Regenerating a neighbourhood: useful lessons from eKhaya
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PART 1

Background and overview of project phases

1.2 Background

eKhaya is a neighbourhood development programme that was started in a rundown part of Hillbrow in 2004. It has had considerable success at:

• Regenerating the physical quality of the neighbourhood
• Increasing the sense of security and wellbeing of its residents
• Generating increased private and public investment in the area
• Stimulating social cohesion and positive community involvement
• Making the eKhaya neighbourhood a place of active choice as positive-place-to-live for tenants

SO WHAT AND WHERE IS HILLBROW?

Hillbrow, situated in the inner city area of Johannesburg, is historically the most dense high-rise residential settlement in South Africa.

From its inception it fulfilled the role of reception area in the inner city. The early houses were replaced with high-rise blocks of flats after World War Two. In the sixties and seventies it was home to white urban flat dwellers. From the mid-1970s there were significant changes as it became a ‘grey’ area (most whites having moved to newly established suburbs) with influx and ‘illegal’ renting by blacks wanting to escape the township violence and seeking access to housing and a better location in an area that was still ‘whites only’ but already in transition.

During the eighties investors left the area and many formal landlords lost control of and even abandoned their properties. With little investment interest and falling property values, properties deteriorated and many became slums with increased crime, grime, disrepair of civil amenities and other associated problems of urban decay. Private and public infrastructure was no longer repaired and was vandalised. In the middle and late 1990s, in response to a high market demand for accommodation, this began to change as private and government investment started to return with the development of well-run private for-profit and social housing rental developments next to decaying slums, the latter including many hijacked buildings. It is within the context of this resurgence in an area with increasing physical improvement but high crime levels and poor urban management that the eKhaya project has developed and made its impact.

The intention of this research report is as a point of focus to:

• Assess the nature and form of the programme in delivering urban regeneration
• Highlight the key successful ingredients of the programme
• Give directions on use of elements in other inner city areas
• Assess whether or not the lessons from it can assist in the intervention in other contexts e.g. informal settlement and run-down suburban areas
This study is not intended as a comprehensive detailed research based assessment. Rather it involves:

- An overview and brief history of the programme
- Assessment of the programme’s outputs and impact
- Highlighting key issues of the project successes and constraints
- Proposing approaches to highlighting elements that could be used in other urban areas in South Africa
- Proposing ways that the Housing Development Agency (HDA) can support the development of similar such programmes in other situations of neighbourhood upgrade

The report is based on information obtained from:

- Various documentation including reports and presentations prepared for and about the programme
- Interviews with key stakeholders
- Attendance at meetings of the eKhaya structures

Yellow dots: eKhaya Neighbourhood in 2004
Red dots: eKhaya Neighbourhood in 2011
Red boxes: eKhaya member buildings
Green lines: eKhaya Park and Recreation
Orange dots: areas in Hillbrow north where eKhaya members own buildings
1.2 Overview and development phases

eKhaya was established in 2004 in Hillbrow as a result of the coming together of two landlords in the area, the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) (a not-for-profit Social housing institution (SHI)) and Trafalgar Properties (a for-profit landlord and management agent).

The intentions at its inception were stated as follows:
- Establish an investment node which attracts and protects the financial investment of individual homeowners, larger property owners, small and large business and financial institutions
- Establish an investment node which attracts and protects the social investment of private and public investors in the form of schools, clinics, neighbourhood leisure facilities, parks, libraries, religious organisations
- Register a Section 21 company to administer a formal City Improvement District

The development of the eKhaya neighbourhood programme has happened in four process phases:

Phase 1: Organising involvement
The primary initiative came from the JHC and Trafalgar Properties. The initial organising involved four blocks in three streets. The work was financed by the two lead companies employing a community organiser. Her work firstly involved doing a neighbourhood scan and compiling a database, followed by direct organising of all the landlords in the vicinity, as well as bringing together housing supervisors/caretakers from the blocks willing to engage. In addition she contacted the key role-players in the City (Region F director, ward councillors, mayoral executive committee members, and Section 79 chairperson), SAPS and the relevant City agents (Pikit-up, City Power, Johannesburg Roads, City Parks and the Department of Environmental Health, JMPD) to identify with some of the key issues and possible ways of tackling them in partnership with the landlords.

By the end of this phase the following critical outputs were achieved:
- The setting up of the voluntary association with relevant constitution
- Involvement of four landlords with eight buildings
- An elected executive committee
- A housing manager forum
- Initial awareness on the part of municipal stakeholders

WHAT IS A CID?
City Improvement Districts are geographic areas in which the majority of property owners determine and agree to fund supplementary and complementary services to those normally provided by the Local Authority in order to maintain and manage the public environment at a superior level and thus maintain or increase their investment. The Local Authority continues to provide normal services to a pre-agreed level. Legislation allows for CIDs to raise an additional levy to be charged on all property within the defined geographical area. Income from this levy is directed back to the defined area to finance a wide range of activities.

CITY SCEPTICISM
Initial response from the City was sceptical; one senior official declared the whole idea ‘fluffy’ and thought that rather than organising the stakeholders, the focus should be directed on measuring the levels of waste coming from flats.
Phase 2: Engagement in basic development programme

In this phase the Association with its housing supervisor/caretaker forum identified the key issues requiring intervention and developed an initial action plan. The key issues identified for intervention were crime and grime.

Crime:
In the first years this was tackled by breaking anonymity between building managers and internal security through meetings, and poster and leaflet campaigns. The first action was the ‘Our Safe eKhaya New Year’ campaign which made an immediate and dramatic impact on the reduction of vandalism and violence in and from buildings during the New Year celebration period. This success gave more opportunities for interacting with local residents in all blocks, and is now repeated each year.

In July 2007 the eKhaya security and cleaning project commenced with a basic security force on the ground using the ‘Bad Boyz’ security company that already worked in some buildings in the area. They were contracted for three months and this was later confirmed as a yearly contract.

Their security patrols were linked to contact with participating buildings particularly with the building managers. It also gave representatives from eKhaya and the service provider the opportunity to engage with people from the non-membership buildings including hi-jacked buildings.

Grime:
Initially the organising work was done through landlords and their building managers reducing the disposal of rubbish on streets and in the lanes. eKhaya’s lane management project commenced in 2004. In mid-2007 eKhaya’s executive introduced contracted street cleaning to liaise with Pikit-up, Region F and building managements to keep the pavements and street areas swept at the different buildings. This part of the eKhaya security and cleaning project contracted to Bad Boyz.

All these contracted activities required financing. During this phase the levy per unit was started and set at R24 per unit. The administration of levies and collection thereof was undertaken by Trafalgar, which undertook the honorary management of the books as treasurer of the executive committee.
By the end of this phase the following was achieved:

- Well-functioning executive committee and building manager forum
- Some improved informal contacts with key service sections of the municipality and other area stakeholders
- A monthly income from levies of R64,000
- Contracted security services for security patrols and cleaning
- A number of community linked clean-up campaigns including of the lanes
- Two successful ‘New Year’ campaigns that reduced incidents of violence over New Year to zero
- ‘Our Clean eKhaya Neighbourhood’ campaign in partnership with Pikit-up
- Active participation in the Mayoral Inner City Summit that culminated in the Inner City Charter and Partnership, in which the concept of city improvement districts (CIDs) was adopted, and city financial support committed to the establishment of CIDs

**Phase 3: Consolidating development programme and extending membership**

This phase built on the success of reducing crime, improving security and mobilising community cooperation and leadership. This has involved greater involvement of community development and other local organisations.

It has resulted in an extensive programme of community activities including:

- eKhaya StreetSports project
- Annual Kidz Day project
- Neighbourhood networking

It was also during this phase that the work done between landlords, building managers and other stakeholders resulted in the sustained cleaning up and securing of lanes that were previously used as dumping areas and were a focus of criminal activity.

The success of this work helped to leverage available municipal resources for phase 1 of the lane upgrade programme financed by the City and implemented by the Johannesburg Development Agency on behalf of the City in close partnership with eKhaya. eKhaya used this to strengthen the relationships between landlords and also between building managers. It gave greater focus to the interaction between building managers and their tenants about key neighbourhood improvement and maintenance issues.

Good urban management of crime and grime has led to drastically reduced criminal activity.
During this phase eKhaya also campaigned for improving two open spaces that were used for dumping, drug dealing, fixing taxis and vagrant and criminal activities. The City allocated R7 million for the upgrading of a derelict site in Claim Street north of BG Alexander Building, and a further sum for the upgrading of an empty plot as a recreation area. eKhaya negotiated with the City to undertake the joint management of these spaces with the City doing the physical maintenance and gardening while eKhaya secures and manages the use of the areas. The latter includes use for community sports and social activities by residents and organised groups.

During this phase a number of new landlords joined as members of the programme, including the Hillbrow Health Precinct which is being refurbished.

Involvement of the City of Johannesburg was strengthened through the capital investments and greater involvement of the local area office. However it remained fairly ad hoc with operational responses coming mainly because of persistent monitoring and reporting of problems and through a strengthened informal network.

Important in this phase was the attempt to formalise the neighbourhood initiative as a CID initiative under the City's formal CID policy. To support this the City awarded eKhaya a grant of R334 000 to do the necessary preparatory work for the prescribed ballot process of property owners to agree and formally establish an improvement district.

In the course of this process the law was changed to provide that every sectional title property owner has one vote. Previously the body corporate of each sectional title building had one vote. eKhaya had undertaken the initial consultation with owners in the area but has now reverted to the City requesting a change of the policy. The change requested is to ensure that individual sectional title owners do not have the same voting power as single blocks. Instead it is proposed that voting is based on equality between building owners and body corporates of blocks with sectional title units. eKhaya is still awaiting a decision on this by the City and at this stage is not proceeding with the establishment of a formal CID.

From its inception CBOs and NGOs in the area were welcomed to participate in eKhaya's activities. Two were involved from the inception and a number of additional ones have now joined. Each has participated in one or more of the projects in the area, as key drivers, sponsors and co-organisers. Through the association there is a now a decision to formally establish a ‘neighbourhood networking system’ to increase cooperation between these organisations in their neighbourhood activities but also to make their services more accessible to building managers, other leaders in the community, as well as tenants and workers in the area.
During this phase the following outputs were achieved:

- Increase in membership of the voluntary association of property owners and expansion of neighbourhood area, including the defined Hillbrow Health Precinct
- Continued scheduled meetings of the executive committee and housing supervisor/caretaker forum
- Greater volunteer involvement from building managers, tenants, CBOs and NGOs
- Consolidation of the cooperative lane management project (2004) with phase 1 and start of phase 2 of the lane upgrade project (2009-2011)
- Strengthening of the organising and the versatility of the eKhaya security and cleaning project to 'normalise' the neighbourhood environment
- Implementing of the open space improvement projects
- More systematic monitoring and reporting of repair problems to the municipality and crime activities to the police
- Initial survey for formally establishing the CID plus policy and recommendations to the City of Johannesburg
- Running numerous existing and new projects, sports, children’s activities, and health projects

Phase 4: Expansion to other areas

This is the present phase that is being built on the foundational experiences of lead eKhaya neighbourhood property owners (both social housing and private sector) and also the interest of other landlords to develop similar urban regeneration initiatives in other areas. The eKhaya Neighbourhood Association has decided that its area should not expand from the existing one with its 3000 units. At this stage it is envisaged that the new areas will be known as 'eKhaya cluster neighbourhoods'.

New initiatives should include new steering committees involving identified property owners. The following three areas have demonstrated property owners’ commitment to pursue further:

- Northern Hillbrow (Dorchester/Sentinel) cluster
- Northern Hillbrow (Mimosa) cluster
- Plein Street (CBD) Area

Funding for the organising process for the clusters is now made available through the JHC from the HDA to initiate the development of the cluster areas.

These initiatives have the benefit of the success of the initial eKhaya neighbourhood:

- Lead property owners with their own experiences of the benefit to their businesses accrued from cooperative working to stabilise the public environment
- Housing supervisors and caretakers with experience of how eKhaya neighbourhood works
- 'Good news' spread through the extended area of Hillbrow as other property owners and residents have seen the regeneration in the eKhaya neighbourhood
- Increased understanding in the City and its agencies of the benefits of working with eKhaya’s property owners to achieve mutual goals and benefits
An important catalyst activity in the first two of these areas comes directly from the success of the eKhaya programme and the municipal commitment to upgrade and secure more lanes. The majority of the allocated capital finance for this has been targeted at the two new Hillbrow cluster areas, where in partnership with lead eKhaya property owners, 13 lanes are being included in the cooperative management and upgrade project. Not only does it result in immediate capital investment in area improvement but also it provides an important catalyst to bring together the landlords and their housing managers. This will stimulate both the development of eKhaya cluster associations and overall social cohesion in the north of Hillbrow.

The following are the key outputs from this phase:

- Continued growth and strengthening of the original eKhaya neighbourhood
- Engagement with property owners and housing managers in the new areas
- Testing and launching of organisational entities in the three new areas
- Implementing of levy system for the new members (now extended into areas with shops and offices)
- Initial identification of the key regeneration issues and responses from the three areas

Initial scoping of ways to improve cooperation between the different ‘eKhaya’ initiatives

Examination of these phases with their processes, inputs and outputs provide a number of key issues that can help other areas launching neighbourhood regeneration initiatives.
PART 2

Key issues

2.1 Defining purpose for regeneration

The eKhaya project is primarily committed to the improvement in the quality of the environment in Hillbrow and through this the quality of life of those living and working there. Its primary objective is regeneration of ‘the business of the city’ by creating a financial node that encourages and protects investment for owners of residential buildings, businesses and social infrastructure. Essential for achieving this is the improvement of the quality of the environment and the life of people living and working in the area and larger surrounds.

The importance of this is that the focus on increasing the conditions for investment and for returns is what motivates the involvement of both the for-profit and not-for-profit landlords. From this motivation develops the organisational form and activities that contribute to the social development agenda for the area.

2.2 Organisational structure

The eKhaya project has developed an institutional structure that provides a strong framework for cooperation and organisation, providing the legal framework to collect and hold money and to contract with external service providers. At the time of constituting as a voluntary association it was decided to establish a ‘not-for-profit’ Trust.
Within this legal structuring the eKhaya project involves the following key organising elements:

Executive committee – responsible for the day-to-day to governance issues and is chosen by members of the association.

General council – consists of representatives of the member property owners. It meets on a quarterly basis and monitors progress and examines ways of improving or extending the initiative in the area.

Housing manager forum – comprises building managers from all the buildings that are part of the membership, as well as representatives from the security company (service provider) and the City’s service delivery agencies. They meet three to four times per year to review neighbourhood matters, plan and coordinate activities and deal with any day-to-day problems.

Project teams – an ad-hoc approach that brings together different members around organising specific activities e.g. sports days, safety campaigns, children’s recreational issues. A special month of activities was organised in July 2010 to coincide with the World Cup.

Staff group – the driving force for the day-to-day activities of the project. It is composed of a professional organiser and administrative assistance.

Service provider (s) – contracted company that provides the formalised security and cleaning services in the neighbourhood. The service provider in the eKhaya programme participates in the various meetings of eKhaya as well as contributing to all projects and activities, often on a voluntary basis.

Volunteers – there are also volunteers involved in planning and implementing activities. A number of these are tenants and also some of the housing managers and staff of the ‘service provider’ who give voluntary time, as well as members of SAPS Hillbrow Youth Desk and CPF.

Neighbourhood network – this involves formalised cooperation between the CBOs, NGOs and other entities undertaking development work in the area. As members they are part of the general council but they are also organising among themselves for better targeting of resources and greater cooperative action.
2.3 Is it a CID?

Legislation permits municipalities to approve the formal establishment of CIDs. A number of the metros in the country have further developed their own policy, regulations and procedures for this.

In most instances these entities are functioning in the organised commercial and upmarket residential areas. There is some overlap between the activities of CIDs and those of eKhaya, however they have differences in both their ethos and programmes.

Compared to existing CIDs, eKhaya uses a more bottom-up approach. Initially this has involved organising local stakeholders on a voluntary basis and then involving them in defining priorities and making and implementing the plans to deal with these.

These activities include not only the core areas of tackling ‘crime and grime’ but also initiating and managing a range of other community activities e.g. lane management and upgrade, sports events, open space upgrade and management. Conventionally CIDs generally rely on a top-down approach. By using a local referendum all property owners are ‘contracted-in’ and liable to pay monthly levies.

Unlike the eKhaya project, CID activities tend to concentrate on the formal tackling of ‘crime and grime’ through contracting of service providers to provide direct cleaning and security services with some supplementary cosmetic upgrades in the public space (e.g. trees, gardens). Generally the focus is primarily on organising the property owners into the CID, and in a fairly limited way working with the building managers around mainly issues of security. Thereafter the CID uses its levies to contract external service providers who formally manage the security and cleaning issues.
While eKhaya is now planning to become a formal CID (once City policy is adjusted regarding the voting of sectional title property owners) it is doing it from an already well-developed and organised community base. In so doing it is helping to redefine forms for implementing CIDs that require policy consideration by municipalities.

2.4 Financing

There are four critical areas of financing that have worked within the eKhaya Project.

Initiation
This involved the financing for the necessary organising staff and other resources to permit the bringing together of the property owners and others in the community, as well as engaging the municipality and other key stakeholders and role-players. In the eKhaya project this seed financing came from JHC and Trafalgar Properties, which provided for the organiser, as well as carrying the costs of the office and general logistics. In other situations it is important to arrange financing for this critical first stage. In the case of the City of Johannesburg some of these costs are covered in the CID setting up grant. It is difficult to be precise about the amount required but based on the experience of eKhaya it is estimated that this is in the region of R500 000.

Core activities
Once the Association was established it started to raise its own levies, initially charging R24.40 per unit, an amount that has now risen to R27.50 per unit. These finances are used primarily for the payment of the service providers that oversee the security and cleaning project, as well as covering the cost of the coordinator, administration and a small office, and providing an annual grant to the social development activities.

An important challenge in determining the levy is to ensure that it can finance the necessary core services and the support functions while at the same time does not put pressure on achieving affordable rentals. In these residential regeneration areas many of the tenants are on relatively low incomes and the property owners are desirous of stable, affordable tenancies.

Project operational costs
Project activities e.g. sports activities and children’s recreational programmes, all require some level of resourcing. The levy contains little surplus to cover these costs.

Generally these are financed from a combination of other sources:
- Sponsorship by way of cash or in kind from members
- External grant fund raising including from the municipality
- Contribution from ‘service providers’
- Volunteer work from people involved in activities
- Tenant and member fund-raising activities
- Small entrance fee for participation
- Planning of financing is an important part of each project

Capital costs for area improvements
These have come primarily from the City of Johannesburg in capital investment in streets, lighting, lane upgrades and the renovation and upgrades of a park and another open area. This financing was achieved in part because of ongoing lobbying by the eKhaya neighbourhood association with the City.
There is also the capital investment that owners put into their properties as the market developed and then conditions in the area improve. They in turn improve the physical quality of the area. In instances of social housing this can include additional government subsidy invested in the development of the units.

Although increased capital investment is a key element of such regeneration projects there are presently no accurate figures that indicate the total amount of new capital invested in the eKhaya area.

2.5 Form and extent of membership

The invitation to property owners to work together was made by two property owners, one a private for-profit and the other a not-for-profit SHI. Over the ensuing years other private and SHI landowners joined. Throughout its development it has involved more and more CBOs and NGOs working in the area. In the latest phase of expansion it has also involved Wits University and Gauteng Provincial Government in their ownership of the ‘Hillbrow Health precinct’.

The involvement of the not-for-profit SHIs and the CBO sector has been critical in ensuring that the eKhaya initiative, in both form and content, includes a strong social component along with infrastructure upgrade and urban management elements in its recipe for inner city residential regeneration. This is in contrast to the conventional approach incorporating upgrade and management of crime-and-grime that characterises many of the CIDs. It is proposed that under the existing conditions in the country, it will require the proactive leadership from one or more not-for-profit SHI property owners to drive settlement models such as eKhaya.

2.6 Key target outputs

The development of eKhaya has entailed the phased identification and working towards specific outputs.

Initially these were determined by the founding members and the organiser but over time the membership has taken a more active part in defining such outputs. Importantly these include:

- Reduced levels of crime and increased participation in crime prevention
- Cleaner environment
- Physically well-maintained and secure public environment through effective and efficient repairs, as well as upgrading
- Greater social cohesiveness
- Greater security for tenants, workers and visitors to the area
- Improved quality of housing and internal management of buildings
- Greater inter-organisational cooperation
- More safe community activity for all ages
- Increased and properly targeted public and private investment in the area
- Greater mix of functions in the area residential, recreational, cultural, welfare, health, commercial
2.7 Key activities

Attaining the key outputs has involved the following activities:

- Leadership mobilising and development - through the various spheres of involvement in the area including importantly property owners and building managers
- Motivating and involving new stakeholders
- Partnership building – formal and informal
- Alliance building
- Event organising
- Building on opportunities
- Financial management - setting up and management of payment of levies and other financial streams
- Developing strong formal and informal networks between eKhaya and stakeholders groups and internally between eKhaya members
- Contract management - contracting and managing service providers for security and cleaning
- Planning and implementing community activities
- Monitoring and reporting repair and physical development issues to those responsible, particularly the municipality
- Facilitating the engagement of the municipality in capital investment and projects in the area
- Facilities management – co-management of parks, open spaces and other communal facilities in conjunction with the municipality
- Communication both internal with members and external with other key stakeholders through various modes including newsletters, meetings and workshops, and organised activities

The linkage between these and the different members is outlined in the table in Annexure 1.

2.8 Organiser

While there are a number of ingredients contributing to the success of this project, the quality of the project and facilitation is key. eKhaya has relied on a facilitator with a very hands-on approach. She has a high level of skill in building relationships and networks both internally and externally, at the same time using a systematic step-by-step approach, focused on prioritised issues of the stakeholders, that builds success incrementally.
She has demonstrated a proven ability to identify both risks and opportunities and build upon these. As part of this she has recognised the strength among participants and facilitated their involvement and supported the development of strong institutional forms that is driven by leadership of a range of different participants within the eKhaya network. Her communication skills are excellent especially with the range of key stakeholders but also in selling the eKhaya brand to a broad range of stakeholders not directly involved. The whole project has also required strong administrative and organising skills to ensure that the resources were mobilised and targeted in the most efficient and effective manner.

In short, while the leadership of a range of participants has built a strong and effective programme, it is the skills of the organiser that have enabled or made way for the conditions for this to happen. She continues to support the developed and changing leadership.

A significant challenge for the continued success of this and other similar projects is finding the personnel with the required skills given the relatively low salary and the insecurity of the work environment.

2.9 Leadership

As described above the organising and development of internal leadership is a very important factor in the success of this project. The project has allowed this leadership to develop and function among different groups of stakeholders and in both formal and informal ways.

Some elements of this are built around the following:

- Housing manager forums
- Project teams
- Service providers
- Community projects and activities
The key points of leadership that have emerged:
Building managers – engaged with the core activities of security and cleaning as well as driving broader community activities e.g. sport activities.
Tenants – some tenants have participated in voluntary capacity in developing and running projects and activities e.g. youth activities.
Service providers – the company providing the cleaning and security services in the area has become an active initiator and contributor to various community activities and developments beyond the scope of their specific contract.

In all these instances it is leadership internal to the programme that has made it happen.

2.10 Relationship with municipality

Much sustained work has gone into trying to build this relationship with the range of different parts of the municipality including executive committee, local councillors, service departments and the local area office.

Initially the municipality showed scepticism but increasingly has come to recognise the eKhaya neighbourhood and has cooperated, although not always across the board, and generally through informal rather than formal networks. There is presently no formal agreement of cooperation between the City and eKhaya except that the City has encouraged eKhaya to follow its formal processes to be established as a CID.

The greatest success to date is in the establishment of the informal network and relationships with officials which allows for reporting of issues and receiving responses – a much more ad hoc approach. The pro-activeness of responses from municipal official has increased as the success eKhaya project has become more recognised and respected. However it still does rely on a personal rather than a broader institutional commitment linked to stated service standards.

A particularly strong relationship has developed around allocation of capital financing for the open space, park and lane upgrades. This is a consequence of the campaigning by the eKhaya for these investments but is also linked to the eKhaya’s willingness to undertake co-operative management responsibility for these improvements, thereby reducing the medium term risk and costs to the City making it a more attractive way of investing its capital.

The management of roles and responsibilities of the municipality and eKhaya need careful balancing. In part eKhaya’s success grew from the City and the inability of other state agencies to manage some key functions in the area. It has also resulted in eKhaya starting to undertake a more direct responsibility for some of these activities previously vested with these agencies e.g. park access and activity management, security, cleaning. It raises issues as to where the line is drawn and where eKhaya’s role is not to do all but ensure that different agencies fulfil their formal responsibilities.

2.11 Relationship with other stakeholders

eKhaya has constantly endeavoured to build both formal and informal ties with a number of stakeholder groups and agencies that are not a direct part of eKhaya.
Among them are:

- The community police forum
- The Hillbrow police station
- The schools
- The tenants and key people in the ‘high jacked’ buildings and failed sectional title buildings and non-member buildings

Again the real success with this is in building the ‘informal’ relations that permits easier engagement with these stakeholders when it is required within the activities of the organisation which are of mutual interest and concern, and to do with events in the area.

2.12 Settlement development process

An essential difference between the eKhaya initiative and other CIDs in the city is between an ‘administrative’ and a ‘human settlement development’ approach.

With CIDs the primary focus is on the securing of levies and the contracting of external service providers to carry out cleaning and security activities. It is an approach that is tightly controlled by the involved property owners and gives little cognisance or resources to activities that stimulate local involvement and ownership.

The eKhaya approach has relied on a middle up and down approach emphasising social development facilitation at all levels and in all spheres of interest of the players that has extended the range of activities and the people involved in these. It has concentrated on building a key leadership structure among the building managers that evokes real ownership of the activities and supports them in spreading this engagement with the tenants of their buildings with whom they have strong day-to-day contact. At the same time they are participating and feeding into the decision-making forums that have a strong locus with the direct interests of the owners of the buildings.

The process involves actions on issues of concern prioritised by stakeholders. The consequence of these actions is the engagement of all the responsible parties to take responsibility for their role in addressing the issue. As this process is repeated, issues after issue, the players develop trust in each other and pride in their achievements. They become assertive in engaging other neighbours and parties around other issues. The result is a community-of-interest and active social cohesion. This is evidenced in the neighbourhood environment in its seventh year, in its recognition by others living elsewhere in Hillbrow, and by the successful businesses operated by property owners and others.

The social development approach is further strengthened by the involvement of CBOs, NGOs churches and other development entities as important cooperating partners in strengthening the area.

This approach is initially more resource intensive and incremental than the ‘administrative’ model but it engages more participants across a range of activities with the intent of strengthening local ownership and control over the purpose and nature of neighbourhood improvements. This contributes significantly to the objective of ‘social cohesiveness’ instead of merely physical improvements. In the medium-to-long term it is more cost effective as the growing social cohesion develops mutual interaction in the neighbourhood. This has been evidenced in matters of crime prevention. The monthly levies in the eKhaya neighbourhood are the same in 2011 as they were in 2010.
PART 3

Challenges for the eKhaya Project

This description of the elements of the programme and the outline of what it has achieved point to the significant success of the eKhaya neighbourhood regeneration process to date. Its success has strengthened its potential to take on a number of challenges that have emerged.

These include:

3.1 Facilitating new initiatives in the area

Since eKhaya has reached what is considered by its members as optimal size the challenge is now to encourage new projects in the surrounding areas and create strong linkages across these ‘cluster neighbourhoods’. It has a positive base from which to work given its demonstrated success already in the inner city area, the strong cooperative network that it has built, and the recognition it has gained. Three new ‘eKhaya’ type initiatives are now in the initiation stage.

3.2 Formalising through CID registration

There are advantages to formal registration through the City’s CID policies and procedures:

• Expansion of membership base – filling in the gap in the existing area
• Increased financial base through levies
• Reducing problems and promoting interaction with hitherto uninvolved buildings
• More official status with the municipality

To achieve formal establishment requires a shift in municipal policy on the status of sectional title owners. Without such a change the balance of forces could have a negative impact on the overall regeneration initiatives in these areas.

If established as a formal CID, eKhaya will need to ensure that its broader urban regeneration vision (incorporating the social development element along with infrastructure upgrade and urban management) is not subsumed by the more ‘administrative’ approach that dominates in existing CIDs.
3.3 Involvement in formal development planning of area and dealing with bad buildings

The project has achieved a number of functional successes in facilitating regeneration in the area. Its successful impact relates to the operational crime, grime and repair/upgrade aspects, as well as building community cohesiveness and ad-hoc community upgrades e.g. park and open spaces.

Despite these significant successes it is not presently engaged by the municipality and/or policing bodies in assisting with the long term planning for the upgrade of the area nor proactive involvement in initiative/s to deal with ‘bad buildings’. It has a particular challenge to engage with the municipality over a more systematic approach to bringing such buildings, particularly where owned or controlled by the City and/or Province, into physical development that improves both the quality of available housing and the quality of the built environment in the area.

3.4 Involvement of commercial property owners

Some mixed residential/commercial property owners have become members of eKhaya and a monthly levy has been devised. To date no solely commercial property owners have joined and eKhaya needs to work with other agencies to help develop the formulas and motivation that will encourage engagement.

3.5 Measuring impact

There is much evidence of the important outputs of the project, as well as anecdotal evidence of its impacts. However there is presently a lack of concrete measurement of its impact on the area. It is important to have this information both for eKhaya to better understand its successes and future targeting of resources, but also to motivate its successes to a broader audience. This will ensure that the potential of neighbourhood development practice be more broadly adopted/adapted and the benefits optimised in the City and elsewhere.
Some critical measured indicators that could assist are:

- Measures of public and private investment in the area as a consequence
- Measures of tenant/worker/young adults satisfaction and security in the area and extent of new tenant choice to live specifically in the area
- Savings to landlords on operational cost because of more settled secure-clean-and-friendly area
- Measure of municipal operational investment in the area, number of repairs and speed of response on reported problems, etc.
- Shifts in levels of criminal activity in the area

3.6 Supply of appropriate community development personnel

The important role of the social development facilitator in the quality of the eKhaya project is outlined above. A challenge now is to ensure the availability of such skills as the existing programme develops and for the planned extensions of neighbourhood practice elsewhere. If the right skills mix is not immediately available it is important to ensure that there is a mentorship programme available, as well as some sense of job security for the incumbent. Job security might be achieved by the employment of a person by an established development organisation but with full secondment to the eKhaya programme and eKhaya paying its portion of the person's salary back to the employing agency.

3.7 Working with the ingredients and challenges

These critical issues and challenges help to explain the ingredients that have made eKhaya the success that it is, but also what differentiates it from other formal City processes to support regeneration, urban management and social well-being. This raises the question as to whether the eKhaya project is replicable elsewhere, or whether it has lessons that are relevant to existing or new initiatives promoting urban regeneration, and if so, where responsibility and opportunities lie to use the eKhaya experience in other appropriate areas.
4.1 Ingredients for new initiatives

It is recognised that there is a real danger in speaking of ‘replication’ as this involves transplanting an initiative that has developed from specific conditions to another area that might have different conditions, strengths and weaknesses. Instead the intention here is to highlight some of the key ingredients and methods that could be appropriately used and/or adapted by initiators in other areas with consideration to the conditions of those areas.

The Generic ‘eKhaya’

In writing about ‘ingredients’ the word ‘eKhaya’ is used in a generic way to refer to an inner city regeneration programme. It is a convenience and not meant to imply that other such projects are or should be eKhaya projects.

4.1.1 Levels of environmental degradation – the issues

There must be existing issues located in local conditions that can focus organisation by some leaders (stakeholders) from the local area which bring together other leaders and role-players with an interest in the area. This includes problems of physical degeneration, safety and cleanliness and underlain by a lack of social cohesiveness and contest over resources.

4.1.2 Commitment and practical initiatives to change - the conditions

While the above conditions are important motivators there must be at least embryonic institutional motivators engaging in activities that are working towards the physical improvement of the area. These can include:

- Property owners (residential and commercial)
- NGOs and CBOs
- Local residents
- MMCs and ward councillors
4.1.3 Shared clarity of purpose
Among the participating parties there must be self-interests, not necessarily the same, which will be realised/satisfied by achieving shared objectives which are informed by the ‘vision’ for the area. These are expressed in:
- The importance of creating conditions to secure, protect and develop further investment in the area
- Support for building community cohesiveness and increasing the quality of life for those living and working in the area
- Resurrection and preservation of a sustained rates base in the city

4.1.4 Structure that is firm but flexible
In the institutional structuring it is crucial to have a legal entity whether a voluntary association or a-not-for-profit company. Within this legal structure it is important to build an organisational form that helps to ensure the engagement and participation of all stakeholders, and the recognition of other role-players, comprising:
- Executive committee
- General council
- Building managers committee or forums
- Project teams
- Consultative forums both for role-players e.g. tenants, municipal, and utility service providers

4.1.5 Committed social housing landlord
For this property-owner driven initiative to succeed there must be enough property owners with a shared commitment to initiating and driving changes. Essential to the approach of neighbourhood development is the initiating and driving by at least one SHI that has property investment in the area and can motivate and hold sustained support for the social development element of the initiative.

4.1.6 Committed service providers
The contracted ‘service provider’ becomes a proactive part of the project. Although paid for its work it has or develops an understanding of the social development mode and becomes an active player in its form and quality. It does this both in the way it organises its paid programme of work and also in its support and use of local networks. Its voluntary contributions to the initiatives alongside other sponsors are consequent on the realisation of self-interest and/or improved business.

4.1.7 Financing
The following forms and amounts of financing are required:

Initiation grant
- Between R350 000 and R500 000 to pay for the community initiator to:
  - organise initial involvement
  - facilitate formation of an institutional structure for the project including structuring membership and levy payments and
  - coordinating the process for the establishment of a formal CID, where appropriate and desired by members.
This process is estimated to take between 6 and 18 months.

The finance could take the form of one/more direct grants or the mixture of grant and resources in kind e.g. offices and office infrastructure, seconded staff.
Long-term operational costs

This is financing to cover the costs of the core services of cleaning and security and the coordination and administrative costs of the running of the offices and collection of levies. In the eKhaya project the current levy is R27.50 per residential unit per month. However it depends upon the core service desired by members and likely costs.

Before and After: Lanes secured and cleaned as part of the eKhaya lane management project – another success story.
Social development project initiatives
Leadership provided by the initiating group should encourage collaborative (broad-based) activities of local NGOs, religious, educational, and community policing institutions to promote social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The cost of these depends on the nature and extent of the projects including youth and sports activities, and community campaigns. Each project should have its own budget. A small amount of levy money should be available to seed finance some of these activities. The major portion should be sourced from outside grants or grants or contribution in kind from participant organisations.

Capital cost of physical improvements in area
In the eKhaya neighbourhood this has included open space and lane upgrades. In such instances the supplier of such capital projects is likely to be one or other government agency e.g. municipality. Where the upgrade is to a building or buildings this will be financed by the owner or owners working together. The amounts are dependent upon the projects and the availability of suitable financing streams. To secure and sustain the investment of capital infrastructure, co-management agreements should be arranged between the property owner association/CID and the relevant City agencies responsible for maintenance/repairs.

Local artists introduce public art into eKhaya as part of the HDA/eKhaya upgrade phase 2

eKhaya park upgraded and ready for play
4.1.8 Community development skills and leadership

The availability/training-mentoring of a suitably skilled community development worker/organiser is essential for the success of such a project. The challenge is finding such a person with the commitment and an appropriate mix of knowledge and skills.

Important among these are:

- Good understanding of community dynamics and local government service context
- Ability to plan and facilitate community projects
- Ability to communicate effectively with a diverse range of individuals, groups and institutions at multiple levels
- Strategic and tactical understanding of how to build community incrementally using a variety of opportunities in different contexts
- Ability to identify and build cooperative community networks
- Ability to identify leadership potential in individuals and groups and to encourage the development of that leadership
- Ability to facilitate meetings, set up/manage administrative systems, undertake project planning and management
- Reporting skills

Without these skills embodied in one or two people who have the time and commitment to do the day-to-day overseeing of the project, it will be difficult to achieve the successes associated with the eKhaya neighbourhood programme.

4.1.9 Municipal backing or responsiveness

Formal municipal and associated political approval or engagement is very valuable but not a prerequisite. It is however essential that all the relevant parts and sections of the Council, whether political or administrative, understand what the programme is trying to achieve and how it requires actualising of the formal responsibilities and obligations of the municipality.

From there the key leadership in the project should work through the various formal and informal channels to strengthen municipal engagement in the following areas:

- Responsiveness to service provision responsibilities – repairs, cleaning, by-law enforcement, metro policing
- Investment in area upgrade to encourage the municipality to invest capital to upgrade public space to improve the physical environment
- Assistance with the financing of operational activities especially with the setting up costs and on some of the specific projects of the initiative
- Engagement of the ‘eKhaya’ organisation in the physical planning of the area and the approaches to implementing such plans

Depending upon the commitment and engagement of the municipality the ‘eKhaya’ initiative can use the following forms of involvement to strengthen cooperation with the municipality:

- Formal agreements on relationship, roles and responsibilities, resource exchanges and service standards with the municipality as whole
- Agreements with particular service sections
- Strengthened informal networks for reporting and following up on activities
- Observer status of council officials at the ‘eKhaya’ meetings
4.2 Way forward

4.2.1 Developments in Johannesburg area

**Existing eKhaya programme**
- The boundaries of this project are now defined. There is still room for recruitment of new landlords and involvement of existing buildings. This can be achieved on a continuation of a ‘voluntarist’ model used to date or through ratification of the eKhaya as an official CID. The latter will require changes in the municipality’s policy.
- eKhaya has made representation to the City of Johannesburg about certain revisions to the CID legislation. It will need to continue to lobby for the changes. If these are made it can then proceed with the formal approach of establishing itself as a Section 21 Company and a CID. In doing so it will open this up as an institutional development option for the new areas. If not it will have to proceed on the ‘voluntarist’ basis that it has been successful with to date.

**Development of three new areas**

**Hillbrow – two new cluster areas**
The existing programme, with the support of the HDA, the JHC and two private companies (Connaught Properties and Urban Task Force), the three housing companies all being lead companies in the eKhaya neighbourhood area, is presently applying its own lessons with its organiser to develop two new areas in the north of Hillbrow.

The form of these is dependent upon engagement with the key stakeholders in these areas and the outcome of the CID discussions with the City. The initiation resourcing requires closer attention particularly if further community development skills are required - will it come from HDA, JHC or other sources?

**Project in Troyeville**
This initiative is being tackled directly by the JHC and its community development subsidiary company, Makhulong a Matala. It is an area in which the JHC is a landlord. Although the neighbourhood requires regeneration it is different to Hillbrow in that it has lower densities and a more diverse system of ownership including many more individually owned flats and houses. This provides a different terrain on which to reflect and test lessons from eKhaya’s neighbourhood development experience. The JHC and its subsidiary will drive this, although through its strong formal and informal contacts with eKhaya it will share lessons and some possible resources.

**Structuring cooperative relations between the new areas**
While it is contemplated that each of the new initiatives will have its own governance and management structures and finance their activities from their own levies and other resources, there is an important place for cooperation between the areas for the following practical purposes:
- Joint community project activities e.g. children’s activities and sport
- Sharing community resources through the neighbourhood network
- Negotiating with the City
- Joint planning on strategic capital investment potential
- Overlap and effective integration of City capital development projects e.g. lane management and upgrade projects
- Capitalising on the lessons from each experience and extending the overall impact of the inner city areas becoming ‘normalised neighbourhoods”
The existing eKhaya area should consider structuring arrangements for such cooperative interaction perhaps through a joint coordinating committee.

4.2.2 Use of lessons in other areas

Inner city regeneration areas
There is enough evidence to suggest that the ‘eKhaya’ type project has made an important contribution to regeneration in a dense inner city urban area in Johannesburg. It would therefore be useful to use some of the lessons learnt to pro-actively inform new initiatives in run-down inner city areas in other parts of the country. This would require that financial and capacitation support be given to the development of projects with a similar approach in at least two areas outside of Johannesburg where the relevant conditions exist.

Some suggested urban areas to investigate in conjunction with existing SHIs are Port Elizabeth, East London (OHHA), EThekwini (FMHA and SOHCO), Tshwane (Yeast), Cape Town (Communicare and SOHCO)

Informal settlement upgrade
There are aspects of this inner city regeneration organisation that could have applicability to in-situ informal settlement upgrade.

eKhaya has been a productive example of the application of organising philosophy, principles and praxis where issues were found on which (legitimate) stakeholders could act in ways in which leadership was developed and sustained through incremental successes - followed by formalised association and positioning for recognition of their organisation.

Therefore, it is the methodology which needs to be examined for potential in informal settlement upgrade viz. what are the issues, who are the stakeholders, and how can they be organised into productive action on their issues?

However there are significant differences between these ‘informal settlements and inner city regeneration’ that will affect the mode of social development. Among the significant differences are:

- Very large number of ‘potential’ property owners
- Lack of formally structured system of ‘ownership’
- Sharper competing of interest over control of ‘ownership’ and other resources
- Larger number of informal networks exercising controls over resource and resource allocation in the area
- Availability of substantial facilitation resources in areas developed as in situ upgrade

At this stage it could be useful to arrange a workshop of key contributors in this area of work to consider the lessons from eKhaya and other tested social development models to further develop best responses in informal settlements contexts.
4.2.3 Development of the necessary community development facilitation skills

The success of these complex interventions requires access to very skilled personnel to take on their development and management. Often it is difficult to find people with the right skills mix and attitude. This is particularly so as the salaries are generally low and there is very limited job security given the fragile funding base for these projects.

The following is suggested to assist in tackling the activities proposed above:

Mentoring and exchange programme eKhaya with new projects
This would entail financing and organising of a mentoring programme that formally links some of the facilitators and leaders on the new projects with the expertise and leadership from eKhaya. This would take the form of visiting exchanges to see and experience the working of eKhaya, as well as the training and direct mentoring on the job of the new projects where this is helpful.

Bedding and consolidating the eKhaya ethos in SHIs
There are presently five SHIs in the country that have linked community development programmes. The organisation, resourcing and programmes of these vary. It would be useful to host workshops involving community development practitioners to present and test perceptions and insights regarding the general approaches to a) community development projects b) social development c) neighbourhood development are shared, and how they are understood to be productive and effective within these programmes.
Institutional responsibility

If this social development approach to inner city regeneration is to have wider impact it requires an institutional base to spread the lessons and also to support initiation of similar projects by local stakeholders.

This involves institutional base(s) that will:

- Communicate the approach among cities where there could be an interest
- Identify possible areas for initiation of programmes
- Provide resources for the initiation of programmes
- Build cooperative partnerships to extend the network of such initiatives

The following are potential institutional bases.

5.1 The Housing Development Agency (HDA)

In accordance with the HDA Act there is scope for the HDA to coordinate some of the facilitation of this work. Under its mandate one of the key objectives of the agency is to:

‘project manage housing development services for the purposes of the creation of sustainable human settlements’ (The HDA Act 2006 section 4c)

Under its functions the Agency must:

- ‘identify, acquire, hold, develop and release state, privately and communal owned land for residential and community development’ (The HDA Act 2006 section 7(g))

In performing its functions, the Agency must:

- ‘ensure that residential and community developments are sustainable, viable and appropriately located’ (The HDA Act 2006 section 7(2)(a))

In performing its functions the Agency may:

- ‘(a) declare priority housing development areas for residential and community purposes in accordance with integrated development plans and provincial spatial development frameworks;
(b) develop and submit a development plan for such priority housing development areas as contemplated in subsection 1(a); and

(c) implement such measures as may be prescribed to fast-track housing development in the declared priority housing development areas.’ (The HDA Act 2006 Section 7(3))

Although the Agency’s primary function is the acquisition and preparing of land it has a sub-function to ensure that the development of land is done on a sustainable basis. In inner city areas financial and social sustainability is dependent upon ensuring effective urban regeneration activities.
Therefore where the HDA owns land and buildings and intends supporting the development of these properties within the context of sustainable human settlements, it has a mandate to support urban regeneration activities that contribute to this. This is also specifically so in areas declared ‘priority housing development areas’. In such circumstances the HDA can undertake responsibility for the initiating of such community development projects that will build sustainable human settlements.

It can also work with other government agencies that own land and buildings that they intend developing for sustainable human settlements including where these are located within existing residential developments and neighbourhoods.

Where these conditions do not exist other agents may become champions and initiator of eKhaya-type regeneration projects.

5.2 Social housing institutions

Where existing SHIs own developments in such inner city areas and also have a community development programme component, they can undertake the championing and initiating of such programmes. The major problem in these instances is sourcing funding for the initiation activities.

5.3 NGOs

In some local areas stronger NGOs might undertake the initiation of such programmes. The challenges for them are establishing the trust of the landlords and also obtaining the resources to cover the cost of the initiating process.

5.4 Municipalities

In some municipalities there are policies and procedures for implementation of the provincial legislation for setting up CID s. In some of these there are specific procedures and finances available for the initiating of such projects. As eKhaya has discovered these are not always adapted to a ‘social development’ based approach. However where such adaptations can be made this is a further focus point for the initiating of eKhaya type projects.
### PART 6

**eKhaya outputs, projects and activities**

This table links eKhaya’s outputs, projects, activities and participants

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