

CROSS, C
Presentation at the Wits
Workshop on the Challenges
of Informal Settlements

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Mooch.

'Breaking new ground' at the grass roots

Conflicts in Crossroads and their implications for new housing programmes

HSRC RESEARCH OUTPUTS
3319

*'1 Breaking new ground' and the
10 Year Review*

The new housing policy

The N2 Gateway scheme as the lead pilot

The Ten Year Review area case studies

The new housing policy for the informal settlements:

- Increases the existing subsidy and widens eligibility (but no orphans, no illegal immigrants)
- Intends and rewards intensive community involvement from start of planning
- More money for quality top structure – R 25 000 +
- Planning and management vest at municipal level, with 10 pct municipal contribution
- Area-based or community-based delivery, not individual access
- Fast track, either upgrade or greenfields

Government's policy vision for ending informal occupation

- Aware of urban in-migration rising
- Aware increasing share of population in shacks in spite of strong housing delivery
- Notes subsidy list only takes in small part of backlog
- Engages past complaints about housing delivery:
 - Quality, speed, cost, access for the poor
- Recurrent problems not all dealt with

The Ten Year Review area case studies

- Government-commissioned wide study of national delivery performance since 1994
- HSRC did 8 area studies of delivery
- Alexandra URP, Inanda, Nelspruit area, and Crossroads, including New Crossroads and stymied Boystown shack area development – also others
- Housing as a main theme, also services
- Interviews with officials, councillors, NGOs, focus group, street interviews, local news stories

2 Housing at Crossroads

*What stopped housing delivery in the
Boystown housing phase?*

Boystown and the N2 Gateway

lead pilot

- Phased in-situ upgrading implemented by municipalities in 9 pilots, one per province
- Lead pilot scheme will be in shack areas along Cape Town's planned N2 high-speed transport corridor linking airport to CBD
- Boystown scheme at Crossroads, also settlements in Gugulethu, Langa, Khayelitsha – 8 projects
- Demand estimated at 10 000 dwelling units
- 48 ha available, 4 storey units @ 150 per ha
- That's 7200 units, shortfall of 2 800

Historical dynamics at Crossroads

- Violent history during anti-apartheid struggle – shacklords vs modern anti-government forces
- Underneath, rural vs urban institutions – shacklords as chiefs vs committee structures
- During struggle various groups and factions expelled and resettled
- 1986, shacklords losing ground, with govt backing they burn out the progressive side
- Post-apartheid community inherits violence and turbulence through the 1990s, and again 2003

Housing and shacks after 1994

- After 1994, government tries to bring Crossroads a decent life through housing delivery and services
- Four housing phases completed since 1994 and turbulence gradually dies down
- Approach is project-driven, phase-based, some tailoring to needs of youth, etc
- Internal demand for housing is rising sharply, demand for new schemes, criticism of RDP housing quality, expressed preference for shacks
- 2003, pockets of shacks left in sea of backyards

Violence, politics and housing at the grass roots

- 2003, housing delivery crashes – northern Boystown phase 5 and southern ISLP phase 3.2 stop due to violence
- Street crime and weakening services causing widespread dissatisfaction
- New ANC city admin makes bad move and splits ward 33 to establish new councillor
- Conflict breaks out over housing access
- Crossroads area ward councillors can't keep the lid on and are reported to be involved in violence

Grass roots institutions in housing politics

- Case interviews reflect sharp disjuncture where bureaucratic housing admin meets grass roots
- Local ward institutions are weak and imposed from top
- Councillors have to approve housing and services schemes but feel marginalized, out of loop
- Aspirations are rural, around getting control of land to allocate and do own housing schemes
- City services withdrawing from townships, appointing sub-contractors – not monitored, some are crooks

Breaking away? Insurgent leaders contest control of housing

- 2003 anger around unsatisfactory housing process creates climate for faction leaders, insurgency
- Southern ISLP phase contested by ward youth, 40 houses held by criminals – completed 2004
- Northern Boystown phase 1500 units to accommodate expelled faction, aspiring leader claims control and shots fired – still stopped
- Boystown leader coopted by DA, ward youth leaders by ANC, all now in politics and protected
- Boystown to go ahead under new N2 pilot

3 Considering modes of delivery

*Contradictory demands around
project-driven delivery create
pressures around institutions and
launch grassroots insurgent
leaderships*

Pressures against the new housing policy

- New housing policy in shack areas tries to square old circles: fast mass delivery plus customized choice and better product
- Comes down on side of industrial mass project approach, with sideline in temp job creation and intensive consultation
- Momentum and the project-based approach may be basically opposed to consultation and choice
- Crossroads shows weak and conflicted local institutions pivotal to collapse of momentum and breakdown of delivery

Pressures around consultation

- Mass delivery with project management approach requires momentum
- But tries to offer PHP results with mass methods
- Consultation on range of options goes via ward committees and community liaison officials
- Requiring strong and legitimate community institutions to build consensus – this is often doubtful, shack areas are often split
- Delays can crack open community faultlines and stop delivery

Participation approaches on scale?

- Rust (2002) notes that project focus is inimical to households' incentive to improve homes, and can constrain participation
- Tomlinson (2002) frets that PHP participation process will always be too slow – go project route
- Adams' Nelspruit 10 Year study shows PHP succeeding well when under little pressure
- Roefs & Naidoo's Alex 10 Year study underlines key demand for momentum in large scale delivery
- Crossroads 10 Year study reminds us of rural communal governance system contesting control

Some further pitfalls?

- New housing policy tries to offer choice – on project basis will it lock out individual initiative?
- Local labour and emerging contractors boost jobs – but cost effective? Delays?
- New approach tries to avoid shacking with better product – will new owners give up on building backyards and consolidate instead?
- Can getting a better quality housing product hold off the informal property market?
- Can it deal with increasing internal density and demand to house community youth?

What do people in communities want that they aren't getting?

- If shacklords and/or shack building are the alternative to formal delivery, what do they offer?
 - They foreground community priorities and values
 - They offer direct access to sympathetic, non-bureaucratic institutions
 - They locate control of housing inside the community
- Insurgent leaderships will come forward as shacklord regimes if allowed to – will the new housing policy succeed fast enough to exclude this dynamic?

4 Going forward with new housing approaches

Constraints around participation

Constraints around speed

*Constraints around insurgent
leadership*

*Where do we look next to promote
housing delivery and cut back
shack building?*

Finding the limits for new approaches?

The 10 Year cases put the question, can participative delivery only be done in relatively slow, small-scale projects?

- In Crossroads, so far not able to keep much simpler, standardized project delivering at speed
- New pilots will be highly complex, great numbers of choices and also opportunities for deadlock
- For insurgent leaders, more on offer is more to fight for, more to lose

Can this approach develop momentum? Or is it headed for breakdown?

Institutional factors: being radical?

- Cross-pressures at the local level are powerful, and not acknowledged
- The new policy adds on demands and requirements but doesn't address root-level conflicts
- Much of urban Africa has signed off land and housing allocation to rural-type grass-roots systems
- Can a project management approach deal with this? Can party-list councillors and CLOs?

We may need to take a long look at institutional factors at the grass roots if we want to eliminate shack housing