level as the cornerstone for the sustainable implementation and management of an urban renewal programme.

3.4   Conclusion

This chapter underpinned the thinking and philosophy that South African policies and laws have about sustainable principles required for development planning. Based on the historically skewed spatial, social and economic planning of the previous government, this chapter shows that current development policies and laws are focused on human development aspects such as poverty alleviation. The policies explained in this chapter do not call for a 'half hearted' approach towards planning and management but require commitment from local government officials and other stakeholders in implementing urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain. As Cloete, (2002: 279) rightfully states: 'a sustainability form of governance cannot take place in an

institutional set-up that is not durable, effective and efficient, without a credible record of achieving strategic policy objectives and cannot be learnt from past failures and successes'. Policy implementation is not a matter of 'cut and paste' to ensure a good content on paper. Furthermore, if it is not applied properly it might become meaningless.

CHAPTER 4

4. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN

4.1 Introduction

Firstly, the overview of the study sketches the two different ideas of implementation of the programme by the two political parties in control of the City of Cape Town, namely the Democratic Alliance (DA) from 5 December 2000 till November 2002 and the African National Congress (ANC), which currently controls the city. Secondly, the chapter explains the URP implementation process through *inter alia,* a brief summary of the budgetary allocation by Council, and the two tools used namely the business plan and the draft environmental planning framework for the URP. The implementation of the priority needs of the vulnerable groups in Mitchell's Plain were recorded by the researcher at meetings, site visits as well as in interviews with the stakeholders. Thirdly, the empirical study of the chapter covers two parts, namely participant observation at meetings such as the MLC, MPDF Meetings, Nodal Steering Committee Meetings and the semi-structured interviews with officials of the City of Cape Town, Councillors from the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council 12 and members of the community.

4.2 Overview of the study

When Mitchell's Plain, together with seven other nodal areas, was announced as an urban renewal node by the President of the Republic of South Africa in 2001, both the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Province were at the time under the political control of the Democratic Alliance (DA). This alliance was due to a merger

which occurred after the 2 June 1999 National and Provincial Elections and the December 5, 2000 Local Government Elections. The alliance consisted mainly of the former Democratic Party (DP) and the New National Party (NNP) as well as a few smaller parties. The DA Western Cape Provincial Government and Local Government refused to support the URP for Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha and instead launched a Cape Flats Renewal Strategy identifying only Tafelsig in Mitchell's Plain as an area needing redevelopment. A political-institutional change emerged when the ANC and the NNP joined forces in November 2002 after a political fallout between the DA and the NNP (Mac Kay, 2004: 71). Soon after the adoption of a new strategy plan for the City of Cape Town on December 2002, the Council shifted its focus to a more 'collective developmental approach' and re-launched the URP for the Western Cape Province on 1 November 2003 in Mitchell's Plain for both the areas as announced by the President. The idea put Mitchell's Plain on the path of change through urban renewal delivery and other governmental interventions. The Directorate of the URP of the City of Cape Town is situated in the Operations Management Unit. The Director of URP reports to the Executive Director: Operations who in turn reports directly to the City Manager. Each proposed area has a URP manager, who, together with only an administrator and a secretary, facilitate urban renewal in both Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha.

To briefly summarise its demographic profile, Mitchell's Plain initially accommodated only low-income households (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 16; SACN, 2003: 74) with a population estimated at about 289,554 people according to the 2001 census of Statistics South Africa (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 16). The suburb is governed by the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council, Sub-council 12, which includes six

wards namely Wards 76; 77; 78; 79; 81; and 82 (See Map 2 for Sub-council demarcation in Mitchell's Plain).

4.2.1 Map 2: Mitchell's Plain Sub-council 12 Ward Demarcation
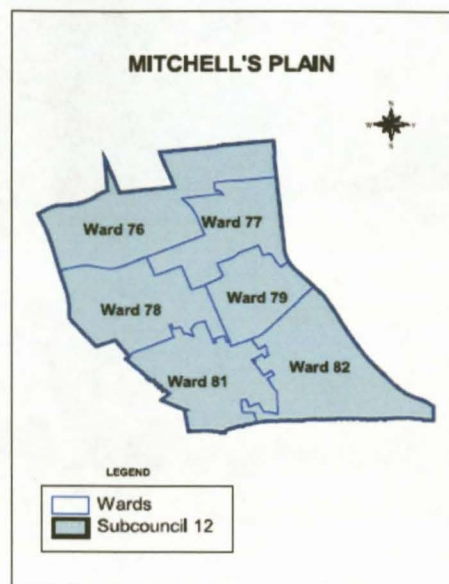
(City of Cape Town, 2005d, Geographical Information Systems)

4.3 The implementation process of the URP in Mitchell's Plain

4.3.1 Budgetary contributions to the URP in Mitchell's Plain

Mitchell's Plain had a capital budget allocation of R3, 185, 000 for the budgetary year 2002/2003 but has seen an increase to R43, 029, 064 for the year 2003/2004 after the priority needs assessment of the Mayoral Listening Campaigns (MLC) during March/April 2003 and June 2003 (Mac Kay, 2004: 95). An additional amount of R64, 406, 876 for Anchor Projects and R17, 633, 564 for Pilot Projects is to be given to URP in Mitchell's Plain by the Council (City of Cape Town, 2004c: 26). During a telephonic interview, after the publication of these facts, an ANC Proportional

Representative Councillor confirmed the increased contribution made by the Council to steadfast the URP in Mitchell's Plain to a total amount of R74 million in 2004/2005 and R117 Million for the 2005/2006 budgetary year (Thuynsma, 29 June 2005: 2) together with a ward allocation to the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council of R1, 2 million. The allocation should be spent on projects such as the installation of floodlights, bollards and the tarring of pavements, traffic calming measures and signs and the upgrading of parks and sport facilities (City of Cape Town, 2005b: 15).

4.3.2   The Business Plan of the URP in Mitchell's Plain

The Business Plan of the URP (City of Cape Town, 2004c) has relevant and popular content but the programme lacks direction. The criteria for an effective urban renewal programme contained in this document address some of the important features of urban sustainability, namely community development and encompasses ecological, economic, social and trade partnerships. However the details are vague. No sustainable indicators are contained in the plan although the correct needs are listed as challenges that face the community of Mitchell's Plain. As Hemphill, Berry and McGreal (2003: 727) propose in chapter 2 in 2.8.3, outputs in quantitative form are mentioned by this plan. The outline of a plan should include: what you want to achieve, how much and at what rate over a specific time-period. The business plan of the URP failed to outline any of the above. The plan was from the outset, 'a paper with content' but without a vision and is highly unlikely to lead to sustainability for urban renewal.

4.3.3   Urban Renewal Spatial Development Framework of Council

The URP needs to take into account the fact that the area is not contiguous with existing development; roads needed to be linked, a bulk water supply and power was

necessary and this had to be supplied from as far away as four kilometres to the boundary of the areas. The development of the area needs to capitalise on the existing infrastructure. The scale and speed of the development provided an unprecedented opportunity for companies to benefit. What was a drawing board proposal one day, was sometimes constructed the next day. The spatial development framework for Mitchell's Plain as an urban renewal node is being drafted by the Environmental and Planning Department of the City of Cape Town. The strategic aim of the framework is to refocus resources towards spatially targeted areas with high impact public investment. This is in-line with the City's IDP core strategies and programmes which give spatial direction to assist in making choices around scarce resources (City of Cape Town, 2005b). The strategic direction reflects the Urban Renewal Sustainable Development Framework (URSDF), which aims to address key issues from a spatial perspective such as:

- The economy;
- Housing development on vacant land, land infill around shopping centres and rail stations;
- Open spaces and recreational facilities and learning centres (schools);
- Public transport such as linkages of rail and roads transport; and
- The future development of Swartklip, which has the potential to advance spatial integration between the two coastal areas, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain (City of Cape Town, 2005b).

4.4 An empirical study of the URP in Mitchell's Plain

4.4.1 The vulnerable groups in Mitchell's Plain

A number of pilot programmes that focus on *youth development* for the future, have been implemented. The Early Childhood Development Training Programme, which is

implemented through the URP, is intended to help mould the future youth. The implementation of life-skills and counselling courses focus on learners and parents and reaches about 3000 youngsters in Mitchell's Plain. Council's commitment to youth development is further illustrated by the fact that 120 youths from Mitchell's Plain were given the opportunity to further their education through the URP partnership with False Bay College where the youngsters participate in a number of life-skills programmes (De Bruin, 17 August 2005). Furthermore, the youth sector also participated in the Provincial Learning Cape Festival which was held in May 2005 at the Cape Town Convention Centre in conjunction with the Western Cape Provincial Conference on sustainability. The emphasis on youth development is in-line with the objectives of urban regeneration through the creation of a social security net.

On *women's* development, the sector head of Women's Development said in a telephonic interview on 24 October 2005, that she was disappointed with the implementation of the URP. Some of the problems she raised was that they have been told that there are certain funds for women's development in Mitchell's Plain' but to her disappointment she discovered that no budget had ever existed for the women's sector. The member recalled that they were instructed to set up a preparatory meeting on 13 October 2004 to allow for effective participation in a big event, the Economic Development Summit which was held the next day on 14 October 2004. Although they gathered and waited in anticipation for the Council, nobody turned up or forwarded an apology for their non-appearance. However, the Women's sector did participate in the successful summit held on the 14 October 2004. The Sector experienced another problem with the Department of Social Development when it was told that only 50 women could attend a partnership training session in conjunction

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with the Social Development Department of the City of Cape Town. The objective was to train women from the various sector clusters so that they could take part in future activities and thereby become a stronger voice in their own individual clusters. Two names were forwarded for a two-week training session on Micro Enterprise Development. The women had no input into the planning of the workshop as to what they really want. The member said that some people are instead now involved in 'house shops', which is a common phenomenon among the poor, but there are others who are doing really well. An example is when some individuals or maybe a group, manage domestic cleaning companies in which residents are given domestic work and a consultancy fee goes to the company

A job creation group project with a catchy slogan: 'it's clean, it's supreme, it's Disa clean' was launched for the disability desk of the MPDF at the Weltevreden Recreation Centre in Rocklands. Training was provided for the *disabled* by Siyavuka Consultants, an organisation which trains the disabled for the job market (De Bruin, 29 June 2005: 6). Congratulations were received from the sector head, the Councillors and the Regional Co-ordinators of the Community Development Programme in the Premier's Office. The group will now no longer sell their cleaning products door-to-door but will tender for government contracts. The cleaning products compare favourably with other products found on the supermarket shelves. The idea is a model for disability groups in other areas to encourage them to co-ordinate their efforts and, instead of competing against each other, to form a close corporation and be equal participants, splitting the profits equally. As a pilot project of the disability group, they should rise to the challenge by making the best of the opportunity and thereby prove its critics (the 'abled'), wrong. The rail stations in Mandelay and Lentegeur which are under construction, are to be used by all people including the disabled.

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Ramps with gradual slopes will be helpful to people using wheelchairs, people walking with crutches and other walking aids, the *elderly*, those who are pregnant and even those with large amounts of baggage. All stairways will have two sets of handrails at different heights to accommodate both tall and short people ((Metrorail Commuting Times, 28 July 2005: 2). Even the lifts such as the one at Lentegeur station, will be demand-operated from a control room, and be able to be activated by people with special needs, while people with hearing aids will be able to activate special communication systems to allow them to talk to the control room and to hear all public address announcements (Metrorail Commuting Times, 28 July 2005: 2). But, a community member, who was working at the taxi and bus terminus, does not share the same sentiments. The member expressed her disappointment in that no facility exists at the terminus to accommodate disabled people.

The a*ged* sector is meeting regularly and has initiated a beading and crocheting project for its members. The sector has also established a sound relationship with the South African Police Service's (SAPS) Social Crime Prevention Unit and the local office of the Department of Correctional Services.

4.4.2   The Mayoral Listening Campaign (MLC)

A meeting of the Mayoral Listening Campaign was well attended by the community of Mitchell's Plain and took place on 17 February 2005 at 19:00 at the Rocklands Sports Centre. The Deputy Mayor attended the meeting in the absence of the Mayor who had other commitments. Also present were the City Manager and senior officials from the various directorates as well as the Head of Urban Renewal, ANC Councillors, an independent Councillor and the Chairperson of the Sub-council of Mitchell's Plain. All the DA Councillors, most of whom are Ward Councillors, did

not attend the meeting. The purpose of the meeting was spelt out in the introductory message delivered by the City Manager - to bring government closer to the people and to give people a say in the compilation of the budget. The City Manager, in explaining the reasons for conducting the meeting, said to the participants that it must not be seen that they (the City of Cape Town) wanted to do the community or organisations a favour by having the meeting nor was it by choice, but that it was obliged by government legislation to do so annually.

An introductory presentation with a musical background explained the historical, social, spatial, environmental, economical and political past of Cape Town. The focus was on the IDP as a budgetary programme as well as on Mitchell's Plain as an urban renewal area with the emphasis placed on housing, job creation, people and community development and access to LED and skills development. Some of the projects mentioned as Anchor Projects include *inter alia;* the Mitchell's Plain CBD upgrading which is 75% complete at a cost of R500 million. The project envisages providing 550 job opportunities through commercial development and 3000 permanent jobs. Other projects are: the public transport interchange upgrading in Lentegeur and Mandelay, which includes station complexes at a cost of about R35 million; the Swartklip Sports Complex which will cost R15 million and which will create 700 temporary jobs; the Colorado Multipurpose Centre, costing R3, 6 million, of which the first phase is complete; and 2500 residential housing units which are to be built in the Westgate Housing Development. The presentation also highlighted Non-Anchor Projects, which are as follows:

➢ Housing – 1838 housing opportunities in Tafelsig, Swartklip and Freedom Park, Woodbridge and AZ Berman Drive of which the installation of services was to start in May 2005. The Cape Town Housing Community Committee

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(CTHCC) in conjunction with the City of Cape Town, will oversee the Westgate Mall Housing Development which will consist of 2500 units.

➢ Electricity – 192 connections at Morgenster Village Phase are complete and the rest of the electricity connections will be completed in conjunction with the housing development. Even electricity upgrading at community places such as the Dagbreek Hall, Tafelsig Hall and Northwood Hall, have been included in the budget.

➢ Open spaces – Funds have been allocated for the upgrading of open spaces in Tafelsig and Eastridge as well as the billboard fencing in Eastridge.

➢ Sports and recreation – Mnandi Beach, which has received a Blue Flag status, will be upgraded as will Monwabisi and Blue Water beaches.

➢ Libraries – Phillipi East and the mobile library in Heizi Park which needed attention, are included in the budget.

➢ Youth development – Leadership training is planned - Tafelsig and Princeton High Schools will benefit. Also planned is a training camp for youth development at Oval North Training and Development Centre.

➢ Poverty alleviation – Six food garden projects in Montrose Park and three in Tafelsig are complete.

➢ Health – The focus is solely on HIV/Aids. A HIV/Aids drive has been undertaken in Weltevreden as well as a TB Campaign in Brownsfarm. A measles and polio immunisation programme has been completed in pilot areas and was initiated by the nearby clinics.

➢ Safety and security – Installation of CCTV cameras to assist security forces to easily capture criminals. Plans are in place for training and development workshops for neighbourhood watches in Mitchell's Plain in conjunction with the provincial government and equipment to the value of R340 000 will be handed over to the various neighbourhood watches in the area (See City of Cape Town, 2003; 2005a: 16-24).

At the end of the presentation, the City Manager received a standing ovation from the Mitchell's Plain community. He then uttered the following words: 'Urban renewal is part of human development and not building structures. A Senegalese villager once said that the essence of development is when people become the subject of development. The creation of the MPDF can play an important role with the idea of enhancing human development'.

The response from community after the presentation of MLC was as follows:

➢ Economic development - The Chairperson of Westridge Residents Association and an executive member of the MPDF responsible for Economic Development immediately attacked the City Council by making the point that very little local labour is used which is in essence a contradiction of the philosophy of the URP.

➢ Parks and recreation - There was no feedback or communication to the community in the presentation about the degeneration/deterioration of parks, which are an important amenity in which children can play. Hiring community sports centres and complexes such as sports fields is costly for this poor community. Therefore the upgrading of parks becomes a necessity in the Council's open space programmes.

➢ Environmental health problems - A community member from Rocklands, who resides close to a sewerage pump, complained about the flies, which cause health problems. A Tafelsig resident put the blame of the environmental health problem squarely at Council's doorstep by raising the point that rats, mice and cockroaches led to the illness and death of dogs and cats.

➢ Service delivery and ethical dilemmas/corruption - A Portlands resident complained about a range of problems pertaining to service delivery but in particular highlighted the level of frustration with the late removal of refuse, taps that dripped, labour that is provided to the unemployed in a *'boetie-boetie manier'* (nepotistic way), corrupt housing delivery, and the sale of plots and houses similar to those in Delft that are small and not suitable to house a family. A Monrose Park resident echoed the same sentiments by saying that the cramped houses contributed to diseases such as TB, HIV/Aids and arthritis because of their weak structure. Illegal occupation and RDP houses which are sold cheaply to 'Shebeen-owners' and 'drug-lords', were other problems raised by the resident. The resident also complained about the empty fields where dead animals are dumped along with dirty garbage. The resident suggested that Council could employ people from the local community to

clean the area for a minimum fee. Council acknowledged the complaints of the locals. A Tafelsig community member complained about service delivery and corruption in the tendering process. The member threatened the Council with violence if service delivery did not improve. For the first time it was brought to the researcher's attention that there are no traffic offices in Mitchell's Plain where to pay fines or licences. Another Tafelsig resident pointed out that the community had to travel to Ottery for vehicle transfers, clearances and the issuing of new licences etc. The same applies to rent arrears arrangements, which have to be done in Cape Town. The travelling costs affect an already poor community.

➢ Housing delivery - Four of the participants at the meeting raised the issue about the transfer of deeds. They have rented the houses for 25 years and have had to pay for repairs. The community members of Lentegeur, Portlands, Westridge and Beacon Valley proposed the free transfer of the deed titles or a rebate on the cost of buying the houses. A resident from Silver City, who is accommodated through a low cost housing scheme, thanked the city for what it had done but cited that the changeover from a 'shack' to a house for unemployed poor people has social implications. The resident also requested a workshop to inform people about the payment of rates and services. The resident also asked how many plots would be allocated for the Mitchell's Plain community and how many for Khayelitsha – his concern was overcrowding. Silver City is nearby Tafelsig, which is separated from Khayelitsha by the Swartklip area. It is an area which establishes to seek spatial integration between the previously mentioned communities.

> ➢ Political office bearers - Attacks on the Councillors of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council were launched from various corners of society. A woman from Beacon Valley said that Councillors are not visible with regards to project development. After explaining that the role of a Councillor should be one that prioritises needs, she challenged one of the Ward Councillors when he made the claim that major improvements had been made in the area and that the cost of the netball court was R78 000. The attendee received applause when she said that Councillors like to appear with celebrities but most of the community does not know who their Councillors are. A resident from Eastridge pointed to the officials and Councillors who were sitting in front facing the audience and complained about the issue of rent arrears which he had inherited from his parents. The resident said: 'I do not know anyone of them sitting there'. A Rocklands resident acted as if he were an '*imbongi*' (Isixhosa word for praise singer) when he acknowledged the efforts made by the City of Cape Town through URP. A resident accused Councillors of not delivering and red-tapping the LED programme. The complainant said that he is in need of financial support to start his own business. Another resident accused the Councillors of not working and of spreading lies to communities. According to the speaker, the Councillors, who are mainly from the DA, told the Mitchell's Plain community that funds for upgrading are to be spent on the N2 Gateway Housing Development Project and that less funds had been allocated to Mitchell's Plain. They had also said that Khayelitsha as an URP node would receive prevalence. According to the speaker this leads to racial division between communities. The speaker concluded by urging the Mitchell's Plain community to work jointly with the City and to take co-responsibility for the improvement of lives. This positive call was supported by a member of the

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Western Cape Community Forum who thanked the Councillors for attending the MLC but at the same time requested that a workshop be held to raise awareness of payment for municipal services as a civil duty.

➢ Participation as a benefit - Participation could be one way to get people to participate and to share the opportunities created by URP. One of the participants complained that poverty is rampant in Mitchell's Plain and that the community was ignored at the time of the construction of the Mitchell's Plain Town Centre where so many job opportunities could be found. Herewith, one member made a request to the City leaders that presentations be forwarded earlier to the various organisations so that they can make an input before they are shown at a broader meeting such as the MLC. It was requested that Councillors who do not attending meetings of this nature be brought to task and be dealt with through the legal structures of Council.

➢ Drug trafficking - A resident from Cupboard City close to Swartklip highlighted their frustration with crime and service delivery by mentioning the lack of health services, a shortage of schools, rampant crime and non-policing. Homeowners of RDP houses are given drugs to sell on behalf of the 'drug lords' in order to make a living. She accused City leadership of receiving large salaries while the residents remained poor. The resident threatened that the drug houses would be demolished. The researcher is surprised that a resident who has no knowledge of research methods, could independently compile a community profile and a needs analysis of the Mitchell's Plain community. A special attempt was made by the researcher to speak to this specific member and it was found that the family of this resident has broken down due to drugs

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and that the member has been victimised due to her anti-drugs stance. By probing further it also became clear that the member is well-educated and has never had an opportunity to find a worthwhile job.

The MLC has indicated the need for an effective public participation process not as a once off event but on a continuum. Although it was emotional at times, the meeting benefited both the City of Cape Town and the community of Mitchell's Plain. The MLC gives the City of Cape Town an opportunity to review its IDP budgetary priorities in-line with the URP and to the community it represents an opportunity to make its voice heard and to claim what rightfully belongs to its members.

4.4.3 Nodal Steering Committee Meetings of URP in Mitchell's Plain

The purpose of the Nodal Steering Committee Meetings is for delegated officials from the various Directorates to report on the progress of various projects. The meetings are held once a month immediately after the officials' meeting. The officials' meeting is to clarify issues which are to be discussed at the Steering Committee meeting. The interviewer attended such a meeting on 10 May 2005 where he observed that there was conflict when the executive members requested that the newly-appointed Community Development Workers (CDW) should not be allowed to take part in the proceedings of the meetings. After a lengthy discussion, the Councillor opposed this viewpoint. The Councillor says that confidentiality is important and that only observer status should be accorded to the CDW's. However the manager commented by saying that: 'we have nothing to hide, so let's allow them in'.

Complaints were made that no reports were received from the housing department for almost three months. MPDF members as well as Councillors spoke with one voice

when certain officials made excuses for not submitting reports or forwarding apologies. Immediately the purpose of the meeting was questioned. Some of the concerns which were raised centred on poverty alleviation projects. The YMCA Food Garden project was referred to the internal auditors for investigation of possible financial irregularities. There is a concern that the food garden project for HIV/Aids sufferers in Tafelsig would not be able to be sustained due to a lack of water provision. The decision tabled was that this project be referred either to Rocklands or any other area in Mitchell's Plain. The issue of information dissemination also came to the fore. The point was made that officials who facilitate projects are not communicating their progress to the community. Another concern that was noticed by the Manager of URP in Mitchell's Plain is the non-attendance for some time of any of the delegated officials responsible for environmental issues at the Steering Committee Meetings. A committee member asked, without receiving an answer, about a Greening Project planned for URP in Mitchell's Plain at a cost of R200 000, which never materialised. The specific department officials do not liase with the management of the URP so there is ignorance about projects. It became known to the researcher that the officials are blaming one another for not communicating with each other. The secretary said that the officials, as project managers of the various clusters, must inform the Sector Heads as well as the Secretary of the MPDF because it would become difficult for Sector Heads to report at plenary meetings without having the necessary information. The two Councillors and the URP Manager, as a way of marketing the URP, proposed an open day for all urban renewal projects. According to the proponents of the idea, the community of Mitchell's Plain and even those who work on urban renewal projects, are not aware of the URP, the facts and figures and how it has alleviated the unemployment problem. The proponents further stress the point that communities should be aware of why the URP was implemented and why

their capacity needed to be developed. Urban renewal must be exposed, according to the Councillors and the manager. It was further requested that the office of the Director of URP become effective and that it start marketing the programme. Questions were also asked as to who is monitoring the provincial employees because provincial and national offices do not attend report back meetings.

On economic development, the Proudly Mitchell's Plain Campaign would be stepped-up to by the Economic Development Exhibition at the Westgate Shopping Mall from 29 June 2005 till 3 July 2005 at a cost of R250 000. Opportunity would be given to the community of Mitchell's Plain for business development as well as emerging local SMME's and for those who seek information on how to start a business. Communities could display their products at the exhibition for free with logistical support from the City of Cape Town in the form of stands, tables, chairs etc. The vision of the exhibition will be in-line with the Red Door[7] Project and it will have an open database for the community of Mitchell's Plain listing services providers such as bush-clearance companies to shoemakers. After an intense debate about the struggle of local business people to obtain tenders, it was decided at the meeting that the message must be spread to these business people by encouraging them to form consortiums to strengthen their position for the tendering process.

A concern was raised by the executive member for economic development of the MPDF about the fact that no evaluation of sustainability has been done on projects which have been completed. This is a sign that officials are undermining the sector heads of the MPDF. The reports for the LED Summit of 14 October 2004 have been

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[7] Red Door as an acronym stands for Real Enterprise Development. It is a concept developed by the Western Cape Provincial MEC for Finance and Economic Affairs to support emerging SMME's in business development (City of Cape Town, 14 October 2004: 14).

delayed for six months, strategies made by the economic development clusters are not clear and it has been found that the report of the building sector is flawed which means that the reports from other sectors could also be flawed. The same MPDF executive member for economic development stressed that officials should allow sector heads to implement the exhibition their way. Furthermore, he demanded that the sector head be part of the planning team for the exhibition. But the secretary of the MPDF, who was later suspended from the MPDF, disagreed with his colleague when he alluded to the fact that the MPDF does not have the authority to do so. Also, the member did not have the right to make statements of that nature because the sector head of economic development had never had a proper sectoral meeting to inform the community about development issues of an economic nature. The meeting at the end served its purpose because facilities were examined, for example the life skills programme that was up and running as well as the street people and the outreach programmes. Feedback on selected service providers was given in a satisfactory way.

It is unacceptable that, at this stage when well beyond the final phase of developmental local government, the Council could apply the 'ostrich approach' to partnership building by merely continuing with the pre-democratic era mentality towards development and in some instances aggressively grasp the 'gun-shot' strategy targeting all projects in a 'hit and miss' manner (UNDP, 2002: 18). The problem with these approaches is that neither will adequately lead to the developmental outcomes required by the URP.

4.5   Council officials' views on semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials of the City of Cape Town from the 9 May 2005 till the 3 October 2005 (See Appendix II). A questionnaire was

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used as a tool to collect information through the interviews (See Appendix I). The responses of officials to questions asked through the questionnaires were as follows:

In response to the question: *What is the purpose of urban renewal?*, a Social Development Facilitator from Council responsible for gender development in Mitchell's Plain, replied that she does not know what the programmes seeks to address nor could the official share her views on the need for urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain. One of the more experienced Social Development Facilitators working at the Department of Social Development since 1991, and who at the moment is dealing with 'softer' projects such as Early Childhood Development, was able to share some of the possible ideas why the President had selected Mitchell's Plain for the URP. The officials cited the plight of the Mitchell's Plain communities by saying that URP is needed to care for communities because of their deteriorating social life. Governmental support for infrastructural development for area improvement is of necessity as well as the adoption of a more people-friendly programme. This statement explains the rationale of the President for introducing the URP. A Professional Housing Assistant stated that past policies legislated in South Africa and the high population in the areas, as the primary reason for the President's decision. Integration of the two areas mentioned as urban renewal nodal points, namely Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha, is seen as an additional reason for deciding to adopt these nodal areas. Adding to that, the Senior Urban Planner responsible for area planning for the URP in Mitchell's Plain, says that urban renewal is needed to fast track upliftment of the community. Some of the Social Development Facilitators responsible for social delivery in Mitchell's Plain for more then ten years, said that they only became aware of the URP in 2003.

According to the Social Development facilitators interviewed, general *concerns raised by communities* in Mitchell's Plain are unemployment, a lack of opportunities for business development, domestic violence and teenage pregnancy. The Social Development Facilitator responsible for Gender and Development has noticed that drug abuse by youngsters, including young females, is on the rise. Males, according to the facilitator, should be in the forefront of educational assertiveness training. A positive point cited by the official regarding social issues is that Nicro, one of the national anti-crime organisations, is also a registered member of the Red Door Project. Another social problem is the lack of psychiatric care and substance abuse by street children. The fact that they do not have birth certificates or any proof of identity has made it difficult to place them in 'places of safety'. These are some of the concerns raised by the Development Facilitator dealing with the Mayoral Street Children's programme in Mitchell's Plain.

One of the *internal mechanisms that promote urban renewal* is the Nodal Steering Committee, which meets once a month. Development planning, according to some of the officials, is undertaken by the cluster/sector of the MPDF, while the others hold a different view when saying that only the community needs compiled by the MPDF are forwarded to Council. Project managers of the various departments of the City of Cape Town, Heads of the sectors of the MPDF as well as Council Members of the Mitchell's Plain Sub Council, form the Steering Committee. The manager of Urban Renewal responsible for Mitchell's Plain chairs the meeting of the Committee. The Urban Renewal Forum is sectorally aligned with 14 sector groupings, which are linked with the various sectors within the Social Development Facilitation Department. There is a link between the MPDF and the sector groups within Social Development as well as with other departments such as Solid Waste, Water and

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Sanitation and Environmental Planning, Housing, Health etc. Strong relationships have been built with women's groups within the City of Cape Town since September 2004, where, at a strategic planning meeting, women's needs were identified. Strides have been made towards completing training for early Childhood Practitioners at National Qualifications Framework Level Four (NQF 4). These training projects, which are selected by the Educational Sector of the MPDF, include crèches, childminders and playgroups.

When asking what are the *forms of participation and who participates* in it, one of the Housing Departments officials highlighted that Ward Committee participation in urban renewal is one of the best forms of participation due to its statutory status. Ward Committees are community-based and include both the Ward Councillor and members of the community as representatives. It is through this representative body that people can best be served. Quarterly Plenary Meetings facilitated by the MPDF, serve to inform the community, interest groups and the organisations affiliated to the MPDF. The MLC is a popular form of mass communication as well as the Public Hearings of the IDP and inform the people of the developmental role of municipalities. Participation in pilot projects facilitated by project managers/officials of the various departments and policy programmes such as the Spatial Development Framework for Urban Renewal, act as drivers for participation in urban renewal. According to an official of Social Development, local people and educationists are interested in taking part in the education sector activities. Similarly, the official responsible for housing, says that the needy and in certain instances contractors and artisans such as carpenters, painters and bricklayers, attend housing meetings.

Monthly reports which are submitted in writing and verbal reports which are given by the various project managers at Nodal Steering Committee Meetings, are regarded as a way of *measuring performance of urban renewal* projects. An official from the Social Development Department says the newly-adopted service level agreement approach with service providers is an example because time frames are set when the agreement is signed. Progress of projects is currently evaluated on a month-to-month basis – this was previously done on a quarterly basis. Peoples' forums, according to the officials, could also be a way of measuring the satisfaction of communities and to assess whether the desired outcomes have been met. An example of this is the one done with one of the women from the 'Street People's Project' at the Place of Hope in Mitchell's Plain. The officials reported on somebody who had reclaimed her life. A significant number of destitute and abused women have since entered the programme. One of these abused women, after completing the course, became the Head of Macro Security. Housing development reports took a different root. Here, the official responsible for public housing in the urban renewal node, firstly reported to the Director of Housing before submitting his report to the Steering Committee. The Housing official made mention of proper performance management methods. The official stated that Microsoft Project is a good programme for setting time frames and scheduling the housing project. The official said that it is a skill he acquired by attending a training course at the University of Stellenbosch at the Bellville campus.

Referring to the question about the *intergovernmental role of provincial and national governments in the URP*, officials comment by saying that no provincial or national level assessment meetings with communities take place to promote urban renewal. Officials say that only the Director of Urban Renewal has meetings with provincial and national officials to report on urban renewal. It is envisaged that partnership

building with the Provincial Department of the Western Cape is to be developed in order to promote funding for social projects.

It would appear from the interview with officials that the *URP is linked with the IDP*. Urban Renewal Plenary Forum Meetings of the MPDF, which take place on a quarterly basis, deal with the same issues as those raised at IDP meetings. The priority needs of the URP are highlighted at a strategic management level and are contained in IDP documents as well. An example mentioned made by an official is the upgrading of the Mitchell's Plain Town Centre. According to the official, this need was highlighted at a preparation workshop prior to the Public Hearing Meeting in 2002 by the Mitchell's Plain United Hawkers Association and the taxi and bus terminus development proposed by taxi organisations in Mitchell's Plain.

One of the *obstacles that the City of Cape Town experienced in the planning process of URP*, according to an Official of the Social Development Department, is that communities do not have the capacity to draw up business plans. This resulted in time delays, which caused constraints for the implementation process. Minor role conflicts also added to planning constraints but these can be dealt with. Another problem is the delay in appointing a service provider in Arts and Crafts to train learners to start their own business, according to the Facilitator for early Childhood Development. The Social Development Facilitator responsible for Gender and Development (who facilitates training at registered organisations), highlighted some of the frustrations she encounters. The official faces bureaucratic problems in that they have to wait for vendor numbers when they need to purchase equipment or materials to perform their functions. Also, they are not allowed to employ individuals to train other people but rather outside service providers have the benefit of making use of local people.

All officials are confident that urban renewal can do more for the communities of Mitchell's Plain. The MPDF faces the problem of inner fighting and this impedes progress. The Development Facilitator who deals with gender issues is of the opinion that community needs can be adequately addressed if the MPDF is properly managed. The health sector is working effectively and this can make an improvement to the lives of the community members. The Senior Community Development Facilitator, who is working on the Mayor's Street Children Programme in Mitchell's Plain, mentioned that URP needs officials that have the needs of people at heart, and who will not hamper development in Mitchell's Plain. Similarly, the Development Facilitator responsible for early Childhood Development has said in a statement: 'we cannot say that you deal with youth but not mould them from early childhood'. Capacitating people, especially practitioners at crèches, is of importance, according to this official.

When posing the question whether the officials have *any suggestions as to how URP can improve life for the community in Mitchell's Plain, a* Planning Professional in the Environmental Management Section, a former Environmental Health Officer who has recently obtained a B-Tech Degree in Environmental Management, listed a number of environmental and spatial projects that have been completed. The official mentioned the Anchor Projects planned for the current budgetary period such as Wolfgat Nature Reserve and the Look-Out Hill Project. The Wolfgat Nature Reserve Project at the time of the interview was in the conceptual phase. As far as the researcher is aware, the nature reserve is in the heartland of the most feared gang of Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain and has easy access from Spine Road and AZ Berman, which link Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. An educational centre will be built in the nature reserve close to the community with the idea of raising awareness of conservation and thereby

encourage communities to assist in the protection of the area. A community committee would also be established with members from both Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. The nature reserve aims to link spatial development, environmental management and economic development. Through exploring these sustainability principles, the integration of the communities of Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha could be achieved, conservation of the other life forms could be enhanced and prospects for income and job creation increased. In addition, five schools as Pilot Projects in the community are being given Eco-school status with a co-ordinator for each nodal area.

Both officials and members of the community should work together as a team towards a common goal that could lead to the sustainability of urban renewal; increase the level of community and enhance capacity through participation in issues that have an impact on communities. These are some of the sentiments raised by officials of the Social Development Department. A senior official in Social Development suggests it is best to start with a basic service programme such as that offered in Sea Point in order to foster sustainability.

4.6   Councillors' views on semi-structured interviews

From 8 July 2005 until 7 October 2005, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Councillors of the City of Cape Town who sit on the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council (See Appendix II). These Councillors include: an independent Ward Councillor as Councillor (1); a Political Party Ward Councillor and Chairperson of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council as Councillor (2) and a Political Party Representative Councillor as Councillor (3). A questionnaire was used as the tool to collect information during the interviews (See Appendix I). (See Map 2 on Ward demarcation

on chapter 4 in 4.2 of the study) The responses of Councillors to questions asked through the questionnaires were as follows:

When asking what the *roles and functions of Councillors are,* Councillor (1) of Ward 77 of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council announced that he serves on the MPDF as an *ex-officio* member. Councillor's duties in this regard are not only viewed as one of liaison between communities and Council, but he also has the responsibility to see that urban renewal projects are implemented accordingly and that the poorest of the poor in the geographical area of Mitchell's Plain, are the beneficiaries. The views of this Councillor were supported by Councillor (2), who described their role as those who are elected to deal with community-related problems of various kinds. Councillor (2) from Ward 79, who is also the Sub-council Chairperson of Mitchell's Plain, has similar views to the previous Councillor but took a stronger stance by saying that their duty is to ensure that the affected communities benefited from policy implementations. Councillor (1) who is not from the African National Congress (ANC), showed respect for the former president of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Nelson Mandela. The Councillor explained to the researcher as follows: 'You see Mr Mac Kay (researcher), if it was not for the President who made Mitchell's Plain part of the urban renewal node, the City of Mitchell's Plain would still be a desert. It was in fact President Mandela who announced the plight of these areas long before the time'. The Political Party List Councillor, Councillor (3), defined Mitchell's Plain as a 'ghost town' with many social problems. The Councillor gave a scathing historical overview by saying that the effects of the social problems had not been taken into account when Mitchell's Plain was developed. Similarly, Councillor (2) described Mitchell's Plain as a 'dormitory city', far removed from economic activity and without any opportunity for building a community which experiences mass poverty.

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From the interviews, it emerged that all the Councillors who were interviewed have been updated about the purpose of the URP – this was in response to the question: W*hy was URP introduced to Mitchell's Plain and what does it seek to address*? Although various answers are given, according to the Councillors, urban renewal seeks to address the social evils of societies, cater for the needs of young and old and to ensure that each citizen can ultimately share in the wealth of Mitchell's Plain. Councillor (3) is very compassionate about integration. The view of Councillor (3) is that urban renewal can bring together the two communities, Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha, both which were previously put in racial pockets due to apartheid spatial planning. To engage in sports and shop together is not enough – rather the communities should live together for the common good and ultimately share community projects, the Councillor said.

Beside high unemployment, crime, shortage of housing, gangsterism and drug trafficking, Tik-Tik[8] now seems to be another social evil which can be added to the list of *challenges facing the community of Mitchell's Plain*. Councillor (1) seemed to be more focused on tangible issues and did not present a list of community concerns. For them (the Councillors), the building of a hospital in between the two communities, is a necessity. When probed on this matter, Councillor (1) said that the capacity of the Day Hospitals for both areas has reached its limit. People are sent to JF Jooste Hospital in Mannenberg which could also not cope with the high volume of patients because they also have to serve patients from Gugulethu, Mannenberg,

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[8] 'Tik' is the slang name given to the stimulant drug, Methamphetamine (Drug Education Agency, 28 April 2004). This drug is a much more potent version of it's parent drug, amphetamine. Amphetamine was first introduced into medical practice in the 1930's as a nasal decongestant but because of it's abuse potential it's accepted medical use is now limited to certain conditions. 'Tik' usually appears as a white or semi-transparent, odorless, bitter-tasting crystals or powder which may have slight colour variations, depending on the chemicals used in it's manufacture. It is often sold in cooldrink straws.

Athlone and Heideveld. There is a need for a rehabilitation centre for children who abuse drugs and for abused women. HIV/Aids and TB are also some of the health problems confronted by the communities in Mitchell's Plain. In this regard, Councillor (1) proposes the need for home-based care and Direct Observe Treatment Short Course (DOTS) workers to assist in combating the epidemic. A roll-out campaign of anti-retroviral drugs controlled by the Health Service Department will be to the benefit of the infected. One of the Councillors became angry when she (Councillor 3) questioned the construction of a multi-purpose centre for Tafelsig. The Councillor (3) proposed that poverty alleviation projects be introduced for Tafelsig instead of buildings. Tafelsig, as pointed out by the Councillor, is the most poverty stricken area in Mitchell's Plain and is controlled by gangsters. Councillor (3) hit out at fellow Councillors by saying that 'President Mandela had tried to restore the dignity of people while Ward Councillors do not even touch on developmental issues.'

Another problem for Councillors is the strained relationship that exists between them and the MPDF due to the lack of discipline of some MPDF members. For example, the last plenary meeting that was held ended in chaos as there were fights amongst Executive Members of the MPDF in the beginning of the meeting which was attended by members of the community. The plenary had given the MPDF time to resolve the issues before calling them to the next meeting. The report of this chaotic meeting was handed over to the Council, which decided to withdraw from the MPDF because it did not want to be seen as politically biased.

All Councillors highlight a lack of communication between spheres of government as a problem that hampers *intergovernmental relations in the URP*. Report back

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meetings of Councillors do often not take place, and the Mitchell's Plain community is to be blamed for the weak attendance at Urban Renewal Meetings or general meetings at which information about the programme is supposed to be shared with them. For example, 5000 pamphlets informing the community about a meeting were distributed but only 50 members of the community attended, of which most were women. Communities only attend meetings when it has been announced that members of Parliament will visit the area. Provincial and national government members initially attended some of the sessions but that has now ceased. It has recently been noted that a lack of collective co-ordination of projects between the three spheres of government exists. Improvements to facilities were implemented at the Mitchell's Plain Police Station and the Mitchell's Plain Court without acknowledging officials or Councillors of the City of Cape Town from the area.

When asking *what performance management mechanisms are in place to measure performance for the URP,* it become clear that the Councillors have a better understanding of performance management than the officials. While one Councillor (2) said that the process is monitored by the Manager of Urban Renewal in Mitchell's Plain, the other (Councillor 3) stated that ongoing facilitation and evaluation of the URP is non-existent. Another Councillor said that they do not have monitors to do performance evaluation because it is a full-time job. Not even the glossy reports which they receive and the report-back sessions are helpful. The interview with this Councillor (3) took place at a double-storey building which houses the URP offices, close to the Mitchell's Plain bus terminus. The Councillor mentioned for example the late completion of the bus terminus project, which at the time was about four months behind schedule. In addition to the lack of performance management, the Councillor made mention of aspects such as temporary jobs, training, and the use of local

contractors, whose performances are also not measured. The Councillor said that they do not even know how many and the location of the people who are benefiting from urban renewal due to non-evaluation of the programme.

Urban renewal is linked with the IDP and it is implemented according to the mission and vision of the City of Cape Town. Therefore most of the *funding for the URP* comes from the national government. Besides funds from the City of Cape Town, the Western Cape Provincial Administration and National Government, projects for urban renewal are also funded by the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), Municipal Infrastructural Grant (MIG), international donor funds networked through the City of Cape Town, local partnerships, private donor funds such as the Cape Fish Processers in the CBD area in Mitchell's Plain, Mr Price (clothing chain dealer), Pick 'n Pay (chain supermarket) and Liberty Promenade (a shopping mall in Mitchell's Plain).

One of the *obstacles that the URP encounters in its implementation* are delays in the tendering process. When tenders are awarded, complaints are launched from community members as well as from some of the Councillors. After objections are made, a review process, which is time-consuming, is followed. Unethical behaviour of some of the officials is also experienced. Officials, who deal with the tendering process (contracting out of services) or facilitate development planning on the ground, exclude Councillors from the planning process. They told them (the Councillors), that they are not welcome to serve on the development planning forums due to the fact that technical issues are dealt with by the technical teams (experts). Councillor (3) emphasised that even though the tendering process is time-consuming, monitoring and evaluation are not thorough. Another problem for the Councillors is the delay caused

by the computerised programme of the City of Cape Town, better known as Systems Application Programmes (SAP). This programme requires that purchasing or payout orders be processed by an authorised person, one then has to wait for an order number which again has to be released by a second authorised person. There are times that the programme is off-line for more than four hours during working hours or sometimes the person that is supposed to release the order in a specific department is not available. Rollover of funds not spent within a budgetary period, is a common phenomenon in Council. For example, Councillor (3) expressed dissatisfaction by saying that they were very fortunate to receive the exact amount of funds after re-tendering for the maintenance of the Westridge floodlights after a rollover due to delays in the tendering process of the previous budgetary term.

On the question of *what the contributions of the URP can make to improve the living conditions of the Mitchell's Plain community,* Councillors gave vague answers. From a historical and political aspect there is, however, some truth in some of the answers. Councillor (2) said that as disadvantaged communities they were asked to participate in *environmental* issues - it has only been in the last couple of months that environmental opportunities in the form of projects are forthcoming and thereby serve as a platform to uplift people. Environmentally designed methods can advance the position of the Mitchell's Plain communities, the Councillor suggested. Councillor (3) mentioned two of the environmental projects as a focus point of urban renewal benefit to the community. These are the Look-Out Hill and the Wolfgat-Nature Reserve projects. Although all Councillors agree that communities benefited from URP *economically*, dissatisfaction has been expressed. The Liberty Promenade, a shopping complex which is an urban renewal Anchor Project, was supposed to advance the local economy through the provision of local business. However most of the owners

of the shops inside the shopping mall are not from Mitchell's Plain and they do not even employ people from Mitchell's Plain. Being an urban renewal project, the Liberty group, which took control of the facility, only provided R5000 for a soup kitchen. Councillor (2) expressed her repugnance when saying that the URP could have formed a trust to provide a bursary scheme or a training scheme to the benefit of Mitchell's Plain youth. The Promenade Anchor Project is not an investment for the future. The promise was that 2% of the profit would go into the community trust – however this trust is non-existent. Councillor (2) demonstrated respect for the planning profession when he said that the time had come for planners for and from Mitchell's Plain to be trained to facilitate and co-ordinate development in Mitchell's Plain. The need for job training and various projects with a focus on community building, were emphasised by Councillor (2). When probing whether there are any other issues of concern that need to be improved through URP, Councillor (3) replied that inconsistency in resource redistribution in Mitchell's Plain is a problem. Councillor (3) also mentioned sport which, she says, brings communities together. When the researcher probed this point, Councillor (3) responded that Eastridge does not have a sports facility unlike Portlands, Lenteguer and Westridge, which do. It is evident therefore, that the community has not been treated equally when implementing renewal. Hence the proposal that the budget be spread equally across Mitchell's Plain.

When asked for suggestions as to how Council could improve the lives of the community through the URP, Councillors agree that effective structures should be set up with diligent members to serve the Mitchell's Plain community. There should be co-operation between the role-players such as Councillors, officials, the MPDF and the community who should act as 'champions for change' to ensure 'a better life for

all' does not become a 'pipe dream' or a 'utopia' of a plan. Long-term job opportunities and not short-term contracts should be created through urban renewal. The focus of the 'programme' must be on feeding families and providing an education for their children, the Councillor said.

4.7   Community's views on semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured and focus group interviews were conducted with the community members of Mitchell's Plain from 2 February 2005 until 14 October 2005 (See Appendix II). A questionnaire was used to collect information at the interviews (See Appendix I). The responses of the community members to questions asked by means of the questionnaires were as follows:

Mixed reactions were received when asking *whether community members know their Ward Councillors and whether these Councillors regularly communicated with them.* Most of the respondents expressed their dismay at how poorly Councillors perform their job although there are a few community members who say they have a very close relationship with their Councillors. Some of the Ward Councillors invited the community to attend the Sub-council meetings and also informed them about URP plenary meetings. It is important that the *community is aware of the URP* and that it participates in all aspects of the programme. Most of the community members of Mitchell's Plain who were interviewed are not aware of the URP and its processes. Some have seen MPDF posters and banners proclaiming urban renewal. During an interview on 2 July 2005, held at the Economic Development Exhibition at the Westgate Shopping Mall, it emerged that a member of the community, who owns a registered printing company called Mediatrics, normally attends urban renewal meetings. This member is well informed in that he knows when the programme was

announced and what its objectives are. This businessperson had a vested interest in the programme because he needed to obtain a tender from the municipality through the URP. He used to regularly attend meetings but currently does not. The biggest problem is the ongoing resignation of MPDF members. The interviewee has raised a number of personal concerns related to the URP: namely the Mitchell's Plain community cannot decide what their needs are, inner-fighting amongst community members and members of the MPDF, and most of the needy do not know where to go and to whom they should speak in order to address their problems. Only those who are participating in the process are informed and make full use of it. The same viewpoint is supported by a focus group which was interviewed immediately after the Sub-council meeting at Portland Sports Centre on 9 June 2005. The members of the focus group said that they are not invited to plenary meetings, nor are these meetings properly advertised. This group of respondents regularly attend Sub-council meetings and one of them was previously interviewed by the researcher for a research project (see Mac Kay, 2004: 128). The participant, a member of the Lentegeur Community Forum, said that their organisation is not listed on the database of the MPDF and as a result is not affiliated to the MPDF.

There are a number of issues that the community would like to *improve through urban renewal and which are considered priority needs.* Job creation is a priority and housing is a contentious issue. One of the members of the focus group, a woman, explained the role of a house. The interviewee said that they want housing and not 'hokkies'. A kitchen should be a woman's realm but the current structures are small and poorly constructed. An example is the Community Housing Development near Westgate Mall which has small kitchens and bedrooms, and which has a weak foundation without lintels in the corners. A family of five at Khayamandi Squatter

Informal settlement said that officials were supposed to facilitate certain URP projects but only made promises which they never fulfilled. The family of five still has to make use of pit latrines, is without electricity and is dependant on a pension grant. Tuberculosis and HIV/Aids are common in these areas. The family cited as an example the sick grandchild who cannot regularly attend the nearest clinic in Eastridge due to the high cost of transport. A woman, employed through the URP at the taxi and bus terminus, said that poverty is on the increase and conditions are not ideal for communities in which to live. A community member from Woodlands highlighted crime and transport as the problems which he faces. The member, who manages an informal silencer business along the road, said that in order to save on transport costs he works closer to home and simultaneously can keep an eye on the property of the occupants across the road. Unemployment and crime affect young and old but an obstacle for the youth in Mitchell's Plain is drug trafficking and gangsterism. Some of the unemployed youth stated that youth facilities, training centres for employment, rehabilitation centres and programmes are all needed to give the youth a chance to restore their pride and dignity and thereby ensure a sustainable future for Mitchell's Plain.

During a focus group interview question on 9 June 2005 about *whether they had ever benefited from the URP*, one of the interviewees swore by putting a finger in the mouth - a sign that they had never benefited from the programme. Although it is generally accepted that most of the interviewees had not benefited from the URP, there are some who gained socially through the programme. A day after the opening of the Urban Renewal Exhibition on 1 July 2005 at the Westridge Shopping Mall, interviews were held with the exhibitors, companies and members of the community. A community member, who had facilitated a marketing function at the exhibition, was

optimistic about the URP by pointing out that the programme created small-scale employment for some of the unemployed residents from Mitchell's Plain. The member said that the beneficiaries of the job creation projects were participating in a six-week park cleaning project, the cleaning and reconstruction of pavements and the layout of street names and painting. The member agreed that there are others who, due to one reason or the other, have not benefited from the URP.

A member of the community who resides in Strandfontein, a middle class area whose community has disassociated itself from Mitchell's Plain, is a proud owner of a printing business called Tripe C Repro and Printing. The interviewee, although also linked to the MPDF, is disappointed with the URP because nothing tangible has materialised from the positive ideas put forward at the Economic Development Summit held on 14 October 2004 at Portlands Sports Centre and hosted by the URP in conjunction with the Economic Development Department of the City of Cape Town. Together with other upcoming businesspersons, useful contacts and a network are being established at the Economic Development Summit. The interviewee says: 'a lot of important people took our details and we thought that we would be linked up with the Red-Door Economic Development Programme which was initiated by the MEC for Economic Affairs and Tourism in the Western Cape Province'. However the interviewee is aware of the potential that the URP has for future businesses.

An assistant secretary of the Vice Chain Security Watch, a neighbourhood watch organisation affiliated to the Mitchell' Plain Neighbourhood Watch Association, is also disappointed with the URP. The Vice Chain Security Watch has submitted proposals to the URP for financial assistance to purchase two-way hand radios, reflective bibs, bicycles and torches, but has been unsuccessful. Another attempt was

made by the same safety and security body when it started operating from a container at Darulhikma in Rocklands in a show of support for the safety and security sector of the URP. The Safety and Security Sector of the URP ignored this attempt to be procactive. Thereafter, the same proposal was submitted to the Ward Committee in Rocklands - the neighbourhood watch members are still waiting for the outcome. The member expressed concern that the ideas of the local people are ignored and concluded that the URP up until now had done very little for safety and security in Mitchell's Plain.

A community member involved in the Impala Neighbourhood Watch in Rocklands, which is responsible for community health and safety in general, and patrols the community library, highlighted issues pertaining to environmental economics. The member talked at length about the Look-Out Hill Project that is being developed close to Mnandi Beach. Mnandi Beach has received Blue-flag status – it was previously 'a dead area'. However, this development had caused the area to come alive and this has restored pride to the community. The Look-Out Hill Project has injected funds into property development because its value as a tourist attraction area has increased. The comments of the neighbourhood watch were supported by the Executive Member of the MPDF responsible for environment. The Executive Member, who heads an NGO called Advance South African Fair Environmental based in Mitchell's Plain, has advocated coastal upgrading for the last 15 years. The Look-Out Hill Project compliments the Wolfgat Nature Reserve. As explained by the forum member, Look-Out Hill gives an excellent view of False Bay, the entire Mitchell's Plain, as well as the sea and coastal areas. On the opening day of the Look-Out Hill Project, communities flocked there to experience the view at no charge. The Wolfgat Nature Reserve is a sensitive area because of the unique plant species such as fungal and

medicine plants which grow there. The core purpose of Wolfgat is to draw tourists from the Mitchell's Plain area, especially foreigners who pass Baden Powell Drive from Gordon's Bay on the way to Simonstown. Social exclusion and underdevelopment in the area was a consequence of the development which stopped at Muizenberg on the one side and started from the Strand through Gordons Bay up to Hermanus but reached a dead end when it passed Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. Coastal development needs to be continued from Muizenberg at least as far as Mnandi Beach. In terms of economic outflow, the people of Mitchell's Plain spend R1, 6 billion annually outside of this area, said the MPDF member. Beside the Landscaping Project of URP, bush-clearing is a Christmas Project which creates jobs for the unemployed.

On the issue of *public roads transport,* an interview was held on 14 October 2005 at the newly developed bus terminus close to the Mitchell's Plain Town Centre. Taxi drivers, taxi owners, linesmen, co-ordinators, Golden Arrow bus drivers, an inspector as well as commuters participated in the interview process. A general three-part question was put to the participants. The question was: *Have they benefited from the new public transport development at the Mitchell's Plain Terminus in the CBD, what problems have they encountered, if any, and what suggestions do they have to eliminate these problems if any?* All the t*axi drivers* except one expressed their appreciation. That particular driver said that the newly developed taxi rank has drawn more taxi owners and operators to the rank due to the expectations that have been generated. However business has not improved although the driver acknowledges that the rank looks better than the previous one. The rest of the respondents hold a different viewpoint. According to them the previous rank was chaotic in that it was too small, overcrowded and was shared with the Golden Arrow Bus Company which

made it difficult to control passengers. They argued that the facilities are better developed in terms of space with a drive-throw for each area indicated by a hanging signboard which is easy to read.

One of the *taxi owners* or as the drivers called them 'taxi bosses', says that there is not an increase in income but that 'the work is flowing'. The *taxi linesmen* from the Calta Transport Services, whose role it is to control the flow of the taxis on its line to avoid conflict, say that security is still a problem. The linesmen's complaints stem from the fact that they do not have the means to stop gangster activities and the selling of drugs such as Tik-Tik and dagga at the rank. The criminal problems which prevail at the rank was confirmed by one of the *taxi rank co-ordinators* who was sitting in a caravan close to the taxi lines. The co-ordinators manage operational activities on behalf of their respective organisations that in turn are affiliated to the Mitchell's Plain Taxi mother-body which also keeps control over the linesmen. Frustration is also creeping in due to the slow completion of the taxi rank and the disrupted traffic flow due to the fact that private vehicles and trucks also use the space for parking and loading off goods at nearby shops.

The *Golden Arrow bus drivers* and their inspector were satisfied with the new bus rank but had a complaint. They say it is imperative that there should be public toilets and public phones installed at the rank. According to the bus drivers, social facilities for the community are just as important as the transport business and must not be compromised. The inspector pointed out to the researcher three buses which are parked at an open space close to the bus rank. The *inspector* has nagged about the non-availability of parking for emergency buses. It is understood that emergency

buses are used whenever complaints are received about the breakdown of buses in the geographical area of Mitchell's Plain.

A *commuter* who stays in Morgenster in Mitchell's Plain and works in Lower Crossroad, uses two taxis to reach her destiny. The commuter appreciates the construction of the new taxi rank because of accessibility. Her concern however is a 'national concern' which is shared by almost all South Africans, including the government, that 'taxis are always over-loaded and their seats are broken'. The researcher found it shocking that all the respondents at the rank, including the taxi owners and the Golden Arrow personnel, are not aware of the Urban Renewal Programme. When the researcher showed the taxi drivers the URP banner, which hangs at the rank in front of them, they responded that they are not aware of what it meant. One of the drivers replied by saying that the taxi bosses may know what urban renewal is. The co-ordinator responded by denying that the rank was constructed through the URP. According to him the construction of the rank was planned long before urban renewal.

4.8 *Mitchell's Plain Development Forum (MPDF) members' views on semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the MPDF from 25 May 2005 until 24 October 2005 (See Appendix II). During the interviews the tool used was a questionnaire (See Appendix I). Below follows the responses of the MPDF members to the questions asked.

The MPDF consists of a nineteen-member team, of which five members form the management team supported by five Councillors from the Mitchell's Plain Sub-

council, an administrator and an official which supports the committee. The sectors of the MPDF are Arts, Heritage and Culture, the Aged, Disabled, Women, Housing, Education, Sports, Safety and Security, Youth, Environment, LED and Street Persons. The last plenary meeting of the MPDF took place as far back as April 2005. The plenary meeting held on Saturday 23 April, 2005 was adjourned after a motion of no confidence was put forward. The mandate from the plenary to the Executive was that the executives resolve their issues before reconvening another plenary. At an adjourned executive meeting held on 2 June 2005, a follow-up executive meeting was held on 6 June 2005 and was attended by eleven members which constituted a quorum. They voted anonymously to suspend the secretary for ill-discipline. The Chairperson of the MPDF resigned shortly thereafter and gave the reasons for his resignation to the local newspaper, the *Plainsman*. The chairperson resigned because of his refusal to be subjected to threats, intimidation, thuggery, verbal abuse, racism and corruption (De Bruin, June 15, 2005: 4). After a long period of waiting for the 'faith' of the MPDF, an Executive Meeting was held on 20 October 2005 at 19:00 at the Municipal Offices in Merrydale Road, Portlands. The next day, 21 October 2005, an interview was held with one of the MPDF members responsible for Environment. The MPDF member have realised their mistakes and want to continue with their duties. At the first meeting, which was attended by only five MPDF members, an attempt was made to gauge the progress of community development. A decision was taken to have an informal discussion due to the fact that they could not reach a quorum but certain important suggestions were made anyway. One of the suggestions was to set up a meeting with the Councillors, including the Mayor and the senior officials of URP of the City of Cape Town.

Another former MPDF member who had also resigned, a respected person with high morals, said in a telephonic interview on 24 October, 2005 that the attitude of some colleagues is utterly disgusting and they do not show any respect for the Councillors or senior officials involved in the URP. Some of the MPDF members want to overrule Councillors who are politically appointed by the community and some officials misuse the platform for political mileage to build a profile in the community but neglect community needs. Challenges which face the community as highlighted by the MPDF members are housing, jobs, business opportunities, crime and skills development. The MPDF member concluded by saying that he doubted whether the lives of the community would be improved through URP unless a proposal was put forward to the President to extend the programme for another ten to fifteen years. This viewpoint is complemented by the women's sector head of the MPDF, who belongs to an organisation, the Network Opposing Women's Abuse, which was established in 1996. The MPDF member raised her concerns about a lack of training, commitment from Council and the fact that they did not meet their perceived objectives as women. In conclusion, this Sector Head is still optimistic about the future of URP but she maintains that an open strategic assessment needs to be held with all relevant stakeholders.

4.9   Conclusion

The URP is complex and multifunctional and relates to a range of issues from environmental health to job creation. The programme requires detailed attention from the planning stage through to the monitoring and implementation stage which has been neglected by the City of Cape Town. Effective implementation of URP in Mitchell's Plain not only faces constraints due to the factors discussed in Chapter 1 in 1.6 but in addition there is: a lack of adequately trained people, a lack of research

capacity to inform the leaders about interventions, low levels of public awareness and poor application of project design principles. The interview and observation processes conducted by the researcher have revealed the frustrations faced by the communities of Mitchell's Plain. The frustrations have shown the importance of managing URP effectively through the application of development and planning, implementation, evaluation and assessment strategies to fulfil the needs of communities. The assessment of activities at the grassroots level shows that not much has been achieved towards the effective implementation of the programme to ensure an improvement in the lives of the community. Also, the City of Cape Town has not succeeded in effectively addressing the main challenges of the urban development discourse highlighted by the *Urban Development Framework (RSA 1997a)*. These include spatial restructuring, social and economic development and institutional transformation (Smit, 2004: 55-60) and inequality and social exclusion (Khan, 2004: 14 and Muyonjo and Theron, 2002: 492-494). The following chapter reviews the implementation of the URP and the views of the key stakeholders on the programme against the theoretical background of the first three chapters.

CHAPTER 5

5.   A SWOT ANALYSIS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN'S URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME IN MITCHELL'S PLAIN

5.1   *Introduction*

A Swot analysis, as stated by Mac Kay (2004: 94), is an acronym that represents the following: *S* stands for strengths, *W* for Weaknesses, *O* for opportunities and *T* for threats. A Swot analysis or situational analysis (Theron, 2005b: 138), is described by Barker and Holtzhauzen (1996: 147) as a strategic planning technique for environmental scanning during which the *strengths* and *weaknesses* of an organisation, programme or projects as well as the *opportunities* it can utilise and the *threats* it has to face, are systematically identified and analysed. Based on the Swot analysis, a mission for the organisation and its strategic objectives, are identified (Barker and Holtzhauzen, 1996: 147). The analysis of the case study was done based on the implementation of the URP process by the City of Cape Town in Mitchell's Plain. The views of the respondents - mainly Council officials involved in the URP, Councillors, the MPDF and the community, is a reflection thereof.

5.1.1   Strengths facing the City of Cape Town's URP in Mitchell's Plain

As a form of *strategy implementation for the URP* to alleviate poverty, the Urban Renewal Sustainable Development Framework (URSDF) of Council seeks to incorporate an integrated planning strategy initiative which forms a central focus of the URP's objectives to do away with distorted racial patterns in development as explained by Turok (2001: 2354), Williams (2000) and Pieterse (2003a). To enhance

racial harmony, this social political strategy strives to bring the areas of Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain together. Due to the location of Mitchell's Plain and the physical buffers in the adjacent area, it is difficult to move the area closer to the economic hub of Cape Town but Council has concentrated on integrating it with nearby areas through a road and rail network reconstruction. Integration in inner-development could also benefit from the business complexes which have been established next to link roads such as the Promenade Shopping Mall and the construction of a housing development close to the Westgate Mall. As said by the Environmental Planning Officer, the Wolfgat Nature Reserve development is an innovative approach to integrate natural and urban environments and their inhabitants. The development of a previous dumping site, the Rocklands Look-Out Hill, which was previously a dangerous area to visit, is under reconstruction as a tourist destination where one will be able to have a 360 degree-view of the entire Mitchell's Plain and False Bay area (City of Cape Town, 2005b: 13). Both Anchor Projects, the Wolfgat Nature Reserve and the Look-Out Hill, adhere to the principles of Agenda 21 which promote sustainable development and respect and caring for the earth, and its life forms. This development will bring pride and life back to the area, which was neglected for many years. The MPDF member who heads the environmental cluster and the member of the Impala Neighbourhood Watch of Rocklands said that this development would have economic spin-offs for property in the adjacent areas. The large financial allocation from the municipal annual budget, networking for foreign donor funds and national allocations in the form of programmes such as EPWP, MIG for URP, indicates the commitment of the City of Cape Town to enhance development in nodal areas. This financial strategy achieved by Council to promote the URP, is in-line with the requirements of the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (RSA*

2003), as discussed in chapter 3 in 3.3.12 which prescribed in Section 17 that Councils can make their own provision for additional funds.

On the issue of *economic development*, the successful launch of a job creation and entrepreneurship project centred on the manufacturing and selling of cleaning detergents in Mitchell's Plain after a training session was organised for the disabled. This shows the urgency of Council to include the *disabled* in the mainstream of Cape Town's economy. It is a fulfilment of the *Employment Equity Act (RSA 1998f)* which makes provision for the inclusion of the following designated groups in the business and labour market: Black people (a generic term which includes Africans, Coloureds and Indians), women and the disabled. Although there is a high level of unemployment, urban renewal contributed in one way or another when dealing with non-income poverty. Some of the community members were employed although only on a short-term basis, through URP projects funded by the EPWP, MIG, and the Municipal Investment Poverty Relief Fund (MIPRF). These projects included the construction of the CBD, rail stations and roads construction, bush clearance, sport complexes and environmental programmes such as landscaping, the Look-Out Hill Project, the Wolfgat Nature Reserve and Solid Waste Programmes for area and beach cleaning.

In the Council's endeavour to fight *crime*, the logistical assistance, municipal-partnership building and the establishment of an organised network of neighbourhood watches that assisted the South African Police in Mitchell's Plain to curb crime, is a factor that add to the *strengths* of the URP. A complementary matter is the fact that the social crime prevention cluster seems to take centre stage at the MPDF. Despite the problems that the *MPDF* encounter, the Council allowed them to continue with

their role. This shows the level of responsiveness by partnerships which seek to fulfil the Council's social contract with the community of Mitchell's Plain.

Regardless of the *institutional* problems of the URP as faced by the Council, there is a commitment by Councillors to form part of the URP, as an extension of the MPDF committee and to address URP development issues at length at Nodal Steering Committee Meetings and at Sub-council Meetings. This commitment demonstrates the political drive at local level. The establishment of Ward Committees and CDW's to enhance community development can be seen as factors that add to the sustainability of the URP. URP is high on the agenda of both the Executive Mayor and her Cabinet as well as that of the City Manager of the City of Cape Town. The presentation given at the MLC on 17 February 2005 and the agenda tabled at that meeting, shows a sign of positive leadership strategy in striving towards the creation of social and economic development. When consulted the Manager of the URP in Mitchell's Plain on 15 September 2005 on matters of financial management, elements of financial control are apparent on the URP despite his shortage of personnel. The strategy applied by the Manager is that funds are only made available to a service provider when a business plan is received and a service contract signed. Thereafter, regular site visits are undertaken by the Manager to keep himself updated with progress development. This approach is time-consuming but the Manager is to be commended.

There has been improved co-operation in the last two years with regard to *intergovernmental relations* due to political understanding. All three spheres are ANC-dominated and this adds to improved communication and co-operation between

parties. This has resulted in increased funding for the URP and the application of the national political and socio-economic objectives as set by the President, Mr Mbeki.

The above-mentioned Strengths demonstrates that sustainability of the URP is possible when attempting to do the right thing (efficacy) or doing things right (effectiveness). Concerted efforts are made to include the needs of the vulnerable groups and to address key priority areas as indicated in chapter 2 in 2.3.4 of this thesis. But proper management of the URP, which should ensure sustainability, is still absent in so far as a clear implementation strategy, a good working relationship with the various stakeholders such as the spheres of government, and the MPDF is concerned. Hence, the problems as discussed in chapter 1 in 1.6.

5.1.2   Weaknesses facing the City of Cape Town's URP in Mitchell's Plain

Despite the positives mentioned under Strengths, the study illustrates that the URP *lacks implementation strategy*. A concern is that although there have been huge financial contributions from all sectors of government to development projects, the funds have not effectively improved inhabitants' lives. Communities acknowledge improvements in the area but they are still at the poverty level where they were before the introduction of the URP. Planning of the URP takes place in isolation. Communities, the MPDF as well as the Councillors are often excluded from the planning processes of Anchor Projects and Pilot Projects. Beside the lack of participatory planning, the consideration of environmental rights and responsibilities in terms of section 24 of the *Constitution (RSA 1996a)* and the *2002 Environmental Implementation Plan of the Western Cape* regarding the promotion and protection of a sustainable environment, which was discussed in chapter 3 in 3.3.3 and 3.3.5, has also been neglected. Examples thereof are the Dagbreek and the Khayamandi Informal

Settlements on Vanguard Drive which are experiencing deteriorating health conditions due to the non-delivery of basic services such as housing, water, sanitation, waste removal and certain forms of recreational facilities. Furthermore, this negligent behaviour is also not in-line with the elements of good governance as spelt out in chapter 2 in 2.7 and in the vision and mission of the Ikwezi Leadership Charter[9] of the City of Cape Town, which committed the leadership to put citizens first and treat all stakeholders with dignity and respect and not to be closed-minded on territory. Moreover, the *Constitution, (RSA 1996a)* states in section 26 (i) that 'everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing'. It means that the state has the duty to devise and implement, within its available resources, a comprehensive and co-ordinated programme to realise this right. Khan and Cranko (2002: 263) warned that continuous failure by the state to address developmental issues such as housing backlogs and infrastructural services, acute poverty, and unemployment in an equitable way can hamper development programmes such as the URP. Although we have identified an improvement in the modes of transport and the changes to public roads transport, these efforts did not make Mitchell's Plain's business activities more accessible for commuters, visitors and tourists. The reasons are that road linkages did not shorten the distance of travelling from Mitchell's Plain to economic hubs such as City Central and Bellville. It therefore means that the traffic congestion has not been reduced. Transport has not been integrated in such a way that it linked 'people with places and places with people'. This idea was proposed by Mills (1987: 15) and Gibson and Langstaff (1982: 158) in the case of Baltimore and Boston in the USA and Liverpool and London in Britain which in turn lead to industrial growth and economic development. Transport routes have not changed at all, neither through rail nor through roads transport in the minibus taxi and bus systems. Accordingly usage for

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[9] Ikwezi Leadership Charter is policy statements made by the Top Management Team of the City of Cape Town led by the City Manager.

fuel consumption and the level of traffic pollution remains *'cateris parabus'* (an economic term which means that everything stays the same). Through observation and during interviews it become evident that URP is not the 'topic of the moment' - in reality the programme is not prominent in the urban policy debate even among the officials and the beneficiaries. This situation is contrary to what Mills (1987) mentions regarding Baltimore and Boston in the USA when urban renewal became prominent in the urban policy debate (see chapter 2 in 2.3.2). This organisational behaviour could be the reason why the programme is not adequately marketed in Mitchell's Plain. This argument is substantiated by the views of the Manager for Urban Renewal in Mitchell's Plain when he allowed the CDW's into a Nodal Steering Committee Meeting on 10 May 2005 and uttered the words 'we have nothing to hide' and thereafter focused on openness and integrity by saying 'it is time to take urban renewal out from under the table'. The decision of the URP to end the food garden project in Tafelsig, the poorest community in Mitchell's Plain, due to a shortage of water, shows a lack of innovative thinking. Although Cape Town has experienced a water shortage for the last two years due to low rainfall levels, water can be led to Tafelsig through recycling (stormwater, rainwater, greywater for irrigation and toilet flushing) and boreholes (Birkland, 2002: 58 and Du Plessis, 2002: 25). In this way unnecessary damning of water waste and the accompanying loss of land and biodiversity could be reduced (Swilling, 2004a: 17-18; 2004b).

The URP lacks human development as a prerequisite for *economic development.* People need employment, food, water, sanitation, shelter and access to health, education and clothing. The solution to this widespread 'poverties' as Max-Neef (1991: 18) said is to encourage local growth by including local people, facilitating skills development and giving the people an opportunity to practise what was learnt in

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order to earn a living and improve lives. Local development in this instance is not oriented towards meeting the human basic needs (Khan and Cranko, 2002: 267) and as a theory for development (Max-Neef, 1991: 14) will guide the actions of the Council and the expectations of communities. Instead trainers, who are generally from outside Mitchell's Plain and live a better life, still receive tenders to provide training irrespective whether the City has trained locals to train others. Human development activities should be directed towards the people concerned. Mobilisation of local resources should include local knowledge, experience and culture in order to meet local needs and should not be imposed from outside (Khan and Cranko: 2002: 267). The expectations created and the goals set at the Economic Development Summit on 14 October 2004 have not been met and the people who wanted to become local entrepreneurs have been stranded. Nor did Council go out of their way to follow-up and provide people with the necessary information to promote business development.

Crime remains prevalent in almost all categories and is a worrying factor as pointed out by community members during interviews and at the MLC. No real attempt has been made by the URP to deal with the *problem of crime* which is rampant and causes urban decline (Khan, 2004: 26). These types of crimes include theft, burglary, rape, child molestation, abduction and gangsterism and as Khan (2004: 26) states, have a negative impact on investment. It seems that in Mitchell's Plain the focus is still on normal policing instead of mass-based programmes involving all sectors of the community. It would appear as if there are no solutions forthcoming from the URP to address the drug-trafficking and the devastating effect of Tik-Tik on the youth in Mitchell's Plain. Favouritism and inner-fights within the safety and crime prevention cluster of the MPDF is prevalent. A Rocklands neighbourhood watch member expressed his dissatisfaction at the lack of co-operation from the URP when proposals

for logistical needs and ideas to curb crime were put forward. Drug abuse has increased from a total number 829 users in 2004 to 1358 in 2005. The area also has the highest incidence of burglary and theft in the Peninsula and Boland regions although this rate has decreased with 98 less incidents than the previous year (www.saps.gov.za). As Khan and Cranko (2002: 264) contend, this is a pressing issue which the authorities have to address due to the fact that the state has failed to protect the poor and secure sound social and economic conditions.

Ward meetings are not held regularly (only monthly), and a plenary meeting of the MPDF has not been held since April 2005. This shows the *institutional weakness* of the URP in that it failed to properly manage processes by setting up a joint working relationship with the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council. Questions regarding this issue: Was it necessary for the URP to tolerate the behaviour of the MPDF for such a long period before it could provide the community with the necessary leadership that it deserves? And was it necessary for the Council to leave this matter unattended until the community at the plenary meeting in April 2005 decided to disband the MPDF so that it could address its problems? It is Council's developmental duty to deliver on urban renewal and not to wait for the MPDF to become effective. But why did Council not engage with the community as one of the stakeholders during the mentioned period or did Council have an ulterior motive? It signals a lack of control over development activity and social justice by not acting when the development process was derailed. Certainly, it is against the spirit of good governance towards which the New Public Management strived (Cloete, 2002: 277) and a sense of irresponsibility (Swilling, Simone and Khan, 2002: 312). The non-visibility of Councillors in addressing development issues in the community was highlighted several times, for example in the MLC and during interviews with the community.

Excluding the community prevents the URP from being people-driven and reduces the chances of a bottom-up approach in development planning. Ward Committee structures are introduced as a form of decentralisation of power (devolution) to deepen democracy by including communities in the planning process of the URP, as stated by Mac Kay (2004: 21) 'to democratise democracy'. An anti-developmental approach is a 'crime against the community' when a state organ ignores legislation and dodges its responsibilities. This 'silo-approach' (Theron, 2005b: 145) is contrary to the development objective explained by Theron (2005b: 144) who said that communities should be 'informed' and should 'comment' on development planning. Furthermore, the action of Council is against the principles of section 152 and 153 of the *Constitution (RSA 1996a)*, *The Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000a)* and the *White Paper on Local Government (RSA 1998b)*. These statutes are development policies that permit the active participation of communities in municipal planning affairs. This behaviour has a tendency to lead to poor service delivery. Does Council care for the poor or not? Or did Council not learn from the Grootboom Case[10] that proved that it is (Council's) duty to protect the health of citizens by providing the necessary minimum services? The attitude of Council is against the ethos of good governance and the *Batho Pele* Principles ('peoples first') ascribed by the *White Paper on Transforming Public Service Deliver (RSA 1997d)*. Service delivery projects for URP nodes should not only concentrate on improving customer service and offer value for money but

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[10] This policy statement was tested in the Constitutional Court in 1998 in a case defended by Mrs Irene Grootboom after a court order from the Western Cape High Court that ruled in favour of her against Oostenberg Municipality (Constitutional Court, 04/10/2000 Case No: CCT 11/00). Irene Grootboom and others at the time lived in an informal settlement in Wallacedene, near Kraaifontein occupied privately owned land, earmarked for low cost housing in an attempt to escape their deplorable conditions. Both courts directed the three spheres of government's relevant structures to immediately provide the Grootboom Community with adequate basic services such as housing or shelter, basic nutrition, health care and social services for the children and the community. Adding to the rights base statements, the South African supreme legislation made mention of the securing environmental rights of human beings in section 24 (a) and (b) (RSA 1996) (Constitutional Court, 04/10/2000 Case No: CCT 11/00).

should be programmes that set service delivery standards and redress the inequalities of the past.

Urban renewal lacks performance management. Politicians, officials and service providers as well as members of the MPDF should realise that it is not enough to just report at Steering Committee Meetings as an institutional structure. They need to measure, monitor and assess sustainability indicators by using a specific method. Almost all Anchor Projects are not completed on time. This is probably due to a lack of performance management and poor intergovernmental relations. In this regard Houghton (1997: 2); SALGA (2004a: 68) and Hemphill, Berry and McGreal (2003: 726), referred to in chapter 2 in 2.8.3, mentioned 'Area base performance management of an URP'. Monitoring and assessment of the role players should have been done and the satisfaction of the Mitchell's Plain community should have been rated. A lack of reviewing, monitoring and evaluation of projects of the URP on a continuous basis will lead to failure and disillusionment amongst stakeholders (Theron, 2005b: 140). Equilibrium should present when matching input with output. Council has not managed to narrow the poverty gap and ensure that the poor of Mitchell's Plain benefited from the programme. Inherent weaknesses such as the lack of co-ordinated efforts in strategic planning, economic development, crime prevention strategies, institutional dilemmas such as the uncontrollable situation created by the MPDF, a skills shortage in the Council, the community and intergovernmental departments, are prevalent. Weiss (2001: 4) suggested that these problems are often key factors that contribute directly to economic decline. This uncoordinated and haphazard way of implementing programmes for the URP may consequently result in the loss of opportunities for producing greater investment, increasing the flow of revenue into Mitchell's Plain and a more equitable distribution of wealth among the

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local poor (Weiss, 2001: 5). A continuation of the kind of weaknesses highlighted in this study could undermine the set objectives of URP.

5.1.3 Opportunities facing the City of Cape Town's URP in Mitchell's Plain

The implementation of a few environmental promotional projects highlighted previously in this chapter under Strengths, indicates the City's commitment to implementing sustainable dimensions, which may have a positive impact in the future by stimulating a culture of conservation. In assisting with the aligning of priorities for the URP, a new form of spatial development planning has been introduced which marks a move away from a geographical to a people-centred focus. The recent spate of revolts organised by communities against municipal authorities concerning non-and poor service delivery throughout South Africa including certain areas of Cape Town such as Langa, Khayelitsha, and Ocean View, managed to bypass Mitchell's Plain. This indicates that although communities have complained about service delivery, they are appreciative of the effort by Council to improve service deliveries in the area through the URP. Poor communities such as the Dagbreek Informal Settlement, even though they have been excluded from participating in meetings dealing with local development, have been forced to attend sessions uninvited in order to highlight their social, economical and environmental plight. This seems to be a positive sign as the poor have become aware of their rights to participate in development and conflict has thus been averted. A well-informed community can play an effective 'watchdog' role in development, and thus encourage effective urban government.

The introduction of the Red-Door programme as mentioned in chapter 4 and the opening of the Red-Door office in Mitchell's Plain as a nodal area, provide communities with the opportunity to achieve business information through

networking, and training and entrepreneurial development opportunities for the local entrepreneurs who have waited so long. The upgrading of the Mitchell's Plain CBD creates opportunities for community's SSME development and market opportunities for locals. The eagerness of the local business people to participate in local development at the Economic Development Summit on 14 October 2004 and the Economic Development Exhibition at Westgate Shopping Mall indicates there is hope for future local development in Mitchell's Plain.

The researcher observed that there is mutual understanding and agreement at Sub-council Meeting levels between Councillors on how to address issues which may affect the community of Mitchell's Plain positively or negatively irrespective of their political affiliations. This indicates a positive prospect for *institutional* development in the URP. This attitude highlights the commitment of Councillors towards community development in URP. A very positive sign was that the MPDF postponed all its activities until all issues had been resolved. This shows that the City of Cape Town believes that the MPDF can make a constructive contribution to the URP and focus on a people-centred development in future.

From the assessment of activities, it becomes evident that the URP provides a context and opportunity to address Weaknesses particularly those related to programme integration, implementation and coherence because they are not deep-rooted problems. There are Opportunities for resource mobilization and capacity building to ensure effective programme implementation at a local level. It is therefore critical that the Council builds the human and institutional capacity to avoid the pitfalls as highlighted in the Weaknesses and build on the Strengths for effective implementation of URP at local level. The City of Cape Town can take advantage of the positive

issues mentioned in this study – they are a step in the right direction although much still remains to be done. The process is still incomplete and possibilities are opening up for linking economic and social policies as discussed in Chapter 3 of the study. Leaders need to build on the foundations which show encouraging signs in fulfilling the desired outcomes of the URP.

5.1.4 Threats facing the City of Cape Town's URP in Mitchell's Plain

Urban renewal in Mitchell's Plain lacks ecological design principles which are essential for a integrated *development planning strategy*. Guidelines for integrated environmental sustainability principles in economic, development planning, service delivery and housing provision (Western Cape Provincial Government, May 2005: 28) is non-existent in URP. The absence or non-awareness of ecological design elements for community building in water, sanitation, solid waste and energy facilities used as Pilot Projects for URP in Mitchell's Plain, minimises the chances for a sustainable living environment for communities. Areas of concern about service delivery, which was mentioned at the MLC and interviews, cannot be ignored. Dissatisfaction with the small and poorly constructed houses at Westridge CHCC, led to a protest march, the burning of tyres and the call for non-payment. These factors do not promote the vision of sustainable housing delivery in the URP areas. The negative contributing factors are: the high cost of land, infrastructural services connections, building materials and wages/salaries. The URP has adopted a non-permacultural stance and this has led to ignorance about ecological design features when designing housing developments. This does not bode well for the future. From a participant observation viewpoint, the manner in which the community has raised issues at the MLC has the potential of sparking violence which could pose one of the greatest barriers to development.

A lack of community empowerment and public participation of the poor in almost all facets of the URP, needs to be acknowledged and addressed to *create a platform for LED*. A disempowered community could derail the sustainable economic development objectives of URP and the non-participation in development planning as Houston (2001: 243) states, could become an obstacle to the promotion of emerging local entrepreneurs. Discriminatory practices persist and restrictions at social and economic level are great; therefore the chances for self-reliance are limited. Poor attendance by the public at Ward Meetings, Sub-council meetings and the plenary meetings of the MPDF in Mitchell's Plain as an URP nodal area, does not foster a culture of participation in community development. Damaging consequences may result, as the locals of Mitchell's Plain will find it difficult to gain control over the social, political, economic and environmental benefits of not only the URP, but any other programme. The concerns about the Constraints, as highlighted in chapter 4, is shared by Khan (2004: 14-15) who suggests that the current implementation mode of the URP in Mitchell's Plain could probably worsen social exclusion with consequences for institutional performance and inclusive economic growth. Delays in the tendering process and the interference or biasness of officials and members of the MPDF, has had a bad reflection on the legitimacy of procurement, and the integrity of sound financial management as explained in the *Public Financial Management Act (RSA 1999)* and the *Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act (RSA 2003)*. This behaviour had a negative effect on the trust relationship which should aim to foster good governance as pointed out by Gutto (1996: 10) and Attahi (1997: 167).

The *high levels of crime* as highlighted in this chapter under Weaknesses could derail the entire URP. Investors need a safe and healthy environment in which to invest. URP's or any other programme need stability and investor confidence to ensure

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positive prospects. If this does not happen, the situation in Mitchell's Plain will remain as it is or even worsen and by 2010 when the project has expired, only a few buildings may have been built.

Internal conflict between members of the MPDF and the *MPDF* and Councillors and officials have caused up and coming local businesspersons, development NGO's and community members to lose interest in the programme, and has led to non-attendance at meetings. This type of organisational behaviour seems to be similar to the notion put forward by Khan and Cranko (2002: 270) as 'absence of a common vocabulary' of which the end result has caused the URP to be fraught with conflict, mistrust and misunderstanding. Continuous resignation of MPDF members from the executive committee indicates a negative perception the URP in Mitchell's Plain and an effect on local development.

Regarding *institutional dilemmas,* the shortages of staff and the capacity of officials involved in the URP need to be addressed as a matter of urgency. The problems lead to bad management of projects because most of the project managers are working alone and cannot cope with the volume of work. Either they arrive late at meetings, or they do not even turn up at all. Reports are not adequately done or the managers arrive at meetings without reports and promise to forward it at a later stage. If this trend continues, the expected outcome of URP could be ruined.

The City of Cape Town cannot afford continues poor-management of the URP. The magnitude of the threats which face the programme, as outlined in this study, could ruin the development outcome due to the complex problems which prevail.

5.2 Conclusion

The study demonstrated that the Weaknesses and the Threats which face the management and implementation of the URP, are greater than the Opportunities. One of the main constraints is that progress is hindered due to poor planning and implementation methodologies as well as the fact that there is a low level of community participation in the decision-making process. Poverty alleviation has been stinted as many of the poverty relief programmes and projects did not achieve their desired objectives. There are gaps in performance management as well as a narrow interpretation of the programme, a lack of ecological design methods and insufficient opportunities for education and training to gear community members towards becoming economically self-sufficient. Local economic development projects did not deliver the expectations and social exclusion is prevalent. No matter the amount of money that is allocated and sponsored through donor funds, it has not been well spent and will have little impact on the effective implementation of the programme. Nonetheless, the City of Cape Town has achieved some gains in improving people's lives, through political commitment and the initiation of a number of pilot programmes which contribute to short-term poverty relief. Integration of the two communities (Mitchell's Plain and Khayelithsa), irrespective of the existence of a few pockets of racial disharmony and the infrastructural improvement of Mitchell's Plain, is highly placed on the City's agenda.

CHAPTER 6

6.   CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Translating economic, political and environmental successes into advances in human development will require public policies aimed explicitly at broadening the distribution of benefits to local communities. Based on the analysis of the study through empirical methods (observation, semi-structured and group interviews) chapters 4 and 5 draws a 'bleak picture' about the state of urban renewal. It shows that the URP was not successfully implemented. Increased public investment in URP and above all – a strong political leadership, is a necessity to address the underlying causes which brought about underdevelopment in Mitchell's Plain. A change in direction is needed to put in place policies that address deep-rooted inequalities and turn the promise of URP into practical outcomes. Concerted efforts in strategic planning, decision-making and the implementation processes of URP in Mitchell's Plain are vital to warrant sustainability in order to improve the living conditions of the community in Mitchell's Plain. Based on the problems discussed in the problem statement in chapter 1 in 1.6 and the failures in managing the URP, the researcher attempts to suggested recommendations to ensure the successful implementation and management of URP in Mitchell's Plain. These recommendations are:

1.   Narrow interpretation of the URP - To address the predicament of a narrow interpretation of the URP in Mitchell's Plain, a comprehensive development planning strategy is needed. Firstly, the strategy should seek to change the dormitory/ township/ and downtown Mitchell's Plain into a neighbourhood. Secondly, beside marketing the URP, the potential of Mitchell's Plain needs to

be marketed to a wide range of businesses and residents with co-ordinated public and private investments, and concentrated efforts are needed to create or re-introduce commerce and jobs, high quality stores and services, safe streets and good schools, better housing and environment, and amenities that will attract and retain not just corporations and enterprises but a critical mass and greater diversity in the population, including the population from Khayelitsha. Thirdly, the City of Cape Town should think logically and holistically by identifying links between household conditions, local economic practices and housing and urban development policies and sectoral economic development. Lastly, the drafting of a detailed nodal is integral to the development planning framework which includes effective public administration and management procedures in areas such as public health, social welfare, resource management, infrastructural development and effective communication mechanisms (See Swilling, Simone and Khan, 2002: 307 and Weiss, 2001: 10-11).

2.   Economic development - The developmental state has an important interventionist role to play through policy, legislation and implementation. The creation of local growth in a dormitory/slum can be achieved through education. Closing the gaps in educational opportunities is a critical starting point to alleviate poverty, creating employment opportunities and eradicating social exclusion. Education is a critical human development goal in its own right and a key to progress in other areas (UNDP, 2005: 31-52). An improved education enables workers to take up the skilled employment opportunities resulting from economic growth. The responsibility rests on the development practitioners involved in the URP to ensure that more of the poor participate in

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economic development to give effect to the national government's broad-based black economic empowerment programme. In quantitative terms it means that less people will become dependent on government resources, which brings us closer to the objectives set by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) and the national transformational agenda as professed by Malik (2001: 880) and Pieterse (2003b: 12-17).

3. Crime Prevention - Leadership of the City of Cape Town and those at the centre of crime prevention in Mitchell's Plain, need to make use of planning design ideas of the 'new urbanism' sustainable development to establish a new sustainable culture within the wider fabric of urban social life and thereby create economic opportunity. In doing so sustainable living communities can be created, and smart growth movements can be established to eliminate rampant crime and other social/humanitarian problems such as gangsterism, drug-trafficking and Tik-Tik experienced by the community of Mitchell's Plain.

4. Mitchell's Plain Development Forum (MPDF) - Effective management and co-operation and improved communication by URP between MPDF members and the MPDF and officials and Councillors needs to be established. The organisational and operational ethos/beliefs of these members must be unified to develop a common understanding (Khan and Cranko, 2002: 270) of the rationale of the URP in Mitchell's Plain as discussed in chapter 2 in 2.3.4 of the study. The organisational culture together with ethical principles must be implanted in the MPDF to ensure that organisational interest should have preference above individual/personal interest. To introduced the above-

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mentioned, organisational conflict would be minimised or eliminated and an improved relationship would lead to sustainability of the URP.

5. Institutional problems/dilemmas - The success of the URP lies in the elimination of a silo approach (Theron: 2005b: 145). Co-management of URP between the Councillors and municipal officials from the City of Cape Town, the MPDF and other interest groups, is needed more than ever before. Co-management, as explained by Hauck and Sowman (2003: 34), not only ensures better co-operation, but as a type of collaborative institutional and organisational arrangement between authorities and its stakeholders, it seeks to increase legitimacy, accountability and the representation of local structures. Similar as to IDP's, the URP needs to have as a foundation, key dimensions of development building blocks such as empowerment and social learning and a coherent, disciplined team with a holistic point of departure (Theron 2005b: 141). The effective functioning of Ward Committees, CDW's, Nodal Steering Committees, the MPDF and a good working relationship between officials and Councillors as well as the creation of a solid platform for participation, can lead to success for the URP in Mitchell's Plain. Active participation of resource users and their commitment towards co-management can lead to the acceptance of the principles of sustainability. In this way the monitoring and evaluation of projects can be jointly facilitated.

6. Intergovernmental relations - Good intergovernmental and interdepartmental relations need to be introduced to achieve the integrated approach as suggested by URP. We should give effect to the intergovernmental relations system as its stands. The national and provincial governments as well as the City of Cape

Town, should exercise their distinctive powers within a regulatory and overseeing framework which retains the responsibility of monitoring compliance in the URP. This joint strategic vision, with set sustainable indicators for monitoring and evaluation methods, will boost performance and accountability in the URP. Achieving the objective of effectively managing urban renewal will demand effective decision-making and for leadership to forge stronger forms of developmental collectivism and partnership between the spheres when needed.

7. Infrastructural programmes - It is generally agreed that unemployment is due to a deep underlying structural problem for which there is no quick fix. One way of addressing unemployment through URP is to effectively utilise programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) and the Poverty Relief Infrastructure Investment Fund (PRIIF) because these programmes have the potential to make a modest contribution to job creation, poverty alleviation and skills development. But the need remains for a large-scale policy intervention which allocates tenders for the main contractor to an individual or group of independent contractors who may form a company in Mitchell's Plain and tender as one company. The reason for this argument is that the local poor, although they benefit from job opportunities, are most of the time only labourers who end up working for a wealthy company or individual who is normally not from that urban renewal node. In this way more people from the urban renewal node could benefit and be employed on short-term and long-term contracts.

8. Urban agriculture - The call for food security in the form of sustainable agriculture is long overdue. From a sustainability and holistic point of view, the URP should introduce *organic agriculture* in all its food garden projects to sustain food security for the urban poor in Mitchell's Plain, amongst others. Through the development of permaculture for food gardens, educators and learners at the five eco-schools in Mitchell's Plain can learn how nature works and how to care for the earth. People in these nodes will be empowered with knowledge and skills to secure their own food and to transfer their expertise to others. This may lead to an increase in food gardening in the back yards of communities and group farming in open spaces. This is a way of tapping into the global issues of hunger and environment sustainability. The argument in favour of organic agricultural practice as put by Lampkin (1999: 7) is globally recognised as opposed to conventional farming. Organic farming is a method which: *does not* damage the soil structure and is environmental friendly; it *does not* create potential health hazards in food; it increases the quality in food production; it is *not* energy intensive and *does not* require intensive animal production systems. This farming method is *not* economically costly to society and to the farmer. Organic products, due to their high nutrient level, provide significant supplementary vitamins for HIV/Aids patients.

9. Agricultural land use - Mitchell's Plain has large tracts of land available for urban farming. Idle land, which would otherwise be turned into unsightly dump sites and breading grounds for crime, can be utilised and beautified by growing crops. Land that becomes vacant through the Dune Management Projects, could be more useful for urban agriculture than for sidewalks or housing. Communities in the urban renewal nodes could benefit through the

additional supply of fresh food or from added income through the sale of harvested products. Urban agriculture is one of the aspects of a sustainable development philosophy and is embedded in Agenda 21 Programmes.

10.   Development research through social impact assessment (SIA) - A SIA is about people's impact on projects, policies and development such as the URP in Mitchell's Plain. Through this process we could try to analyse how the Mitchell's Plain community would be affected socially, whether they have benefited from the actions proposed and, if so, how. In other words, the role-players need to identify the expected effects of URP and to adjust measures accordingly to enhance benefits or minimise any negative consequences. It is essential that monitoring and management be viewed as an integral part of URP. Furthermore this process will assess the strengths of the community, its ties and structures such as NGO's, clubs, churches, support systems and formal and informal educational structures. Following the outcome of the analysis, suggestions could be made to assist the integration of the URP, its strategies and planning processes and its implementation. One should also note that it would be difficult for a SIA to produce precise results because people are unpredictable and social and community circumstances can change easily – not just materially but also because of the way in which people see and interpret facts. This process could also try to determine whether decisions made now will last the test of time and whether in 30 or 50 years' time the Mitchell's Plain community will say that the decision of President Mbeki and the implementation process led by the Executive Mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo and her team, was good or bad.

In conclusion, by reflecting on the activities of URP in its implementation and management of the last five years, we should acknowledge that some mistakes have been made and that lessons have been learnt in developing our dreams. However, for the next five years we still have the task of realising those dreams as we continue our commitment towards improving the lives of the community of Mitchell's Plain in a sustainable way through the effective management of the Urban Renewal Programme.

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APPENDIX I

Semi-structured interview questionnaire - officials

1. What is the purpose of urban renewal?

2. What are the concerns raised by the communities of Mitchell's Plain?

3. What are the internal/external mechanisms and forums that promote URP?

4. What are the forms of participation and who participates in urban renewal?

5. How do you manage performance to assess the effectiveness of projects for URP?

6. In terms of the intergovernmental relations process, what role does the provincial and national government play in promoting the URP?

7. Is the URP linked with the IDP and how is it linked?

8. What are the obstacles that you are experiencing in the planning process for URP in Mitchell's Plain and how are you dealing with it?

9. Do you have any suggestions on how Council can improve the living conditions of the communities in Mitchell's Plain through the URP?

Semi-structured interview questionnaire - Councillors

1. What is your role and function as a Councillor on the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council?

2. What is the purpose of urban renewal? What does it seeks to address and why did the President introduce the programme?

3. What are the challenges facing the community of Mitchell's Plain?

4. In terms of the intergovernmental relations process, what role does the provincial and national government play in promoting the URP?

5. How do you measure and evaluate performance to assess the effectiveness of projects for URP?

6. From where does the funding for URP come?

7. What are the obstacles that you are experiencing in the planning process for URP in Mitchell's Plain and how are you dealing with it?

8. What are the contributions that URP made to the community in Mitchell's Plain?

9. Do you have any suggestions on how council can improve the living conditions of the communities in Mitchell's Plain through the URP?

Semi-structured interview questionnaire - community

1. Do you know your Ward Councillor and does the Councillor regularly communicate with you?

2. Are you aware of the URP in Mitchell's Plain and are you taking part in it?

3. What are the priorities in Mitchell's Plain that could be addressed through the URP?

4. Have you ever benefited from the URP in Mitchell's Plain, if yes, how?

5. Are you benefiting from the current operational conditions at the new taxi and bus terminus? If yes, how and if not why not? And what are the suggestions to improve road transport?

Semi-structured interview questionnaire - MPDF

1. Beside the MPDF which other organisations are you involved/active in?

2. Does members of the MPDF participate in the development planning process for URP?

3. Do you experience any obstacle during the planning and or implementation process of urban renewal projects? If yes what are they?

4. How often do you have plenary sessions when reporting to the community?

5. What are the challenges facing the community of Mitchell's Plain, socially, economically, environmentally?

6. Do you think that URP can improve living conditions of the community in Mitchell's Plain? And can you safely say that the benefits of the URP can be visible after 2010?

APPENDIX II

List of names: people being visited and interviewees

Visits

2 February 2005	: George Penxa	: Director URP City of Cape Town
21 April 2005	: David Cedras	: Manager Mitchell's Plain Sub-Council
26 May 2005	: Office of Pauline v/d Spuy: Environmental Affairs for the City of Cape Town in Wale Street	
10 May 2005	: Ivan Anthony	: Manager URP for Mitchell's Plain
12 May 2005	: Office of Elmien Steyn : Provincial Co-ordinator for URP	

Meetings

14 October 2004	: LED Summit of URP
17 February 2005	: Mayoral Listening Campaign
21 April 2005	: Mitchell's Plain Sub Council Meeting
23 April 2005	: MPDF Plenary Meeting
10 May 2005	: Official Report Back Meeting
10 May 2005	: Nodal Steering Committee
9 June 2005	: Mitchell's Plain Sub Council Meeting
15 September 2005	: Mitchell's Plain Sub Council Meeting

Semi-structured Interviews: Officials of the City of Cape Town

9 May 2005	: Justine Fransman	: Social Development Facilitator
11 May 2005	: Cornelia Finch	: Social Development Facilitator
11 May 2005	: Cindy Ciko	: Social Development Facilitator
24 May 2005	: Allistar Graham	: Development Planner URP
27 May 2005	: Bruce Malagas	: Housing Development
27 May 2005	: Alexander Forbes	: Environmental Project Planning
27 May 2005	: Wesley Paulse	: Human and Economic Development
21July 2005	: Norman Jantjies	: Social Development: Crime Prevention
16 August 2005	: Vanessa Damon	: Social Development – resigned
15 September 2005	: Ivan Anthony	: Manager for URP in Mitchell's Plain
20 September 2005	: Allistar Graham	: Development Planner URP
3 October 2005	: Alexander Forbes	: Environmental Project Planning
3 October 2005	: Graham Visser	: Solid Waste District Manager

Semi-structured interviews: Councillors of the Mitchell's Plain Sub Council

8 July 2005	: Martin Fienies	: Independent Ward Councillor from the Universal Party (Ward 77) Councillor (1)
8 July 2005	: Charlotte Williams	: Political Party Ward Councillor from the National Party and Chairperson of the Mitchell's Plain Sub-council (Ward 79) Councillor (2)
7 October 2005	: Dilshaad De Vries	: Political Party Representative Councillor ANC Councillor (3)

Semi-structured interviews: Members of the Community in Mitchell's Plain

2 February 2005 : Manie Phillips : Portland Resident Association
9 June 2005 : Ammie Jennicke : Lentegeur Community Forum
9 June 2005 : Pat Debba : Lentegeur Community Forum
9 June 2005 : Francis Rajab : Lentegeur Community Forum
9 June 2005 : Ilien Adams : Lentegeur Community Forum
9 June 2005 : Micheal Horn : Dagbreek Informal Settlement-Chair
9 June 2005 : Micheal Horn : Dagbreek Informal Settlement-Chair
9 June 2005 : Micheal Horn : Dagbreek Informal Settlement-Chair
9 June 2005 : Stan Dyalaza : Dagbreek Informal Settlement
9 June 2005 : Livine Bailey : Dagbreek Informal Settlement
2 July 2005 : Fred Abrahams : Resident of Woodlands
2 July 2005 : Pratricia Susa : Community Neigbourhood Watch in Rocklands
2 July 2005 : Moegamat Nazeem : Vice Chairperson of Rocklands Community Neighbourhood Watch and Secretary of the Mitchell's Plain Neighbourhood Watch Association
2 July 2005 : Kevin Bird : Small Business Entrepreneur - Printing
2 July 2005 : Gavin Peters : Small Business Entrepreneur – Printing
2 July 2005 : Sicelo Kleinbooi : Department of Labour at LED Expo
3 July 2005 : Noel Flowers : Resident from New Woodlands
3 July 2005 : Janine Van Rooi : Youth on-line from Beaconvalley
3 July 2005 : Walied Hendricks/Mr Hoesein/ : Fruit and Vegetables opposite Westridge Mall on the corner of Morgenster and Weltevreden Parkway
3 July 2005 : Mita Mdinga : Khayamandi Informal Settlement
3 July 2005 : Margareth Mvetye : Khayamandi Informal Settlement
3 July 2005 : Harris Mlokoti : Khayamandi Informal Settlement
8 July 2005 : Vincent Morris : Mitchell's Plain resident selling scrap
8 July 2005 : Joanna Adendorf : Mitchell's Plain resident selling scrap
8 July 2005 : Ivor Adams : Woodlands- unemployed 23 years old
8 July 2005 : Andre Lewis : Woodlands-unemployed 26 years old
8 July 2005 : Pat v/d Westhuizen : Woodlands-unemployed 24 years old
8 July 2005 : Andries Coleman : Silencer business on Highlands Street
14 October 2005 : Mr T Gilbert : Taxi Driver at Minibus Terminus
14 October 2005 : Mr I Swanepoel : Taxi Co-ordinator at Minibus Terminus
14 October 2005 : Mr JJ Krige : Taxi Linesman at Minibus Terminus
14 October 2005 : Grace Mayambila : Minibus commuter from Morgenster
14 October 2005 : Anonymous : Taxi Drivers at Minibus Terminus
14 October 2005 : Anonymous : Two Golden Arrows Bus Drivers and Inspector

Semi-structured Interviews: Mitchell's Plain Development Forum

25 May 2005 : Cee Jay Willaims : Head Economic Development Sector
2 July 2005 : Farouk Davids : Youth Development Sector
20 September 2005 : Norman Jantjies : Head Crime Prevention Sector
Telephonic conversations
21 October 2005 : Danny Christians : Head Environment
24 October 2005 : Daphne Jansen : Head Women's Sector
24 October 2005 : Clinton Dixon : Assistant Secretary - resigned