What is a social audit?

A social audit is a community-led process of reviewing of crucial documents to determine whether the public expenditure and service delivery outcomes reported by the government really reflect the public money spent and the services received by the community.

Members of the community collectively participate in a process of verifying government (or private company) documents by comparing them with the realities on the ground and the experiences of the community. Evidence collected during the audit is then reported to the responsible authorities at a public meeting.

Community testimony, knowledge, and experience are a legitimate and central part of this evidence. Government documents may include budgets and reported expenditure, tenders or contracts, invoices and receipts, as well as supporting laws, reports, policies, plans, or norms and standards.

A social audit provides a way to build effective and meaningful public participation in poor and working class communities by providing a means for the community to engage with the governance processes that affect their lives.

Social audits empower communities to gather and legitimise evidence of their experience of service delivery, and through this process enables them to claim and realise their constitutional rights to democratic participation and accountable government.

Social audits build community power, deepening the culture of participatory democracy and public deliberation. They provide an opportunity for poor and working class people to be heard, and a space for people who have been excluded and discriminated against to achieve a measure of justice and hold government to account.
THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL AUDITS

They help to realise Constitutional Rights and build community power

Social audits promote active citizenship and help those who are most vulnerable to exercise their constitutional rights. In a highly unequal society, where so many live without access to decent health care, employment, or education, social audits create opportunities for communities to organise themselves and build community power.

They are a way for poor and working class people to make themselves heard. In the face of unfulfilled promises of justice and equality, social audits allow communities to claim their constitutional right to participate in governance and improve government accountability and performance. In this way, community-led social audits can help poor and working class people contribute to deepening democracy and improving the lives of all people.

They should be part of a broader advocacy campaign

Social audits are typically carried out as part of a broader advocacy campaign and cannot be used as an isolated strategy for social change. Social change takes time and single events seldom make a significant and lasting impact. Social audits are most effective when used alongside other advocacy tactics, to draw attention to problems and to build legitimacy for demands.

They gather evidence and legitimise community experience

Social audits aim to legitimise the experiences and knowledge of the community as forms of evidence. Personal stories and testimonies are central to the evidence base of a social audit. They challenge the hegemonic and technocratic approach of government administrations by placing community experience and knowledge at the centre of participation and deliberation. This is an important element of community empowerment which lies at the heart of the social audit methodology. It is also one of the key differences between a survey of a community by outsiders, and a community-led social audit.

They are led by the community

Social audits are conducted by residents living in a community and are concerned with issues identified by that community. They are conducted in the language of residents and are inclusive processes in which everybody, especially women and young people, can participate and make a contribution.

They examine and verify government documents

Social audits require access to official government (or private company) documents. This may include budgets and reported expenditure, tenders and contracts, invoices and receipts, as well as supporting laws, reports, policies, plans, and norms and standards. By gathering evidence and forming an understanding of what to expect from government, communities can verify official obligations and commitments against their own experiences of a particular service. Verification of official records includes interviews with community members about their experiences of a particular service and direct findings of infrastructure and service delivery. This process can require a significant investment of time and resources from community organisations and community members.

They hold Government accountable through Public Meetings

Social audits include a public hearing where community members can present their observations and experiences, and where government officials have an opportunity to respond. This creates a forum for residents to openly raise and deliberate on the issues that affect their everyday lives in the presence of the government officials who are responsible for service delivery. This process can promote government accountability and bring about justice for people whose rights have been violated. Ideally it should be a space for community and government stakeholders to engage constructively about issues and come up with solutions. Government officials are held accountable at the meeting by being pressed to make commitments to take remedial action and to report back to residents within a specified timeframe. This most often requires follow-up strategies to ensure that officials are held to these commitments and that those who took part in the process are regularly informed of progress.

They are nonpartisan

Social audits may be political but are explicitly not based on party politics. They should facilitate broad public scrutiny of local, provincial, and national government, irrespective of which party is in power. Being nonpartisan is crucial if the social audits and public hearings are to be open spaces that are free of coercion. Being open and clear about this will also help to counter claims by political leaders that the social audit process is a witch-hunt or driven by organisations with political party affiliations or agendas.
An Isolated Location

Wolverivier is a new relocation camp built by the City of Cape Town and is located on a farm 30 km to the north of Cape Town. The turnoff to Wolverivier from the N7 is a few kilometres past the Vissershoek landfill site. It lies on the Old Mamre Road (R304) which cuts diagonally north west from the N7.
WOLWERIVIER HISTORY

Skandaalkamp (also known as Frankdale) was an informal settlement that was established in the 1970s, 23 kilometres north of Cape Town, on the highway leading to Malmesbury. The founding residents brewed beer to sell to road workers housed at the nearby Roodakkies hostel. Later on, people were attracted to the settlement because it was next to the Vissershok landfill site.

For many years, residents from Skandaalkamp made a living by collecting discarded food and scrap destined for the dump. Others worked piecemeal jobs in the area.

However, since at least 2006, the City has been looking at options to relocate the residents of Skandaalkamp as a prerequisite for extending the operating permit for the dump.

Initially the City had hoped to move residents to a different location on site, but in 2007 the City began looking for an alternative site nearby.

Several possibilities nearby were considered, but these were found to be unsuitable in the end, or unworkable due to opposition from local residents and landowners. Finally, the City settled on a portion of the Wolwerivier farm, that was bought by the Human Settlements Directorate.

An Environment Impact Assessment for the development of the relocation camp was completed in 2011, and the City asked for permission to establish a township from the Western Cape Provincial Government soon after.

In 2012, the Western Cape Provincial Government granted an Environmental Authorisation to the City for the construction of, Wolwerivier and over the next two years the City proceeded to tender for the civil engineering and housing work.

Although the settlement was meant to accommodate residents of Skandaalkamp, in time, other smaller communities living nearby were included in the plans. These were residents living on the Wolwerivier farm, as well as others from Roodakkies, Spoormanikamp, Takkegat and Richwood.

In June 2014, the first families were relocated from Richwood to a site next to the Wolwerivier development because the site was not ready yet. They are still living in shacks waiting for the second relocation to Wolwerivier development.

Throughout 2014 and 2015, City officials from the Human Settlements Directorate conducted a number of relocation committee meetings with the leaders of Skandaalkamp about the move.

In October 2014, the City announced in a press statement that construction on 500 units at Wolwerivier had started.

Towards the end of the year, City officials surveyed the households in Skandaalkamp to create a beneficiary list for allocating units at Wolwerivier.

The survey was completed in February 2015. The City found that there were 286 households that would each be allocated a unit.

Starting on 3 July 2015, the City loaded people and their possessions on trucks and relocated them from Skandaalkamp to Wolwerivier. The relocation was supposed to occur over several weeks and phases.

In the end they moved all of the families in three days. Residents were left traumatised by the move. Many had their old homes knocked down before they could pack up and some were forced to leave belongings, pets and livestock behind.

In some instances, residents were not at home when the City arrived to demolish their structures, and when they came back they found everything gone.

Below: Empty plots. Skandaalkamp from above after the relocation. Bottom: Nkosimayibongwe Jongas Church before and after the relocation.
THE NEED FOR A SOCIAL AUDIT

Most residents at Wolwerivier feel that the new units are better quality than their shacks at Skandaalkamp and are currently enjoying access to water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity. The environment is also healthier and less polluted than at the dump.

However, residents began to experience a number of challenges after the relocation. Many of these had been discussed before (housing allocation and loss of jobs) and some were unexpected (snakes).

Ndifuna Ukwazi began to engage members of the leadership committee shortly before the move. NU helped to articulate some of the challenges in a memorandum to the City’s Human Settlements, Social Development and Health directorates.

After significant delay, Mayco Member for Human Settlements, Ms Benedicta van Minnen agreed to meeting with the leadership committee on the condition that they came to the Civic Centre. When Ms van Minnen heard that the residents were being assisted by Ndifuna Ukwazi staff, whom were invited by residents to attend the meeting, she cancelled the meeting.

Since then, many of the most pressing challenges raised in the memorandum have been left unresolved. With the failure of a memorandum and request for meeting to illicit an engagement with the City, a renewed strategy was needed for identifying and articulating these challenges to help the residents engage the City.

The Wolwerivier social audit is therefore a second attempt at engaging the City since the relocation from Skandaalkamp and elsewhere.

TIMELINE OF THE WOLWERIVIER SOCIAL AUDIT

Step 1: Holding a mass meeting and establishing a mandate

1 October 2015: Community Leaders engagement Meeting: Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU) met with the community leaders to explain how a social audit could assist, and that a community mandate was needed to proceed.

7 October 2015: Community Engagement Meeting: Residents held a mass meeting together with community leaders and gave NU a mandate to assist them in conducting a social audit.

Step 2: Preparing and organising the participants

8 October 2015: Door to door: Wolwerivier community leaders conducted a door-to-door visits to find participants to take part in the social audit.

10 October 2015: Focus Groups: Participants worked in focus groups to identify the main issues that the social audit could focus on.

Step 3: Training participants

19 - 20 October 2015: Training: Participants learnt about the social audit process and principles.

22 - 23 October 2015: Document Analysis: Participants studied the EAs and the housing Beneficiary List.

Step 4: Developing and Testing the social audit questionnaire

26 - 27 October 2015: The participants made questionnaires based on the issues they wanted to gather evidence and testimony on and the information they found in the EAs and the housing Beneficiary List they wanted to verify. Everyone tested the questionnaires on the nearest houses to see if they were easy to use.
Step 5: Gathering evidence in the community
28 October - 11 November 2015 Participants conducted surveys. They interviewed residents in each structure and verified infrastructure.

Step 6: Capturing community experiences and testimonies for the Public Hearing.
12 November 2015 Participants listened to the experiences of residents and recorded it down as testimony. Ndifuna Ukwazi staff conducted six longer and more in depth interviews with select residents.

Step 7: Agreeing on the main Findings and organising the evidence
13 November 2015 Participants reviewed all the evidence that was collected and agreed on the main findings.
14 November 2015 NU staff presented the findings to residents and discussed what should be added or removed.

Step 8: Preparing for the Public Meeting
16 - 18 November 2015 NU helped to write up the main parts from the EA, the EIA and the Relocation Committee Meeting minutes, together with the findings and analysis. Staff helped to prepare for a public meeting. The residents practised presentations from the report to present at the public hearing.

Step 9: Hosting Public Meeting
21 November 2015 The residents of Wolwerivier invited the City officials and the ward councillors to a public meeting to present the findings and testimony. They hope that the officials will attend, listen and commit to responding to the recommendations.

Step 10: Reflecting and following up
After the social audit, residents will continue to engage the City to ensure that any commitments made are implemented.

DOCUMENTS USED

Social audit participants and verified a number of documents. For many of the findings we compare the reality on the ground to what the documents state. We refer to the following documents in this report and use *italics* when we quote from them:

**Public Participation** - A series of letters from a range of stakeholders and meeting minutes during the public participation phase on the establishment of Wolwerivier. Many issues the participants found in the social audit were first raised here.

**Environmental Impact Assessment 2011 (EIA)** - A statutory report which lists all of the benefits and risk of the proposal for the environment and people. The City should have been aware of the issues raised here.

**Environmental Authorisation 2012 (EA)** - A letter from the Provincial Government to the City, giving permission to establish Wolwerivier. Many issues the participants found in the social audit were predicted here.

**Relocation Committee Meetings 2014/2015** - A series of meeting minutes between City officials and residents of the informal settlements where they discussed the plans for the move. Many issues the participants found in the social audit were discussed here and some commitments and promises were made.

**Unit Occupation Agreement 2015** - Agreements that the City asked beneficiaries to sign when they occupied the units. It states the rules that the City expects residents to follow. An example is attached as Appendix B.
PART C: FINDINGS
FINDING 1: SOME HOUSEHOLDS WERE NOT ALLOCATED STRUCTURES

a) Some people from Skandaalkamp were not given units

The City’s household survey of families in Skandaalkamp, completed in February 2015, was used for the beneficiary list for housing allocation in Wolwerrivier. The social audit identified 51 residents who said that they were living in Skandaalkamp but had not been allocated houses in Wolwerrivier. (See the Appendices for the full list).

b) Some people were on the beneficiary list and were not given units

Five of these 51 residents were actually on the beneficiary list as shack “owners” at Skandaalkamp, but they indicated that they did not receive units (See the Appendices for the full list). This has not been verified.

c) Households with boarders were not accommodated

Residents in Skandaalkamp often built extra rooms or another shack on the plot to host boarders and earn income. In some instances, the beneficiary list grouped adult boarders into the same unit as their landlords. This meant that when structures in Wolwerrivier were allocated to people, some boarders had to share structures with households that they were unrelated to. Nonsuzi Ntongana (Unit 35), says, “The situation in the house is not okay, because Ayanda (with whom I share the house) is a boarder and not my family. He is a man and I am a woman. But, we do not have a choice” (See the Appendices for a full list of affected households and issues).

In other instances, the City provided a house to the owner and not to the boarder, even where the boarder had been living in Skandaalkamp for many years. Masubulele Salimane (Unit 168), says, “He was my neighbour when we lived in Frankdale (Skandaalkamp). I don’t have a place to stay because the owner of the house is here” (See the Appendices for a full list of affected households and issues).

d) Households were grouped in the same units

Some households lived together in Skandaalkamp. This was possible because residents could build extra rooms. At Wolwerrivier, some distinct households, often consisting of adult relatives, were grouped together. This is a concern, because Wolwerrivier units only contain one open plan living space. 31-year old Xolela Ndimza (Unit 113) says, “When they surveyed the families for allocating the houses, I was told that, as a mother with a young child, I would be given a separate structure for us to live in. But, when we moved it was only my uncle who received a new place at Wolwerrivier. Now we all live together, but we do not always feel welcome and there is no privacy for any of us. When my uncle brings a girlfriend around, my child and I must leave and go visit somewhere else.” Thuso Sanya (Unit 1) had a similar experience: “There is no privacy for us, because I have a wife and I am staying with my brother in Wolwerrivier” (See the Appendices for a full list of affected households).

e) Adults grouped with parents or relatives:

Young adults were placed in the same house as their parents, or they were placed with their relatives. This would not normally be a problem, except, the houses are too small to accommodate families like this in a dignified way. As Klara van Wyk (Unit 34) says, “We were put together because we are family, but my son Fabian is old now – he is 18. I cannot even extend my place so we can have privacy. I bath in front of my son.” (See the Appendices for a full list of affected households).

At a relocation committee meeting on 3 February 2015, Anton Terblanche, stated that “large families that they know of will be split and be given two units.”

At a relocation committee meeting on 23 June 2015, Anton Terblanche confirmed that the registered beneficiaries’ lists will be reviewed to look at families that are quite big (number) thus making it inhumane to live comfortably in one unit.”

City officials committed to resolving the issue of large families. But it was not done effectively. The household survey was too simplistic and did not capture the complexity of living arrangements in Skandaalkamp.

f) Some residents of Skandaalkamp were away during the survey

The Skandaalkamp community is concerned that some established residents were not included in the survey and were not allocated units in Wolwerrivier. Khayelitshe Mayekiso (no unit) lived in Skandaalkamp for many years but was left off this list. He says, “When they moved people in July I was left without a place to go. The people left Rooldakkers and Skandaalkamp, but I stayed behind alone with the dogs and the broken shacks and things that people could not carry with them. That was very painful, because I saw children who grew up before my eyes getting homes.”

At a relocation committee meeting on 4 September 2014, Anton Terblanche, “expressed a concern about people who are not being honest. They were bringing ID copies of people who were not present claiming that they reside in Skandaal. He told the leaders they should present themselves.”

At a relocation committee meeting on 3 February 2015, Anton Terblanche acknowledged that, “the survey has not been completed in Skandaal due to the fact that there are shacks that are constantly locked and nobody is able to get hold of the owners.” Thozama Qabongwana, advised that some shack owners “work outside the area and they usually come back once a month. That is the reason they left their ID, so that when the survey is done, they do not miss out.” Anton Terblanche requested that “their names be added to him so that he can see how they can also be accommodated in the development.”

At the relocation committee meeting on 23 June 2015, Anton Terblanche, said that, “those that are not at home during the survey will still be surveyed in due course until they are all captured.”

City officials seem to be sceptical of claims that some residents had difficulty coming back to Skandaalkamp to be included in the survey. Yet Anton Terblanche did commit to ensuring that anyone not at home would be included.
FINDING 2: OVERCROWDING

a) There are too many people in some units

As a result of the move and poor allocation, some of the units are now overcrowded. There is no standard measure of overcrowding in South Africa, but there are many international definitions.

The definition we use here is derived from UN-HABITAT (1991), which is a maximum of two people per habitable room. ‘Habitable’ rooms exclude bathrooms and toilets. The units in Wolwevleier are open plan, but many have been subdivided into two rooms. A unit could be considered overcrowded if there are more than four people living in it. Here are the numbers of units by the number of people of the households that were surveyed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of people</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of units</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 156 of units surveyed, 25 had more than four people living in them. Even if the City disagrees with this definition, it is clear that some units have far too many people living in them. Two units have at least 8 people, and one unit has 9 people.

Overcrowding negatively affects residents’ rights to human dignity. School children struggle for space to do homework, people have to bathe and dress in front of each other and children have to share beds with one another or with adults. As a result, some of the adult men have taken to sleeping in the bushes at times around the site.

b) Residents are unable to extend their units

In Skandaalpamp, residents could extend their shacks to accommodate growing families or boarders, but this is not easy in Wolwevleier. The current unit occupation agreement states that, “Extension or alterations to the existing structure is not advisable as it may compromise the unit’s structural integrity.” It states that, “Applications for extension will be subsequent to a formal application and strict conditions if approved.”

At a relocation committee meeting on 8 June 2015, Anton Terblanche stated that, “a flexible occupational agreement will be signed with beneficiaries, which allows them to extend their units, using similar material of which the current structures are constructed of. The possibility of buying an extension package from the contractor that built the units will be explored.”

At a later meeting on 23 June 2015, Siraj Somsheidin stated that, “the current contractor has stated it will not be able to supply the material that (the) only thing they can do is provide them with the details of the supplier and each individual can source it from there.”

The City is making it very difficult for residents to take actions to improve their circumstances. They must apply for permission and then have to source similar expensive materials, which few can afford. In the past, when residents have used other materials, the City demolished these extensions.

Liena September was a boarder at Skandaalpamp before the relocation to Wolwevleier. She was not allocated a unit and now lives with her children and partner in the same room as another family.
FINDING 3: THE RELOCATION OF MORE RESIDENTS FROM ELSEWHERE IS CAUSING TENSION

Wolwerivier has nearly 500 units on the site. Many are still empty. In September 2015 City officials decided to move 7 families from Blikkiesdorp. Many residents of Wolwerivier felt that they had not been consulted. City officials such as Councillor Nora Grose have stated that only residents on the beneficiary list are allocated a house, and yet in this case the City placed families that were not on the list. Residents felt that this was unfair considering that some of their own community members have not been allocated houses, resulting in overcrowding.

Over that weekend some desperate residents decided to occupy empty houses. The City responded with force using the Anti-Land Invasion Unit. This lead to protests and a number of residents were arrested. The City has hired private security contractors to monitor the empty houses and a dog handling company which posts guard dogs permanently at the site next to the creche.

COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

Before relocating any further households to Wolwerivier, the City must:

>> Conduct a new household survey of the current residents

>> Allocate units to the residents from Skandaalkamp that were not included the beneficiary list but have a legitimate claim. This should be done on a case by case basis in a fair and transparent way.

>> Allocate units to households that are living in undignified arrangements, on a case by case basis. This should be done in a fair and transparent way.

>> The City should investigate claims by some beneficiaries that they were on the list for housing allocation, but did not receive structures.
FINDING 4: WOLFERIVIER RESIDENTS LOST LIVELIHOODS DUE TO THE RELOCATION AND ARE STRUGGLING WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

a) Many residents are struggling with unemployment due to the relocation

In Skandaalkamp, many residents relied on the Vissershok dump for their livelihood. From the dump, many residents were able to gather food and scrap which they sold to dealers.

Some residents were able to access work opportunities in suburbs and on farms nearby, while others were able to earn an income through selling alcohol, running spaza shops, hosting boarders, or renting their shacks out.

This has changed since residents were moved to Wolwerivier. Boniswa Somo (Unit 14) says, “I am no longer a vendor and do not have any income. There is no way of making a living here.” The City knew that residents relied on the dump for work.

In fact this challenge was consistently raised by a number of people and City departments during the public participation process.

Tara Collier, 2010: “All the Vissershok people have basic employment in the close vicinity where they live in the dump, they provide a service to the dump as well as creating a job for themselves by sorting the rubbish that comes in daily into recyclable and non recyclable goods. You won’t be enriching these people’s lives by moving them you will be taking what little they have away from them...Should these people not be moved closer to areas that will be more beneficial to them? Closer to clinics, transport, shops, schools?”

B Calvosa, 8 September 2010: “...we do not understand why you want to move them to a worse place than they have now. They have been waiting a long time for a better chance in life, and moving them further away from work opportunities and easy access to transport, schools, hospitals, shops (etc.).”

The EIA (2011, Appendix 1b) noted that “many of the residents of the informal settlements were previously making a livelihood from waste picking from the landfill site” or that they were “employed in the area” (pg 42).

The residents also raised their concerns over losing access to the dump to City officials during relocation committee meetings.

On 8 June 2015 at the relocation committee meeting, the “issue [was raised] about people who deal with scrap metal and materials and whether special arrangements will be made for them.” Anton Terblanche responded that the committee members, “must be careful about requesting specific considerations, as not all requests can be dealt with within the project.”

The EA (2012, pg8) recommends that “Commercial erven and/or residential erven large enough to allow for spaza shops should be provided for.”

The City officials were asked about access to work and the effect of the move on livelihoods a number of times and were unable to provide answers. The City clearly ignored valid objections that were raised during the public participation phase and did not put in place clear plans to mitigate the negative effects of the move on employment.

Resident Thozama Qobongwana (Unit 199) also reports that the City failed to honour a promise that a depot for dump trucks be established at Wolwerivier so that residents there could continue with their scrap collection livelihood.
b) Wolwerivier is isolated and traveling distances are a challenge for residents seeking employment

Although Vissershok dump is only 7km away from Wolwerivier, residents are now unable to continue scrap picking and recycling. Many do not have access to a car or vehicle and so they are unable to transport the scrap back to Wolwerivier and there is nowhere safe to store scrap at the dump site overnight.

Wolwerivier is located on the Old Mamre Road (R304). In order to get to most nearby suburbs, residents need to walk 4km to the N7 to hitchhike or catch a taxi, or walk 7km to Melkbostrand to access public transport there. Jongiliwe Tete (Unit 218) says, “In terms of job opportunities we suffer a lot because while we were living in Skandaalkamp, we used to be hired for maybe a week. But, now in Wolwerivier we have nothing. The dump site (where we used to find some income) is too far away now.”

The prospect of finding a job is hindered by the distances from work opportunities and the travel expenses incurred in accessing these areas. In the words of Klara van Wyk (Unit 34): “It is more expensive to travel to work from here, so there is more poverty.”

Unemployment has in turn led to a lack of security and an increase in petty crime, residents report. Lindiswa Gaba (Unit 195) says, “There is also the lack of transport and jobs, and an increase in crime. At Skandaalkamp we were getting scrap from the dump. Now there is no scrap, so there has been an increase in house breakings and robberies.”

Of 168 residents surveyed during the social audit, 90 indicated they had access to some kind of work before the move, while only 43 could say that the same applied at Wolwerivier.

The impact of the distance on livelihoods was raised during the public participation process.

Louis Lourens, 30 October 2010: “Firstly I am concerned about how the people will arrange transport to and from work now that they’re 10km further from their current employment.”

B Fairbanks, 24 August 2010: “Most of the inhabitants of the Frankdale and Roodakkies settlements who are actively employed work within close proximity of their settlements. The brick field, recycling operations, industrial and domestic employment all fall within walking distance for these already financially challenged people. By moving them to Wolwerivier no new opportunities will arise and they will be even further away from growing and developing industrial areas like Killarney Gardens, Raceway Park and the Stables.

The EA (2012, pg 15) acknowledged that the resettlement of the Vissershok residents at Wolwerivier will result in: “isolation of a very poor community resulting in long distances from places of employment, places of education, health facilities, basic infrastructure, shops etc.”

It is clear that the isolation and distances, combined with the lack of transport have negatively affected residents access to livelihoods and their safety and security.

C) The Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) jobs were unfairly withheld

After the relocation, officials from the Social Development Directorate indicated that EPWP jobs would be made available to Skandaalkamp residents.

In November 2015 (4 months after the relocation) jobs were offered to 30 adults, mostly for cleaning next to the N7. The induction for the work took place on 4 November 2015, but workers reported that they were sent home the following day by Nomfundo Mdingi, allegedly because the community was working with Ndifiuna Ukwazi to conduct the social audit.

After complaints, Councillor Nora Grose investigated and ensured that the EPWP work would go ahead and it started the following week. The workers were very happy to have access to an income over the Christmas period.

Although very welcome, the EPWP work has only a limited impact and is not currently planned to extend beyond February 2016. Residents are confused as to why certain people were chosen and some feel the selection was unfair. None of the workers are Coloured, and none are older than 50.

Employed residents are concerned about the future, after the contract work ends. Nokubonga Mankayi (Unit 146) says, “When my contract [job] ends, I don’t know where to go look for another job because this place is far from better places [and work opportunities].”

Lindela Mthonjeni is now on an EPWP contract for temporary work.
FINDING 5: SOME RESIDENTS DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT

a) Residents have lost the opportunity to find supplementary food at the dump

The Vissershok dump was not only a source of income through collecting, recycling, repurposing and selling discarded materials. It was also a source of food. Many participants in the social audit mentioned that discarded, yet edible, food from supermarkets and shops throughout Cape Town was a supplementary source of food for households in the Skandaalpark. While it must be acknowledged that discarded food is not a desirable or ideal source of food security for a poor community, for many Skandaalpark residents it was better than nothing.

John Mikel (Unit 220), who had lived at Skandaalpark since 1991 and has six children, some of whom he still cares for, explained the situation at Skandaalpark and how his family’s food security has been affected since the move and what interventions he has had to make as a result. You can read his testimony in full in Part D.

The lack of work opportunities and the loss of established livelihoods has resulted in a community which is more food insecure than it was before. Says Nomzimphawe Magana (Unit 273), “I have no work, I am hungry even now. I survive with a child support grant for four children.”

b) There are fewer options for subsistence farming at Wolwerivier

Another source of food for some families in Skandaalpark was subsistence farming of livestock and vegetables. These livelihoods have been disrupted by the relocation to Wolwerivier. Nkosizimayibongwe Jonga (Unit 10), who had lived in Skandaalpark since 2010, complained that he was no longer able to supplement his family’s food stock by growing vegetables: “I used to grow my own vegetables to sell and feed our children – spinach, beans, melies and carrots. I spent a lot of time getting the soil to be productive in Skandaalpark, but here in Wolwerivier the soil is too hard and too sandy. Nothing will grow here.”

The City was aware that subsistence farming was important for food security at Skandaalpark:

On 8 June 2015, at a relocation committee meeting with City officials, it was raised that “some who have gardens in their yards at the moment, inquired whether they would be able to continue with their activities.”

The City included gardening opportunities as part of the food plan for the Wolwerivier community as noted in the Relocation Committee’s meeting on 29 May 2014. During this meeting, vegetable gardening was referred to as “part of the greater plan for food sustainability.”

The inclusion of community garden spaces seemed to be definite when Human Settlements’ Anton Terblanche noted at another such meeting on 8 June 2015 that, “[T]here has been land put aside for communal gardening which will be facilitated by the ECD through Social Development.”

The EA (2012, pg8) recommends that “Each plot should be a reasonable size to allow for activities such as, inter alia, subsistence farming.” However, it is clear that the plots are not large enough to sustain the needed level of subsistence farming and the soil is rocky and unsuitable. It is understood that, to mitigate this, the City has set aside a plot at the entrance of Wolwerivier for food gardens. Yet, residents complained that this area has not been cleared, prepared and subdivided for farming. Social Development has assisted with establishing a food garden at the creche, but this garden is yielding fewer vegetables than the gardens at Skandaalpark did, residents say.
COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City has not implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 1.1 states: “Commercial erven and/or residential erven large enough to allow for spaza shops should be provided for.”

>> Section 3.1 states: “Each plot should be a reasonable size to allow for activities such as, inter alia, subsistence farming.”

The City must:

>> Commit to providing more EPWP opportunities to the residents of Wolwerivier:
   The work opportunities should be for all ages
   The allocation process should be fair and transparent
   The work should be rotated between residents
   Should be offered for a longer period of time.

>> Investigate the actions of Nomfundo Mdini regarding the allegations that she discontinued the EPWP work for a period because the residents were associating with Ndifuna Ukwazi.

>> Ensure that regular and reliable public transport is provided to residents at Wolwerivier

>> Bring together private and public sector partners to provide skills training programmes and work opportunities.

>> Allow residents to operate licensed taverns and spaza shops from their homes at Wolwerivier, or provide designated areas for this.

>> Clear, prepare and subdivide the land allocated for subsistence farming

>> The Social Development Directorate should set-up or sponsor a food kitchen for residents or coordinate the delivery of food parcels.

According to community leader Thozama Qobongwana, the City had promised that a depot for dump trucks would be established at Wolwerivier so that residents could continue with their scrap collection and recycling work. This has not happened.
FINDING 6: RESIDENTS ARE HAPPY WITH THE IMPROVED UTILITY SERVICES AT WOLWERIVIER, BUT THERE ARE CONCERNS OVER REFUSE COLLECTION

a) Wolwerivier has improved water, sanitation and electricity services

As in many informal settlements in Cape Town, the housing and basic services at Skandaalkamp were of a poor quality. Taps and Mshengu chemical toilets were shared communally, and there was no electricity.

Skandaalkamp experienced the additional burden of being located close to the Vissershok dump site, which was a source of pollution and resulted in an unhealthy living environment. Residents appreciate the improved utility services at Wolwerivier. Lindiswa Gaba (Unit 195), says “I am feeling happy staying here because we have electricity and good sanitation. The children can now watch movies because of the electricity. Even though there are not enough (houses) it is better than before. The only problem is that my house is small. We have to put a mattress on the ground because there is no space for the other bed.”

There is confusion from the residents on whose responsibility it is to fix faults that were in the houses before the residents occupied the houses and where to get spares for broken taps.

At the same time, some residents report that their electricity supply has been tampered with.

The EA (2012, pg 7) states: “Electrical cables must be installed underground or concealed appropriately to avoid visual impacts as far as possible and be tamper proof.”

b) Residents are confused about the refuse collection service

Not everybody understands what to do with their refuse, how and where it will be collected and on what days. In some instances, people have their refuse collected while others do not. It is unclear how refuse collection works in Wolwerivier, due to its erratic nature.

The EA (2012, pg6) states that the City must ensure that “An integrated waste management approach which is based on waste minimisation and incorporates reduction, recycling, re-use and disposal where appropriate must be employed.”

FINDING 7: POOR FINISHING AND WORKMANSHIP OF STRUCTURES

a) There are gaps in houses and a lack of insulation

Although Wolwerivier is agreed to be a healthier environment with access to better utility services for the Skandaalkamp community, concerns and challenges over the quality and finishing of the structure remains. In particular residents note that there are gaps between the walls and the floor, which allow snakes, draughts and water when it rains to enter the houses.

There is limited insulation inside the houses apart from bubble wrap. Wolwerivier has no shade and residents complain that this means it is both extremely hot and also quite cold. John Miet (Unit 220), considered the new structure to be less water tight than the one he had left behind in Skandaalkamp: “But even these structures are not up to our standards. The workmanship is poor. We have built shacks all our lives, so we know. When it rains, the water seeps through the cracks between the roof and walls and makes everything damp inside. That is not healthy for the children. When it is hot, the cockroaches use the gaps to come inside.”

According to the Supply Chain Bid Adjudication Committee meeting minutes the total cost of each housing unit amounts to R60 103,24. The breakdown of the cost, the exact specifications for the materials to be used together with the blueprint are available in the Appendices.

While it would seem that the Contractors have met the basic specifications (we cannot verify whether the bubble wrap is flame resistant), the workmanship in places needs attention.

b) The houses are not made of mortar and brick

As with other relocation camps, the City has chosen to build the units out of metal sheeting. This needs to be investigated, especially considering that Wolwerivier is near to Koeberg Nuclear Power Station.

During the public participation, Franz Schlapoff, Manager for Special Planning and Liaison at the City Disaster Risk Management Centre wrote on 28 September 2010: “Material to be used for the structures should be of such to accommodate sheltering in the event of a nuclear release from the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station be brick and mortar.

The EA (2012, pg8) recommends that “Each unit should be built using mortar and brick.”
FINDING 8: THERE ARE NO SHOWERS IN THE HOUSES

Although the residents in Wolwerivier are very happy to have water inside their homes, there is currently only one tap and a basin in the main room and there are no showers. This makes it difficult to meet basic personal hygiene.

Nomahule Plaatjie (Unit 152) said, “They promised us showers to wash ourselves, but this has not been done.” The lack of showers has resulted in people either having to use the basin in the kitchen area to wash, or buckets outside, as illustrated by John Mikiel’s (Unit 220) testimony: “And our only sink is in the kitchen, so if you want to wash after you use the toilet or to clean yourself, must you really do it in between your dishes? No, I am still washing outside as I did at Skandaalkamp. So where is the improvement in that?”

Where there are many people living in one unit, it is difficult, if not impossible, for residents to bathe themselves in privacy.

At a relocation committee meeting on 3 February 2015, Siraj Samadien confirmed that the unit typology had not changed and that the unit would have, “Shower hose with cold water (unit have no geyser)” and that the unit, “will be handed over to the owners without shower wash tray because the City is still procuring a contractor for the wash tray. These will be installed at a later stage.” At that stage, Siraj Samadien requested that, “community representatives consult with their community about where they would like the washing basin to be located in the unit. Three possible locations were pointed out.”

This was confirmed again at a relocation committee meeting on 8 June 2015, by Anton Terblanche who said that, “Water and Sanitation is currently preparing a tender for a service provider to supply the shower wash tray as communicated in previous meetings. The units will therefore initially be handed over without a shower wash tray.”

However, current residents are unaware of the progress on plans to add shower wash trays to their current units. There is concern about whether this plan for unit improvements is still expected to take place and when.

COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City is compliant with these Conditions of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 17.4 states: “Each housing unit must have a minimum of one toilet, one tap and an electricity point.”

The City is not compliant with these Conditions of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 14 states: “An integrated waste management approach which is based on waste minimisation and incorporates reduction, recycling, re-use and disposal where appropriate must be employed.”

>> Section 18.3 states: “Electrical cables must be installed underground or concealed appropriately to avoid visual impacts as far as possible and be tamper proof.”

The City has not followed implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 3.1 states: “Each unit should be built using mortar and brick.”

The City must:

>> Clarify who should fix broken items.

>> Provide refuse bin to all units at Wolwerivier.

>> Provide an information pamphlet that states when refuse collection days are and where refuse bins should be placed in order to be collected.

>> Inspect the units and investigate the issues of gaps and insulation, and seal the units properly.

>> Update residents on progress of the tender and install showers as soon as possible.

The Nuclear Regulator must:

>> Determine whether the houses should be built with brick and mortar.
FINDING 9: THERE ARE NO STREETLIGHTS

Residents complain that the lack of street lights impedes on their personal safety at night as indicated by Khayelitsha Mayekiso (no unit), who says “there is a safety issue, because there are no streetlights and it is very dark and dangerous at night.”

These concerns are shared by Xolelwa Ndinisa (Unit 113), who has to leave her home at night when her uncle instructs her to do so: “When my uncle brings a girlfriend around, my child and I must leave and go visit somewhere else. There are no streetlights here so if we leave at night we have to walk through the dark and that is very unsafe. These things make me very disappointed and angry, because we were expecting streetlights.”

The EA (2012, p7) states that the City must ensure, “Street lighting that complies with the relevant standards must be provided.”

FINDING 10: THERE ARE NO COMMUNITY FACILITIES (SPORTS FIELDS, CHURCHES AND PLAY PARKS)

The loss of a church space was raised as a pressing concern of the Skandaalkamp community during relocation committee meetings in the months prior to the relocation. To date, there are still no churches, community meeting spaces, play parks or sports fields at Wolwerriver. Nkosimaysibongwe Jonga (Unit 10), who practiced as a pastor in Skandaalkamp, described the lack of a church as a “a great loss for the community.”

Lindiswa Gaba (Unit 195) complained that “the City promised us streetlights, sports fields, parks for the children, and tarred roads... But, not one of those promises were kept.”

Indeed, on 29 October 2014, the City’s then Mayoral Committee Member for Human Settlements, Councillor Siyabulela Mankeli, stated, “We are changing the lives of these beneficiaries for the better. When the development is completed, they will have 1:1 services, space to expand their homes, and there will be community facilities and safe spaces for children to play.”

At relocation committee meetings, City officials committed to assist in the process for establishing sports fields and a church. On 3 February 2015, Anton Terblanche said that he would “bring a map of the site to identify the sports field and maybe the church site.”

On 8 June 2015, Anton Terblanche said that sites that 4 sites have been reserved as church sites.

On 23 June 2015, Anton Terblanche said that he would “liaise with Property Management with respect to the procedure that needs to be followed in [in terms of the lease agreement that church owners would have to enter into with the City].”

The EA (2012, p8) recommends that “A sports field and 2 play parks that may also be used as an evacuation gathering point should be provided for.”

But, Jonga, who has the greatest interest in re-establishing the church that he presided over at Wolwerriver, said that he remained uncertain about the process for applying for land to use to build a church.

A charity that runs a creche has been established on the site with the assistance of the City and offers a very good service to the residents, but there is no safe place for these children to play during the afternoons after they are picked up by their parents.
COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City is not compliant with these Conditions of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 17.5 states: “Street lighting that complies with the relevant standards must be provided.”

The City has not followed implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 1.2 states: “A sports field and 2 play parks that may also be used as an evacuation gathering point should be provided for.”

The City must:

>> Install street lights, as indicated in the EA

>> Build at least one suitable sports field

>> Assist in the re-establishment of Churches and places for the community to meet and use communally.

>> Build a park where children can play.
FINDING 11: WOLWERIVIER IS A LESS POLLUTED AND HEALTHIER LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Most residents agree that the living environment at Wolwerivier is healthier than the one at Skandaaldam. Lindiswa Gaba (Unit 195), says: “We are far away from the dump and our health is better now. The chances of getting TB and the children’s allergies have been reduced as a result.”

FINDING 12: THERE ARE SAFETY HAZARDS STEMMING FROM THE ENVIRONMENT AT WOLWERIVIER

a) There are many snakes

One of the concerns consistently raised by residents during the social audit is that there are many snakes that come into the settlement from the bush surrounding Wolwerivier. This affects people’s safety, especially children. Lindiswa Gaba (Unit 195) says, “the children too are not feeling free here, because there are lots snakes.”

This safety concern is compounded by the distance from health care services and the apparent unresponsiveness of emergency medical services when called out to Wolwerivier (discussed in next Finding). John Mketi (Unit 220) says, “So now I wonder what will happen if one of these snakes that come from the bush bites a child, and the ambulance cannot reach us.”

b) The perimeter fence is incomplete

There are many shrubs and bushes around Wolwerivier, and there are gaps in the fence to the back of the settlement. Parents are concerned that their children, who play outside, can fall victim to criminals and rapists who can use these bushes for cover. There is no point having a fence that is incomplete.

The EIA (2011, pg 15) stated that the “entire development will be fenced”. The fence was not completed by the time Skandaaldam’s residents were relocated to Wolwerivier, and this has still not been done.

c) There is no regulation of traffic

There are no roads, pavements or traffic regulations in Wolwerivier, resulting in dangerous and unregulated traffic in an area where there are many pedestrians and children playing outside.

The EIA (2012, pg 8) recommends that “The speed limit on internal roads should be clearly signed and should include speed inhibiting mechanisms like speed bumps and stop streets.”

FINDING 13: RESIDENTS CANNOT EASILY ACCESS HEALTH CARE

a) Ambulance drivers and Fire and Rescue Services struggle to find Wolwerivier

Residents at Wolwerivier expressed concern that emergency services cannot easily find the new settlement when responding to call-outs and there are no signposts on any of the roads leading to Wolwerivier. John Mketi (Unit 220), shared such an experience: “Last week I was very sick, and my wife thought that I might die. She phoned the ambulance, but the drivers do not know this place. By the time you phone them again to check, the people say that ambulance has come and gone past Melkbostrand, because it could not find Wolwerivier.”

b) The mobile clinic dispatched to Wolwerivier does not treat adults

Residents at Wolwerivier have expressed concern that the mobile clinic does not treat adults. It only provides family planning services and treatment for children. Adults complain that they are turned away from the mobile clinic, as in the experience of John Mketi (Unit 220): “When I went to them for help when I had the flu they said no, I must go to the day hospital. Now that is very far to travel and I don’t have any money to do that. So I lie on my bed and wait for the flu to pass.”

The lack of on-site medical services results in additional travel expenses on people. In the words of Nomsikelelo Sesman (Unit 306): “We need a mobile clinic to travel to this place because we are poor and we cannot afford to travel to Killarney Gardens or elsewhere to go to clinic.”

The EIA (2011, pg 43) stated that “there should be beneficial cumulative impacts on the (Skandaaldam) residents and particularly their children in terms of health… this is dependent on the settlement continuing to receive visits from a mobile clinic.”

During meetings between the relocation committee and the City it became clear that provisions for this to be done were not being made. The urgency of this situation was acknowledged by the City in the months prior to the relocation.

On 4 September 2014, Anton Terblanche “reported that there is still no decision yet that has been done about the clinic.” This was still the situation on 8 June 2015, less than a month before the move, when Anton Terblanche reported again that “there are still no clear decisions made (with regard to) health care needs of the beneficiaries at the [Wolwerivier relocation area], it’s a huge concern to him.” At that meeting it “was reported that the mobile clinic that is currently serving the area comes once a month. Ideally, the mobile clinic should visit the IDA once a week as there are a lot of beneficiaries who are on medication to treat TB and HIV.”

Possibly because of the urgency of the situation, Anton Terblanche reported back at the next meeting (on 23 June 2015) that “Cllr. Van Minnen has promised to take it upon (herself) to address the issues of the health care services at the Wolwerivier site. Nomsifundo Mdini was also requested to follow up with Cllr on the Mobile clinic issue.”

The EIA (2012, pg 7) states that the City must ensure “The existing mobile clinic servicing Wolwerivier must be extended to accommodate the increase in population.”
FINDING 14: THERE ARE CONCERNS OVER FIRE SAFETY AT WOLWERIVIER

Since the relocation from Skandaalkamp, two structures have burned down in Wolwerivier. In one instance a man was seriously injured. There are no fire hydrants in Wolwerivier and it is unclear if the structures comply with safety specifications in the Environmental Authorisation.

The EA (2012, pg 7) states that the City must implement the following:

Above ground or raised pillar type fire hydrants (64mm) with a recessed spindle is required to be installed on a dedicated main, in approved positions, throughout the development at a span not greater than 90 meters. A twin booster facility is to be installed on a ring main in close proximity to a main entrance.

The proposed external walls of the structures are to provide a minimum fire resistance rating of 30 minutes or are to be clad on the inside with an approved product that will provide the integrity and stability requirement, as per a Type F wall, in accordance with SABS 0177, Part 2.

Individual structures <80m2) are to be built at a minimum of 1 meter from any lateral boundary of the site (where no openings in the elevation are prevalent) or 3 meters from any adjacent structure subject to relative area of the elevation facade.

Apart from noting the fire hydrants, this social audit did not have the technical expertise to test whether these condition have been met by the City.

FINDING 15: THERE ARE NO SIRENS OR PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEMS IN PLACE

Wolwerivier is situated within the 10-16km Urgent Protection Zone of the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station. Currently, residents have not been informed of procedures in the case of a Nuclear release and there is not systems in place to inform residents should such an event occur.

The EA (2012, pg 7) states that the City must take the necessary steps to have the required Sirens or Public Address Systems in place before the commencement of the operations phase of the proposed development.

Not taking adequate precautions is dangerous for all who live at Wolwerivier.
COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City is not compliant with the Conditions of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 17.6 states: “The existing mobile clinic servicing Wolwerivier must be extended to accommodate the increase in population.”

>> Section 21 states: “The City must take the necessary steps to have the required Sirens or Public Address Systems in place before the commencement of the operations phase of the proposed development.”

>> Section 22.1 states: “Above ground or raised pillar type fire hydrants with a recessed spindle must be installed on a dedicated main, in approved positions, throughout the development.

The City has not followed implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 3.3 states: “The speed limit on internal roads should be clearly signed and should include speed inhibiting mechanisms like speed bumps and stop streets.”

The City must:

>> Take urgent measures to remedy the problem of snakes in the area

>> Inspect and complete the perimeter fence properly.

>> Erect signposts to the area for emergency services. Relevant departments or authorities should be alerted.

>> Erect signposts to regulate traffic

>> Ensure the the mobile clinic visits regularly and treats adults

>> Establish a formal satellite clinic where health care staff can operate from when they visit.

>> Install fire hydrants

>> Investigate whether the contractor used materials to the required fire safety standard in the EA.

>> Rebuild the units that were burnt out.

>> Install sirens and a public address system and ensure residents know the procedure in the case of a nuclear release from Koeberg Power Station.
FINDING 16: SOME CHILDREN ARE NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL

Wolwerivier has a large number of children and teenagers. Our survey of the units is indicative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Creche 0-5yrs</th>
<th>Primary School 6-12yrs</th>
<th>High School 13-16yrs</th>
<th>High School 17-18yrs</th>
<th>Total whose age &gt;18yrs (we did not have)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>total: 172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free scholar transport caters for a limited number of primary school learners, and excludes many high school learners. Because of unemployment, many parents cannot afford to pay the transport fees for their children to attend school. This has resulted in a small number of high school learners not attending school. Klara van Wyk (Unit 34) says, “I cannot afford to take (my 18-year-old son) to school, because schools are too far. The bus only takes primary school children.” Ntomibizone Sibhayisi (Unit 117) says she is, “struggling [with] transport and my child is part-time at school because I don’t have money.” Nceba Dinile (Unit 172), an 18-year-old resident, also reported that “the free bus is only for primary scholars.”

The EIA (2011, pg 42) reported that Skandaalkamp children were “picked up by bus and taken to either the Vaartjie, Philadelphia, or Du Noon schools.”

At a relocation committee meeting on 3 February 2015, City officials assured residents, “that the current scholar transportation bus will still be rendering that service and parents should not take out their kids from their current schools.”

In October 2014 then Mayoral Committee Member for Human Settlements issued a statement that the Western Cape Government was “looking into” the educational needs of the Skandaalkamp community.

At a meeting with the relocation committee on 23 June 2015, less than two weeks before the relocation, Khuliswa Nganze from Social Development “reported following the contact she made with the principals of the affected schools, she has given them the required information what is outstanding the relocation date. She however, reported that they are now going to use the EPWP workers to go door to door and identify the learners that need to be transported.”

The EA (2012, pg 9) recommended that, “A transportation service should be provided for school children to their respective schools.”

That some pupils’ transport needs are not appropriately accommodated represents a failure of the City to honour these commitments.

COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City has not followed implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>> Section 3.4 states: “A transportation service should be provided for school children to their respective schools.”

The City must:

>> Investigate which children are currently not attending school. Liaise with the Western Cape Education Department and the local Primary and High School principals to ensure that all learners are placed in a school for 2016.

The Provincial Government must:

>> Ensure that all learners are placed in a school for 2016.

>> Provide free scholar transport to all learners, including High School.
FINDING 17: WOLWERIVIER IS DEFINED AS EMERGENCY HOUSING, BUT IT IS A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

In the early planning phases, the City characterised Wolwerivier as temporary relocation area (TRA). It has built the site using funds from the Emergency Housing Programme to the specifications ordinarily used for building a temporary settlement. And yet, today the City refers to it as a permanent Incremental Development Area (IDA). The contradiction in the City’s use of emergency housing funding for a permanent settlement was best summarised by Jens Kuhn, who stated at a public participation meeting on 24 August 2010:

Question: Why do you ask for a “temporary” relocation?
Jens Kuhn response: The source of funding is called temporary, “no other reason, if we don’t use the word, we don’t get the money.”
Question: So there’s no intention to move them again?
Jens Kuhn response: “I’d be lying if I said they’d be moved somewhere else.”

The effect of this is that the City is building poor quality houses, according to emergency housing specifications, as permanent settlements. There are currently no easily accessible plans or timelines for “incrementally developing” Wolwerivier.

FINDING 18: RESIDENTS DO NOT OWN THE HOUSES AT WOLWERIVIER, AND THEY ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT THEIR FUTURE

Many of the residents believe that they are the owners of the structures at Wolwerivier. However, the unit occupation agreement clearly states that the units remain the property of the City.

This arrangement would be suitable if Wolwerivier was temporary emergency housing solution or a TRA. Yet, when applied to a permanent settlement, this arrangement translates into permanent tenure insecurity for the residents of the development. Residents agreed to be relocated under the understanding that they would be “given” houses. And yet the residents have no documented rights to the units in which they live. They are neither owners, nor tenants and remain in their homes seemingly at the discretion of the City in perpetuity. They may not make alterations or modify their homes. It also means that if signatories to the agreements pass away, their dependents may not have any rights to stay in the houses and be left homeless.

In some instances, residents still believed that Wolwerivier was a temporary arrangement. Nomuhle Plaatjie captured the confusion in her testimony: “The City also told us that this is temporary, that they are just lending the houses to us and that we do not own them. My neighbour passed away, and then the City took his stuff out and said that his daughter cannot stay there. We do not know what all of this means. We hear rumours that we will be moved out but we do not know to where. I know very little about our futures and that makes me feel very uncertain.”

The confusion over the status of Wolwerivier stems from the City’s inability to articulate whether it is a temporary or permanent arrangement. In a press article (“Will Wolwerivier be a model for development of the next Bliekiesdorp?” published on groundup.org.za on 20 March 2015), Benedicta Van Minnen articulated this contradiction by saying both that there was the possibility of ownership transfers to the residents in the long term and that “these residents will live in their new serviced structures until they can be accommodated by one of the formal housing programmes.”

The EA (2012, p 8) recommended that the residents should be given ownership of their new houses.
COMPLIANCE & RECOMMENDATIONS

The City has not followed implemented these recommendations of the Environmental Authorisation:

>>> Section 2.3 states: “The Vissershok residents should be given ownership of their new homes.”

The City must:

>>> Clarify that Wolwerivier is in fact a permanent settlement.

>>> Transfer title deeds to the residents.

PART D:
TESTIMONIES
I arrived in Skandaal which I have called Crossroads to look for work in 2001. From then until we were relocated to Wolwevlei, I worked on the Vissershok dump mainly by recycling plastic and other materials. I built my own shack to live in with my wife and two children, but they are no longer with me and live in the Eastern Cape now. In 2014 I got TB and became very sick. I moved back home to Crossroads, so that I could be cared for by family. I also spent time being cared for in Somerset Hospital. While I was away from Skandaal, my shack was not occupied. The City came and destroyed my shack. I returned later that year and found that I could not live in my own place. The government had closed off the dump, so I could not find the materials I needed to rebuild my shack. A woman who is my friend allowed me to stay with her at Roodakkies, which is nearby Skandaal. I was living there when the City’s people came and did the survey of Skandaal, so that they could allocate people structures in Wolwevlei to which to move. I was left off this list, even though everyone knows that I have lived in Skandaal for many years.

Then, when they moved people in July I was left without a place to go. The people left Roodakkies and Skandaal, but I stayed behind alone with the dogs and the broken shacks and things that people could not carry with them. That was very painful, because I saw children who grew up before my eyes getting homes. For three weeks I stayed in the broken shacks and walked around during the day, looking for something to eat. After a while, my friends said that I should come through to Wolwevlei. I went, but always I had to pay to be allowed to stay in someone’s home. Because there are no job opportunities in Wolwevlei, I could not afford to do this and I was again kicked out without a place to stay. I lived in the bushes under blankets in the open nearby Wolwevlei. When I see clouds coming, I am afraid because I know that there is nowhere to shelter myself if it should rain.

A number of weeks ago one of the structures in Wolwevlei burned down. It is now empty, without a door or windows and that is where I stay. I am distraught, because I see children who grew up before my eyes in Skandaal have houses while I live without anything. There are many challenges that we face at Wolwevlei. For instance, the ambulance does not know where this place is, so if there is an emergency they take long to come or they do not arrive at all. There is a safety issue, because there are no streetlights and it is very dark and dangerous at night. The police are supposed to protect us and so is the fence. But, we feel that the fence has actually been built to keep us in, and that the police are actually here to monitor us. They want to arrest people when they return to the dump to look for things to eat and recycle, the way that we are used to.

I moved from Khayelitsha to live with my uncle at Skandaal ten years ago. My uncle’s shack was large enough, and when I had a child there was enough space for us to have our own section and privacy. I went there specifically to look for work on the farms, but mostly I could find only temporary work for a month or two at a time. Most recently I was working as a grape picker on a farm called Havana Hill. For me, life was better in Skandaal than it is here in Wolwevlei. But, to begin with we were told that we were moving to a better place.

When they surveyed the families for allocating the houses, I was told that, as a mother with a young child, I would be given a separate structure for us to live in. But, when we moved it was only my uncle who received a new place at Wolwevlei. Now we all live together, but we do not always feel welcome and there is no privacy for any of us. When my uncle brings a girlfriend around, my child and I must leave and go visit somewhere else. There are no streetlights here so if we leave at night we have to walk through the dark and it is very unsafe. These things make me very disappointed and angry. I feel that there are many other promises that were broken.

We really believed the houses would be bigger. We were told that there would be parks here, but currently there is only dust streets and nowhere else for a child to play safely. There are no jobs here. I have health problems and need to go to the clinic in Dunoon twice a month to get medication. To get there I must take two taxis and that costs R32 for a return trip. Without any jobs or opportunities here it is difficult to find that money. Things were difficult in Skandaal, but at least we could collect scrap and find some food that was dropped off at the dump by the supermarkets. It feels as though they dumped us here, but without following up to see whether the community’s needs are met or whether the promises were kept. I would like to leave if there was another place with better opportunities that I could go, but I have no options like that so we have no choice but to stay.