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Introduction

This project aimed to explore the social, economic and political changes which have occurred over the last fifteen years in several areas in Cape Town, including Wesbank. To do this, interviews were conducted over a three week period. The researchers were supplied with some initial contacts in the area by the research coordinator, and from there the snowballing technique was used to acquire more informants. The people interviewed by the researchers represented a diverse spectrum of interests and roles within the community. For Wesbank, the following informants provided the information on the area: a representative of the Wesbank Business Centre; an Independent Democrats (ID) representative; the ward councillor; a member of the Neighbourhood Watch; a representative of a local crèche; officials at the Oostenberg Municipality offices; local religious leaders; a representative of the community center; and a member of the Wesbank forum. This document is organised into three sections: first, a brief description of the area is given, through information from the informants as well as from the researchers' perceptions from their time spent in the area. Second, an analysis of the key issues in Wesbank is explored. This is organised into two parts; the first looks at the key themes which emerged in the interviews with the key informants, while the second part looks at the themes covered in the literature regarding the area. The third section is a photograph album of the area which the researchers took during their time spent in Wesbank. While this document is by no means supposed to represent all the issues that Brooklyn faces, nor the many opinions present in the neighbourhood, the key informants show a diverse spectrum of interests and roles within the community, and thus provided useful insight into the key issues in Brooklyn.

Section 1: Description of the Wesbank East neighbourhood

In the words of residents, "Wesbank is like an island". Surrounded on three sides by main roads and the fourth by wetlands it has the feel of a distinct area and community. In the middle of town there is a business centre, located directly opposite the Spar supermarket and next to the Taxi rank. To the north, the new community centre and clinic stand alongside each other, while the sports fields (which are in a serious state of disrepair) can be found further down this road. There are two primary schools and a high school. The school fields are not grass but sand, continuously whipped up by a hundred scampering children's feet.

Driving along the main road one is struck by the amount of people in the area. Residents hang over the fences of their small houses, chatting to neighbours and passers by. Behind them stand their small RDP homes. Some have gardens with small trees planted in them; others have been extended to accommodate more people. Small backyard dwellings or Wendy-Houses are commonplace, a necessity to house family members who cannot fit inside the main houses. When not at school, children play together in the small streets which branch off from the main road. There are no real playgrounds in the area (The ones which we did notice were in dismal condition). Between the houses there are small tracts of land, perhaps earmarked for future development. The small coarse brush which covers these strips, and seems to be ejected haphazardly from the sand, catches the wrappers, plastic bags and other rubbish blown by the South Easter.

All along the main road, next to the Spar are young men and women walking, talking, and sitting. Some go about their daily business of shopping, while others may be on their way to visit friends or fetch their children from school. Unemployment is a major issue in the area and throughout our time we noticed young men, and some women, standing about talking, observing and socialising despite the fact that it was a week-day morning. Gangsterism and drug abuse had been identified as major problems in the area and it is hardly surprising when youth had nothing to do except walk about on the streets. As far as we could ascertain there were limited extramural activities available, however with the construction of the community centre it was hoped that some would be made available.

We visited the community centre and were taken for a guided. The centre was brightly painted, had beautiful wooden stairwells and ample office room. We were proudly shown a recreation room where activities for the youth were planned. These would include table-tennis and karate. A small garden and a number of trees had been planted outside but this did little to cover up the fine white sand, dominant in the area. We were shown a hall for future community meetings, which could perhaps only fit 100-200 people.

There are no substantial businesses in Wesbank, the only major shop being Spar which most people told us was far too expensive. Standing opposite Spar is the business square. Most of the small businesses here are housed in containers. There are a number of cell-phone repair shops, a small garage, a butchery and a few hair salons with names like "Boyz 2 Men." These are not big businesses and only employ a few people. Spread across the neighbourhood, operating from people's homes are numerous smaller Spaza shops. These sell the basics and are a way for families to supplement their meagre incomes. Many people told us that these shops were run by "outsiders", immigrants from Somalia, Nigeria and a few from Congo. Most people had to leave the area to do their shopping and access other services and amenities associated with city life. Although we noticed a Shoprite nearby (3-5km), transport is expensive, especially if one is unemployed.

The nearest hospital is in Delft (many told us that the new clinic was not functional yet). Some told us that it was a dangerous journey, especially for old people as they were often mugged. The informant stated, referring to the hospital in Delft, "that place is a graveyard, you don't come back once you go there".

As a researcher, Wesbank leaves me with a number of sensory impressions. Firstly it is overcrowded. At all times which we visited there were a large number of people, not only around houses, but on the streets. Most of the houses which we saw had backyard dwellings and neighbours were quite literally on top of each other. There is a sense of always being surrounded by people. Driving past the schools, the small fields seemed packed with learners and in the afternoon hundreds of children darted about playing in front of their homes and on the smaller streets.

It also seems to be a place "abuzz" with gossip or in the local lingo "skinner". This is as invariably a result of the close proximity in which people live and the fact that since, many are unemployed, they spend a significant amount of time together doing chores during the day. I get a sense that this proximity may have done a lot to disarm any racial tensions between the local black and coloured residents because in the words of one informant "we all have the same problems...black or coloured."

Wesbank also strikes me as a place in the middle. There have been significant development interventions (schools, clinics, community centre) but much still needs to be done, especially with regards to providing opportunities and activities for the youth. Development has been focused on providing physical resources but this alone will not solve the social "ills" of the area. Careful management and strategic choices in the best interests of the community need to be made. Development trajectories cannot solely focus on the provision of "products" but need to put the structures in place to incorporate the community, which seems fragmented and disinterested. Furthermore, Wesbank strikes me as slightly isolated from other parts of the city. More needs to be done to incorporate it into the social, political and economic flows of the city, so it becomes a part of Cape Town, not a village standing on its own.

Section 2, part 1: Main Themes Emerging from Interviews Conducted in Wesbank

Economic Development and change

All residents informed us that there had not been much economic growth in Wesbank since it began in 1999. When the development was first built there had been nothing save RDP houses in the area. No major businesses had arrived in the last decade and the only recognizable shop in town was the Spar. Small businesses had appeared in the last decade but these were mainly container shops and hair salons. The majority of businesses were informal or very small scale. There were numerous house shops selling a variety of daily necessities. In the business square there was a butcher, a few phone repair shops and a number of hairdressers all housed in containers. We were told that such informal businesses had grown since 1999. This was hardly surprising when looking at the high rates of unemployment and lack of major formal businesses in Wesbank.

As has already been mentioned, unemployment was a major issue in the area. All the community members to whom we spoke confirmed this and were acutely aware of the linkages between this and gangsterism and drug abuse amongst the youth. Some of those to whom we spoke were directly involved in attempting to provide activities and opportunities for the youth, mostly through youth programmes. We were told that most people who had acquired employment worked outside the Wesbank area. Again we were told that people mainly worked in factories in the surrounding industrial areas (Bellville, BlackHeath, Umfeleni). We did not personally speak to anybody who had this type of employment.

The council officials to whom we spoke concurred with most of the residents' points regarding economic development. They also spoke about the unemployment in the area which they stated was at about 60%. One municipal official in particular (8 May 2009) spoke about the direct link between unemployment and social ills. He stated that "people had little choice in setting up shebeens and selling drugs when there was no work..." the councillors agreed that those who did work, worked mainly outside the area. They had identified some plots for small business development but many of these remained empty. A municipal official (8 May 2009) told us that this was because the market based price for land was unaffordable to residents and hence they could not start businesses. The council had created some jobs by hiring people to clean the streets and litter. We saw this first hand a couple of times as we drove through Wesbank.

Housing

All the community leaders who we spoke to had been staying in Wesbank for 9-10 years. That is, they moved into their houses when the development first started. They spoke about a number of significant changes to housing conditions in the area. Firstly all residents told us that the houses were too small for their families. Over the years this led to the construction of backyard dwellings across the community in order to house excess family members. All those interviewed told us that these dwellings were spread across the community and there were no clusters of informal housing. Both black and coloured people used this method to house family members who simply could not fit into the main house. As one can imagine the area is hence very overcrowded. This in turn, puts pressure on services such as water, drainage and electricity. In addition when people had first arrived, there had just been houses and no other facilities. People hence had to travel in order to access hospitals, work or schools. Although some of this secondary infrastructure has been provided (schools, clinics, community centre) over the last decade, Wesbank still has the feel of a community isolated from many of the economic benefits of the city. Another problem was that many people rented out or sold their houses. Interviewees told us that the owners would sell and then move into their own backyards, since they were so desperate for money. Tenants also had few rights and could be exploited by landlords. Although the first houses had been a success since many people had come from squatter camps and had never had a formal house, there had been no further housing interventions in Wesbank. Overcrowding, due to backyarders, was a huge issue and the primary challenge in terms of housing in the area. Housing issues were not political in Wesbank, since people had received houses from the government.

Residents stated that housing was racially mixed between black and coloured and that this had been the case since 1999. A few did think that there were higher numbers of black people in Block F, but for the most part things were mixed. Once again the officials were aware of the problems faced by Wesbank in terms of housing (backyarders, overcrowding, and houses too small).

A Municipality official (8 May 2009), whose job focused on housing, was required to supply the long awaited ownership papers to residents. He said this was difficult due to illegal sales and rental, and council was in the process of confirming whether those occupying homes were the legal owners. The officials also believed that housing was racially mixed in accordance with the demographics of the area (slightly more coloured then black). A municipal official (8 May 2009) did tell us that there were more black people in block F but she believed the reason for this was simply because they had been assigned houses in this area when they first arrived 10 years ago. Both officials and the community leaders mentioned that there had been no racial tensions with relation to housing.

Services and Infrastructure

Responses here were mixed. Some interviewees were happy with service delivery while others pointed out a number of problems. When people first moved in there was water, electricity, sanitation and refuse removal. Lots of the complaints were to do with the level of services, not the lack thereof.

For example, one resident (6 May 2009) spoke about the pipes used for sewerage and drainage being of too small a circumference, and hence continuously getting blocked. Another resident (6 May 2009) told us how the lights in his street never worked, and when fixed, broke 2 days later. Another interviewee told us how each house only received 20 amps of electricity and thus if more then one appliance was on at a time it tripped (this actually happened when we were in one of the interviews).

The challenges for service delivery in the area relate more to the improvement of the existing systems then to the lack of any basic necessities. Another issue for many residents was the lack of a police station (the nearest one being in Umfeleni) and a day hospital (Nearest one in Delft). One interviewee, when asked about this hospital, said "that place is a graveyard, when you go there you don't come back." Transport costs and the danger of being mugged were issues which made it difficult for residents to get to the police or hospital (especially old people). Also schools were thought to be overcrowded (However most interviewees noted that children of all races played together). Again the officials interviewed understood the problems facing infrastructure, which they did not see as numerous. One of the municipal officials (8 May 2009) did tell us how many people dumped their rubbish as they couldn't afford R150 for second council bin. Another municipal official (8 May 2009) even sympathised and agreed with residents who complained that the new community centre was simply too small to hold meetings. Pressures on services were also seen in direct correlation to overcrowding and the number of backyarders.

Racial Composition and Integration

Almost all people to whom we spoke told us that there were no racial tensions between black and coloured people in the area. We did hear a few isolated stories about how when people first moved in there were incidents. Paraphrasing for a local religious offical (23 April 2009), this was because people were scared of strangers and strange cultures. It seemed that once people got to know each other everything was fine. As a member of the Wesbank Forum (6 May 2009) said, "everyone has the same problems...everyone is hungry." Some residents felt that the area had not changed significantly in racial composition since 1994. However others did feel that more black people had moved in; however they were not threatened by this. All people recognised the fact that foreign nationals had moved into the area (they believed them to be mainly Somalians and Nigerians). There had been tension a year ago (at the time of xenophobic attacks across the country) and a shop had been burnt down. Although there had been no recent violence there was perhaps an undercurrent of tension here since some felt that foreign nationals were stealing jobs belonging to the people of Wesbank. However, on the whole, people seemed tolerant of their presence. Once again officials agreed with most of what had been said by residents. Except for the xenophobic violence a year ago they had noticed no significant racial tensions in the area. In terms of racial composition they stated that there had been no significant changes and the area had always been around 65 % coloured and 35% black.

Community Structures and Organisations

Politics and political issues were not seen as very important by almost all the people we spoke to. Political affiliations were only ever brought to the fore during elections, and issues and shortcomings in the area were not understood in a politicised manner. We did not get a sense that politics created difficulties in the area; it was rather the organisation of community structures which hampered the relationship between local government and the community.

In Wesbank there are a wide number of organisations which supposedly represent different interests in the community. There is a community centre, an economic forum, a health forum, a neighbourhood watch, as well as political, religious and educational concerns. Headed by various people, each group has its own agenda, many of which tackle similar problems related to poverty, unemployment, drug abuse etc...

It would be logical that all these groups, although separate, would come together under an umbrella organisation (civic) to engage with local government. However, at the time of our interviews, this was not the case. There seemed to be tensions between many of the people who headed up these organisations. Each seemed to have a separate agenda and priorities and would approach the councillor, or local government, separately. It hence became evident that many things didn't work when engaging with the government. The difficulties lie in the fact that the community is not united under a broad civic organisation, but rather "represented" by multiple factions who have divergent interests and are sometimes at loggerheads with each other. As many informants told us, "the community does not speak with one voice". This undoubtedly severely hampers community mobilisation, solidarity and input in development. This is strange since there has been a significant amount of work done in Wesbank recently (Community centre, schools and a clinic). This may have been mainly driven by council or was a need identified and pushed for by a number of different groups in the community, hence demonstrating cohesion around a certain issue.

The officials who we interviewed identified exactly the same problems. A municipal official (8 May 2009) spoke about "strong men" and "one man or woman armies" in the community. She told us that part of her job was to set up and organise a community body, or forum, which incorporated all these factions and attempted to represent the concerns of the whole of Wesbank. She said that she was in the process of setting this up, but it was very difficult since there was not a big enough hall for everyone to meet in. I was unclear as to if one had existed in the past and "disintegrated" or if this was the first attempt to create one. However council was aware of this structural problem.

Conclusion

This report has brought to the fore all the main issues raised under each category of discussion. We are very certain of these since they emerged in all the interviews. We interviewed a variety of people who had different specialised areas of knowledge in the community thus painting a holistic picture of Wesbank.

It is also evident that race is not a big issue in Wesbank. There may have been a few isolated incidents when people arrived in 1999, but these were few and far between. People had the same problems; unemployment, hunger, lack of schools, drugs, gangsters, crime etc... It is obvious that this "common ground" quickly quashed any perceived racial and cultural differences. Even the xenophobic violence was not necessarily about race but about the fear of "outsiders" who would "steal" local jobs. I would argue that their skin colour was immaterial and there would have been tension whether they were white, black, yellow or pink.

Section 2, part 2: Overview of Literature available about Wesbank

Introduction

Wesbank is a low income housing project consisting of 5 147 RDP houses. The project was developed in five phases between 1997 and 2000. The area is roughly 30 kilometres from the Cape Town city centre. It is bounded by Stellenbosch Arterial in the north, Hindle Road to the South, the R300 freeway to the west and the Kuils River on the east of the settlement. The area is located on the west bank of the Kuils River, and thus the name Wesbank (Wynaard and Theron, 2004).

History

A housing project was launched by the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape (PAWC) for the development of 5500 affordable housing units on the west bank of the Kuils River in 1997. This area was located by the Oostenberg Municipality and therefore the municipality was responsible for the development of the houses. The Wesbank area was considered a high priority area for the development for houses for families that qualified for full subsidies. The housing subsidy scheme is intended to offer poor families housing opportunities. In a survey done in 1999 it was established that the average monthly income in the Wesbank area was between R0-R1 500, indicating that the majority of families would be liable for full subsidies of R 17 250. After this was completed, an application was made to the Provincial Housing Board for housing subsidies for the various housing projects. Wesbank was among these housing projects. The approval was granted for the funding of the development of 5500 units within the Wesbank area.

A presentation was then made to the Housing Committee of the Oostenberg Municipality in October 1996, and a decision was then taken to proceed with the planning of the project. By July 1997, the final approval of the project, the appointment of the consultants and the planning process for the development was granted. In an agreement between the PAWC and Oostenberg Municipality, it was decided that Oostenberg would act as the developers for the project. The project was deemed a "fast track development" and it was because of this that PAWC offered the support of various consultants and officials. It was also a requirement that all funding for the project would be generated by PAWC.

In order to proceed with a project entailing the development of 5 145 affordable residential units in Wesbank, it was required that the statutory local structure plan be amended. Also, the selected land was to be designated for less formal settlement in terms of the Less Formal Township Establishment Act, Act 113 of 1991. The purpose of the amendment of the statutory plan would be to maximise the potential of the developable land for housing development. This development had to take into account the effects of high density affordable housing along the sensitive west bank of the Kuils River. The amendments made included that the development line exclude the environmentally sensitive dunes and also the low-lying areas adjacent to Hindle Road. Only 125 ha of developable land were allocated on the west bank. A density of not less than 40 units per ha must be achieved so that the structure is within the economical bounds of the Provincial Housing Department (WCPHDB). In summary, amendments were to ensure that the environment was taken into consideration in planning as the area is populated by sensitive

dunes and there is a neighbouring wetland, and all efforts must be made to ensure that these areas be conserved and protected. A proper Environmental Impact Assessment and Environmental Management Plan was implemented during the construction phase to protect and conserve this sensitive environment where required.

The proposed amendment of the local structure plan and urban development on the Wesbank comply with the proposals of the higher order planning for the area, namely the Urban Structure plan for the Cape Metropolitan Area: Peninsula and the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework. As a result of the EIA, only 125 ha of land was released for development. This was considerably less than the previous structure plan but it was necessary to conserve dunes and wetlands as proposed in the EIA.

The nature of the development required that a high residential density be achieved. To promote the most economic layout, the density of the project was set to 43 units per ha. This leaves the total estimated population to be 24 000.

There will be two housing types in the area, namely single freestanding houses and semidetached houses. Units are 20m² consisting of two bedrooms and a bathroom.

Proper and direct access to major roads was a prerequisite for the project. Thus access to Stellenbosch Arterial Road as well as Hindle Road was a priority for the development of the project as these were the source of efficient public transport development. A taxi rank was also to be established central to the majority of the population. Also, in addition to public open spaces sufficient land has been reserved for the development of sport fields and recreational facilities. There are also comprehensive standards for service provision per person. Some of these include 1 primary school for every 1200 residential units as well as 1 high school per 2 400 residential units. I mention these standards as it is imperative that we compare the reality with these standards. We still see that the reality falls very short when compared to these standards. However, according to a council document it is said that Wesbank did not form part of the integrated serviced land project (iSLP) meaning that no provision was made for community halls, schools, clinics, schools, police stations, etc. Wesbank was provided internal water supply, flush toilets and prepaid electricity metres. Also, all the roads are tarred, and there is storm water drainage and street lighting.

The Oostenberg municipality was responsible for drawing up the waiting list of potential beneficiaries. These beneficiaries would come form the neighbouring areas. Most came from squatter camps in the area.

Wesbank Population

The following statistics were taken form the 2001 census. I have provided these so we can have a feel the composition of the Wesbank population. 65% of applicants for Wesbank area have one or two dependants. The majority of the applicant age lies between 26 and 40. However, the 36% of the majority is under 6 years old. Another 21% of the Wesbank residents are between 6 and 15, therefore more than 50% of the Wesbank residents are younger than 15 years old. A further 62% of residents are younger than 21. In terms of monthly income generated per family, 44% of families earn R500 or less. Roughly 60% of families earn less than R1000 per month and 90% earn less than R1500 per month. Looking at the Wesbank educational profile 31% obtained

a grade 8 -10 education. Another 32% obtained between grade 3-7 education. 14% of residents have no education and only 10% have a tertiary education.

The community developed out of a squatter camp community, which consisted of former farm workers, poor people from low income areas in the Western Cape and a smaller Xhosa migrant community who had moved form the Eastern Cape in the early 1990's. The Xhosa community constitutes 25% of the total population and the rest of the residents are coloured and Afrikaans speaking.

Current Conditions

In a survey conducted by the Oostenberg municipality it was determined that the majority (70-80%) of residents were satisfied with their living conditions in Wesbank. They were grateful as their new RDP houses provided much better conditions than they experienced before. This survey was conducted in 2000 and the views of the residents are not necessarily the same now. Residents have also indicated that they wish to build on at some stage but they admit that they do not have the finances for this. Unemployment is major problem in the area. According to a census conducted by Oostenberg in 2000, 45% of residents are employed while 31% of residents are unemployed.

Access to schools is also a huge concern in the area. Due to the inadequate amount of schools in the area children have to use public transport to access schools in Delft and Kuilsriver.

The crime rate has recently escalated tremendously, and, according to a council document, the reason for this is the establishment of "shebeens" coupled with the high unemployment rate. A local school principal explains in the document that problems such as rape, assault, abuse and neglect of young people are rife in the Wesbank area. Statistics obtained from the Kuilsriver police station indicate that crime is a real problem in the area. This sentiment is shared by 80% of Wesbank residents, who expressed their concerns for crime in the area in a questionnaire.

A comparison between the neighbouring Delft area and Wesbank

The literature makes a comprehensive study between the Wesbank area and Delft. I will take a brief look at this study. This comparison was taken in the early stages of the Wesbank development and some of these views and statistics may not be true today.

Delft forms part of the integrated serviced land project (iSLP) under the Provincial Administration: Western Cape (PAWC) meaning that Delft has access to community facilities, schools and health facilities. Wesbank is, however, developed by the local authority, Oostenberg Municipality and therefore is not part of the iSLP, and therefore has no access to these community facilities. The implication of this is that residents of Wesbank have to travel greater distance to obtain these services.

At the time of this study, there had been racial divisions in the Delft community. This is because houses were provided evenly to both blacks and coloureds and as a result there was a lack of understanding of each others cultures. Hence Delft experienced a bit of racial tension. Wesbank was predominantly coloured and therefore experienced none of this.

Both areas are isolated from shopping centres and work opportunities. Residents therefore have to use public transport excessively, which is very expensive.

The provision of housing to communities, who would not have been able to afford houses, has contributed to the upliftment of these communities. Beneficiaries of home-ownership experience a sense of empowerment. Also, the building of houses provides employment in the areas nearby. However, due to the lack of economic opportunities and entertainment for the youth gangsterism and drug abuse is a major issue in both of these communities. Due to the large presence of shebeens, alcohol abuse is also a problem and this adds to an escalating crime rate. Also, with the current houses being only approximately 24m² in size, domestic problems are rife. Often 4-5 families inhabit these houses which lead to overcrowding and fighting among residents. The lacks of economic opportunities provide perfect conditions for crimes such as break-inns, robbery and hijacking.

Wesbank as a successful housing project

To evaluate Wesbank as a successful housing project I will draw on the paper "The provision of low-cost housing in the context of Developmental Local Government: the Wesbank Project" by Wyngard and Theron (2004). The paper argues that the Wesbank housing project did not adhere to the principles of "sustainable housing development" as defined in the Housing Act (1997). Also, that the Wesbank project did not contribute to the improvement of the socioeconomic wellbeing of the community, as intended by the Developmental Local Government (DLG).

The "sustainable housing development process" recognises that housing is an adequate shelter, fulfils a basic human need, represents both a product and a process, is a product of human endeavour and enterprise and also plays a vital role in the Integrated Developmental Plan. It also emphasises that housing is key sector of the national economy and plays a vital role in the socio-economic well being of the nation. Even though housing is not listed as a Local Government matter, section 9 of the Housing Act (1997) requires each municipality as part of the IDP to ensure sustainability of the developmental process.

In the planning phase of the Wesbank project provision was made for a range of non-residential erven namely: 6 school sites, 6 commercial sites, 17 church sites, 9 crèche sites, 1 service station, 1 community facility and 27 public open spaces. However, clinics, schools or sports and recreation facilities were either non-existent or under supplied. Five years since the first occupants moved in (July 2003) the area had one formal and one temporary primary school, as well as a clinic catering for children under the age of 6. An additional primary school was almost completed and a secondary school had just been completed and handed over. Only one shopping centre exists, and all church sites have been sold to church organisations.

Most if the facilities that were planned for had not been implemented five years after the first residents had moved in. No provision had been made for the development of the mentioned facilities during the construction period, which is contrary to the principles of sustainable development.

In conclusion Wesbank was in compliance with "sustainable housing delivery" which is defined as "the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private

residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities". Based on this definition Wesbank was not successful in achieving its desired outcomes. This is because integrated development had not been achieved as community facilities were under supplied or non-existent. Also the process of public participation, which represents a crucial element in the IDP was non-existent during both the second and first phases. Lastly, referring to the budget no timely provision was made for the community facilities such as schools and clinics.

Section 3: Photograph Album of Wesbank



View of Wesbank from Stellenbosch Arterial. One can see the substantial wetlands and fields which surround the area on the north.



Closer view of wetlands surrounding Wesbank



Main Road leading into Wesbank (taken from Stellenbosch Arterial exit)



House along main road (RDP house on right and backyard "dwelling" on left)



Rainbow Primary School (On main road)



Example of one of the many small shops which were run from people's homes.



Taxi rank in the centre of town opposite the business centre.



The only major shop in town, the Spar.



 $\label{thm:example} \textbf{Example of small business housed inside containers.}$



Outside of business centre. Inside was a courtyard surrounded by a few shops.



The new Community Centre



Mosaics on the outer wall of the Community centre. These were made by teenagers.



The new clinic, which was next to the community centre.



Some houses in Wesbank.



Note the open land, strewn with rubbish. There were quite a number of similar tracts of land.



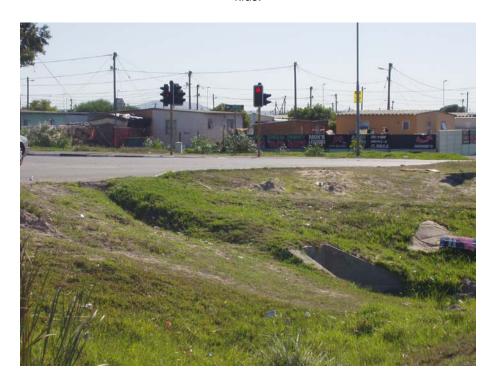
The sports fields, near the edge of Wesbank. Work was underway to re-sod the fields, which were in terrible condition.



The existing sports fields.



One of the few playgrounds in Wesbank. There were only a few pieces of apparatus for the kids.



View of Wesbank from Bellville side.



Another shot from Bellville side.