In SERI’s Community Practice Notes we document the socio-economic struggles of community-based organisations in different settlement contexts in South Africa.

1. Makause: Resisting Relocation on the East Rand
Informal Settlement Series

SERI’s first community practice notes are a series on informal settlement struggles for development, in which we examine how community-based organisations (CBOs) in four informal settlements in South Africa have organised and mobilised for development, particularly around the *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements.

The series examines the strategies and tactics of CBOs in four informal settlements located in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (Gauteng), Mahikeng Local Municipality (North West) and the City of Johannesburg (Gauteng). The four CBOs profiled are: Makause Community Development Forum (Macodefo), Rooigrond Committee, Thembelihle Crisis Committee (TCC) and Slovo Park Community Development Forum (SPCDF).

The series documents and analyses the relationship between evictions, development, community organisation and mobilisation, local politics, protest and the use of courts.

*Makause: Resisting Relocation on the East Rand* is the first community practice note in the series. The other three are: *Rooigrond: Community Struggle in the North West; Thembelihle: Engaging an Unresponsive State* and *Slovo Park: Twenty Years of Broken Promises*.

Design and layout: www.itldesign.co.za
Makause: Resisting Relocation on the East Rand

*Makause: Resisting Relocation on the East Rand* is the first in the Informal Settlement Series of community practice notes. It provides a brief background to the Makause informal settlement; summarises the key events in the struggle to resist eviction and push for development at the settlement; and examines the strategies and tactics of the local community structure, the Makause Community Development Forum (Macodefo).

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Makause informal settlement is located in the suburb of Primrose in Germiston, which falls within the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in the Gauteng province. The settlement was established in the mid-1990s after retrenched mine workers occupied the abandoned vacant site, known as Driefontein Farm. Some residents have lived at the settlement for over 20 years. Currently at least 10,000 people reside at the settlement, which is very densely populated and spans an area of approximately 60 hectares. The land on which Makause is situated is owned by two companies: Rose Acres Development (Rose Acres) - which holds three title deeds comprising 40 hectares - and Harrigan Properties. DRD Gold has servitude rights over some of the land. The settlement is located on an old mining ridge and is classified as a mine residue area (MRA), exhibiting geotechnical concerns relating to the formation of sinkholes and the danger of unsealed mine shafts. Makause is considered well-located to the residents as there are economic opportunities and social amenities in the surrounding areas of Germiston and Primrose.
Key Events

The following figure summarises the key events in the struggle to resist eviction and push for development at Makause informal settlement.

2006
A Makause resident dies after falling into a collapsed sinkhole. Threats of eviction lead to Macodefo being revived as a community structure.

2007
Over 2000 households are forcibly relocated from Makause to Tsakane. Macodefo takes up the struggle.

2008 - 2009
Negotiations for interim services begin. Municipality installs two standpipes and five high mast lights at the settlement.

2010
Rose Acres, the majority landowner, proposes that the municipality enter into negotiations around purchasing the land.

2011
Macodefo, ISN and Rose Acres meet to discuss a way forward. The local ANC branch sets up an alternative community structure at Makause.

2012
Macodefo, launches High Court application to compel upgrading at Makause. The municipality opposes the application. Macodefo members are arrested after a protest march is banned.

2013
Arrested Macodefo members appear in court several times. General Moyo is eventually charged with intimidation. Macodefo begins community water project.

2014
High Court application launched to declare section 1(1)(b) of Intimidation Act unconstitutional.

Figure 2: Makause summary timeline
TIMELINE OF EVENTS

2006

OCTOBER
A Makause resident dies after falling into a collapsed sinkhole at the settlement while picking waste from the concealed opening.¹

DECEMBER
The Makause Community Development Forum (Macodefo) is revived as an informal community structure, with a focus on assisting residents resist forced relocation from the settlement.²

2007

JANUARY
A “housing beneficiary workshop” is convened by the municipality at the Makause informal settlement. Community members are told that they will be relocated to Tsakane Extension 10 – a temporary relocation area (TRA) located 40km away on the periphery of the municipality. The meeting is disrupted by Macodefo members, who tell the community that they had investigated the area and it is an open site with no houses.

FEBRUARY
Evictions at the settlement begin and the community approaches the High Court to obtain an urgent interdict prohibiting the municipality from unlawfully demolishing people’s shacks at the settlement. The first application is dismissed. A week later the community approaches the court for a second time. The judge grants an order permitting residents to be relocated only if they consent to it under a process supervised and monitored by a high ranking South African Police Service (SAPS) officer.⁵ However the municipality and SAPS abuse the court order and take a bundle of pre-signed eviction consent forms (stamped by a Primrose SAPS officer) and distribute these to residents in food parcels,⁶ as confirmation that they had received the parcel (and consented to voluntarily relocate).⁷

¹ News24 “Woman’s body pulled from home” (26 October 2006).
² C Benit-Gbaffou (ed) “Community activists tell their story: driving change in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni” (June 2013) 212.
³ Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality “Amendment of Resolution: Relocation of Families Living under Stressful Condition and the Immediate Threat to their Safety on the Mining Belt in the Southern Service Delivery Region” Minutes of Mayoral Committee Meeting (18 January 2007).
⁴ SABC News “Families removed from mining area in East Rand” (2 February 2007).
⁵ Ndawoyakhe and Others v Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and Another (1 February 2007) 2007/4034
Over 2 000 households are relocated from Makause to Tsakane. While some people are in favour of relocating, others choose to challenge the eviction. 61 households living in shacks marked for demolition successfully resist having their homes destroyed (they remain the subject of an eviction in 2008). Many people are misled into believing that they would be allocated an RDP house at Tsakane, however all they are given is four poles and plastic to reconstruct their homes. Residents are forced to buy back building materials confiscated by the Red Ants during the eviction. People’s livelihoods are destroyed, as they cannot afford the travelling costs associated with the relocation, estimated at the time as R38 for a roundtrip. Those who depend on the neighbourhood surrounding Makause attempt to commute for work, with many simply relocating back to Makause permanently.

The impact of the relocation from Makause to Tsakane has an overall negative effect on households: food insecurity rises, families are separated because of the lack of jobs in Tsakane, which require some family members to move back to Makause, children struggle to get into schools at Tsakane and the majority of pupils have no choice but to commute to Makause to attend school. According to research conducted into the impact of the relocation, it “caused a lot of confusion, anger, and hopelessness attributed to a lack of communication with the community and the sense people felt misled.”

Following engagements with the municipality, an agreement is made that Makause residents living at Tsakane can return if they wish. Around two-thirds of households return permanently, while the rest reside at Tsakane only on weekends. Many people are forced into rental arrangements on their return.

SEPTEMBER
Rose Acres acquires 40 hectares of the land on which Makause is situated. It begins the process of establishing an industrial township on the property, zoned for light industrial and business use.

OCTOBER
The municipality applies for an eviction order to remove the remaining 61 households living on a 200m belt of land which had been largely cleared in the 2007 demolition. The households oppose the application and call for meaningful engagement with the municipality. Negotiations are held with the municipality in 2008 on the issue of installing interim services at the settlement. The municipality’s position is that the services are a temporary solution, and that they had to be installed at the edges of the settlement because the private landowners will not allow them to be installed on their land.

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8 Residents from a number of other informal settlements in the municipality are also removed to Tsakane. H Bangerezako “A piece of plastic called home” Mail and Guardian (28 May 2007).
9 A Moyo “Interview” (3 June 2013).
11 Ibid 83.
12 Ibid 67.
14 Ibid 95.
15 Benit-Gbaffou “Community activists tell their story” (2013) 211.
2008

MAY
Xenophobic violence breaks out across Gauteng, including at Makause. Macodefo criticises the action of the Primrose SAPS in assisting preventative efforts to stop the violence. A number of foreign nationals are killed at the settlement.18

JUNE
Macodefo is invited to a ‘Roundtable on Informal Settlement Upgrading’ at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. This invitation is as a result of Macodefo organiser General Alfred Moyo’s networking. It provides the opportunity for Macodefo to meet members of social movements, municipal and provincial government officials, and lawyers. At the workshop the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) agrees to take on Makause’s case.19

JULY - AUGUST
After a long struggle by the community and Macodefo, the municipality eventually installs two standpipes and five high mast lights at Makause. However, given the size of the settlement and the number of households, this is inadequate. A notice is posted on a tree at the settlement, announcing an application for the establishment of a township to be zoned for industrial and business purposes.

SEPTEMBER
The Ekurhuleni Housing Department states that it has no objection to the establishment of an industrial township on the property owned by Rose Acres, however notes that “the site is currently occupied by an informal settlement. The Housing Department is concerned as to the future of this community and what steps will be followed to resolve the resettlement of this community.”20

The Informal Settlement Network (ISN) is formed in a number of provinces after a series of informal settlement dialogues are held.21 Macodefo becomes a member of the ISN, and networks with other settlements in the municipality and the province. Moyo is elected as the chairperson of the Ekurhuleni ISN.22

A meeting is set up between Macodefo, ISN representatives and the Office of the Speaker of the municipal council to discuss the provision of services at Makause.

2009

As a result of the municipality’s refusal to install services at Makause, Macodefo starts to engage with the ISN and a private company, Toilet Boss Distributors, to pilot a system to improve individual pit latrines at the settlement.

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19 Kornienko “Engaging Informal Settlements as Landscapes of Place” (2013) 259. This case has since been transferred to the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI).
20 Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality “Letter from Housing Department to City Development” (16 September 2008).
21 ISN is a “bottom-up agglomeration of settlement-level and national-level organisations of the urban poor” in South Africa. See http://sasdialliance.org.za/about/isn/
22 Kornienko “Engaging Informal Settlements as Landscapes of Place” (2013) 255.
**FEBRUARY**

Ekurhuleni MMC for Water and Energy and municipal officials conduct a site visit to Makause prior to an Informal Settlement Summit organised by ISN and the Office of the Mayor. At this visit the municipality is made aware of the lack of water points, illegal dumping, overgrown grass and a large number of trees in close proximity to shacks at the settlement.  

Macodefo begins attending ward committee meetings in 2009, and pushes for a clinic to be built near Makause, and for traffic lights to be installed. In 2010 a clinic is built across the road from the settlement and two traffic lights are built at a busy intersection bordering Makause.

**MARCH**

The ANC Germiston Alberton Regional Parliamentary Constituency Office (PCO) management holds a meeting with the Makause community about service delivery challenges at the settlement, including refuse removal, additional communal water taps, chemical toilets and the trimming of grass. The municipality begins working with Macodefo and the community to clean the area, cut trees, clear waste and trim the grass.

The municipality offers to provide chemical toilets on the edges of the settlement; however Macodefo rejects the offer. Macodefo requests municipal approval for the Toilet Boss system to be rolled out at Makause. The municipality deems the product to be safe but refuses to approve its implementation at the settlement, stating that the company would need to enter into an agreement with the occupiers in a private capacity.

**APRIL - JUNE**

The Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development (GDARD) requests the Ekurhuleni Housing Department to provide it with information on what steps will be taken to relocate the occupiers of Makause so that it can authorise development on the land.

Representatives from the landowner, Rose Acres, meet with the municipality to discuss resettling the occupiers of Makause. They state that they are willing to negotiate about the municipality purchasing the property or entering into a development lease, and propose that the two parties enter into negotiations for the municipality to purchase the land to develop residential units there.

**SEPTEMBER**

GDARD authorises the establishment of an industrial township on the land owned by Rose Acres, zoned for light industrial and business use. The township is to be known as Germiston Extension 40 once it is proclaimed.

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23 Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality “Report on site visit to Makause informal settlement” (8 February 2010).
2011

OCTOBER
A fire breaks out at Makause killing one man and destroying a number of shacks. The Red Ants are contracted by the municipality to help rebuild people’s shacks.26

FEBRUARY
As part of the local government election campaign, the Ekurhuleni Mayor visits a number of informal settlements, including Makause. Community members raise the lack of basic services at the settlement.

MARCH
A meeting is held with the MMC for Housing, Macodefo, the ward councillor and the landowners. Rose Acres rejects the municipality’s proposal to install interim services while it explores options to accommodate the Makause residents elsewhere and wants a permanent solution and suggests that the municipality purchase the land or negotiate for long-term leasehold. The property owners and the municipality each accuse one another of acting in bad faith. Macodefo and ISN set up a meeting with the property owners to further discuss the issue.

A meeting is held on 15 March with the landowner, ISN and Macodefo. The landowner proposes to launch an eviction application against the occupiers, suspended for six months while a plan to relocate the occupiers is formulated by the municipality. The owner argues that this is the best way to spur the municipality into action and consider a permanent solution. Macodefo does not agree to this approach.

MAY
On 18 May 2011 – the day of the local government election – the municipality begins implementing a high mast lighting project at the settlement.27 According to Macodefo, local ANC branch members accuse community members employed at the project of being members of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and being paid to not vote for the ANC. After the election the ANC loses the Primrose ward to the DA, which exacerbates tensions between Macodefo and the local ANC branch. Macodefo fears the use of force to “overthrow” the committee leadership.28

JUNE
The local ANC branch chairperson and treasurer set up an alternative community structure at Makause, ostensibly to challenge Macodefo’s legitimacy and undermine the struggle for upgrading of the settlement.29

DECEMBER
Macodefo obtains funding from the Community Upgrading Facility Fund (CUFF), an initiative of the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC),30 as well as The Mvula Trust,31 to upgrade the existing water connections and to install four additional taps at the settlement.32

26 M Rambau “Makause recovers from fire” (10 October 2010).
27 Macodefo “Primrose ANC branch threatens attack on the leadership of the Makause shack settlement in Ekurhuleni” press release (29 May 2011).
28 Ibid.
31 The Mvula Trust is a water and sanitation NGO operating in South Africa working to increase access to sustainable water and sanitation services. See http://www.mvula.co.za/
**2012**

**JUNE**
Macodefo, represented by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI), launches an application in the South Gauteng High Court to compel upgrading at Makause. The application requests the court to review the municipality’s failure to take a decision to make an application to the Gauteng provincial government for funding to upgrade Makause in terms of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) contained in the National Housing Code. The application also requests that the municipality provide the residents with access to basic water, sanitation and refuse removal services until the settlement has been upgraded, or formal housing has been provided to the residents through other means.

**JULY - SEPTEMBER**
The municipality opposes the application and attempts to reach a settlement agreement with the occupiers regarding interim services. The occupiers request the provision of water through communal standpipes, the provision of water-borne sanitation and the provision of waste removal and management through a community driven project. In August, the Macodefo offices and the homes of Macodefo organiser General Moyo and Macodefo secretary Michael Dzai are attacked, allegedly by members of the local ANC branch.

In September, Macodefo gives notice in terms of the Regulation of Gatherings Act 205 of 1993 to the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department (EMPD), notifying them of a planned protest march on 5 October. The purpose of the march is to protest against police brutality by the Primrose SAPS, the police’s alleged refusal to investigate Makause residents’ cases, and the lack of police action in investigating the attack on Macodefo offices and homes in August, when the leadership was in Marikana to show solidarity with the families of the deceased. The SAPS station commander organises a meeting with Macodefo where community leaders are allegedly threatened and told that if they march against the SAPS there will be “another Marikana”. They are told that the other community structure at Makause had planned to march on the same day, so Macodefo could not go ahead.

**OCTOBER**
Rose Acres launches a counter-application to the Macodefo application and also issues a summons against the municipality, requesting that constitutional damages be paid if and demanding that the municipality either purchase the land through negotiation or expropriation, or relocate and resettle the occupiers to suitable land in the area.

A fire at the settlement burns 18 shacks to the ground. The lack of access to water appears to be a factor which contributed to the rapid spread of the fire. The municipality is criticised for its response to the fire, and for again outsourcing to the Red Ants to assist fire-affected communities and rebuild shacks.

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34 Macodefo “Focus group interview” (26 October 2012).
35 Macodefo “Makause community to march against police brutality in Primrose” press release (17 October 2012).
36 M de Waal “Police to people of Makause: ‘March and there’ll be another Marikana’” *Daily Maverick* (5 October 2012).
37 Rose Acres “Affidavit” (8 October 2012).
38 M de Waal “In the wake of the Makause shack fire, the destitute and forgotten” *Daily Maverick* (15 October 2012).
Macodefo re-applies for the march against police brutality to be held on 19 October. The march is telephonically approved by an EMPD officer two days before the march. However a day later, one day before the march is due to take place, a meeting in terms of section 4 of the Regulation of Gatherings Act is convened. In a surprising move the meeting is held at Primrose SAPS station (section 4 meetings are normally held at the EMPD offices). During this meeting there is much hostility from SAPS officers towards Macodefo leaders, particularly towards Moyo, as well as from ANC members forming part of the opposition community structure (who had been invited to the meeting by the police). The police refuse to grant permission for Macodefo’s march.

The following day Macodefo and Makause residents convened a mass meeting at the Makause Sports Ground to decide on a way forward after the march was banned. SAPS officers arrive in numbers, dispersing the peaceful crowd and arresting Moyo. At the Primrose police station the police arrest a further three people: two members of the Makause Community Youth Brigade (MCYB) and a staff member of the NGO Planact. The two MCYB members are arrested for wearing Marikana solidarity t-shirts and badges. Bail of R1 000 is eventually granted to the four and they appear in the Germiston Regional Magistrate’s Court.

2013

JANUARY – JUNE
Moyo and the two MCYB members appear in court a number of times during 2013. Each time their case is postponed. After several unreasonable delays, the state decides to drop the charges against two of the accused, but pursues a charge of “intimidation” in terms of the Intimidation Act 72 of 1982 against Moyo. A trial date is eventually set for 29 October 2013.

OCTOBER
On 29 October a complete charge sheet and a docket in connection with Moyo’s trial is finally provided. This is a full year after his arrest.

2014

APRIL
An application is launched in the North Gauteng High Court to declare section 1(1)(b) of the Intimidation Act unconstitutional and invalid. Moyo’s trial is postponed until this challenge is finally determined.

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40 Marikana Support Campaign “Police arrest Makause activists for wearing Marikana solidarity t-shirts” press release (23 October 2012).
41 For more on this case, see http://www.seri-sa.org/index.php/19-litigation/case-entries/147-s-v-moyo-swetsana-and-sisulu-primrose
42 Benit-Gbaffou “Community activists tell their story” (2013) 216.
For the last seven years the residents of Makause informal settlement have resisted relocation to Tsakane by the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, and pushed for the *in situ* upgrading of the settlement. Prior to 2007 Macodefo focused on domestic issues within the community; however after the threat of relocations in 2006 it was revived and repurposed to focus on resisting eviction, mobilising for basic services, and pushing for *in situ* upgrading. According to Langford, “it is clear that the eviction itself was the key catalyst for the mobilisation of the community” and that “litigation has strengthened rather than diminished the struggle.”

One of the main challenges facing Macodefo’s struggle for development has been the “political influence” of the local ANC, the Primrose SAPS and the DA ward councillor. In 2011 the Primrose ward was won by a DA candidate. The Macodefo leadership was accused by the local ANC branch of supporting the DA and paying people to vote for the DA. However, according to Macodefo, the DA ward councillor also wanted the

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45 Benit-Gbaffou “Community activists tell their story” (2013) 212.
46 Macodefo “Primrose ANC branch threatens attack on the leadership of the Makause shack settlement in Ekurhuleni” press release (29 May 2011).
The role of the local ANC in fostering community divisions and destabilising the work of Macodefo is a large part of the story of Macodefo. In 2010 the local ANC PCO held a meeting with Macodefo to discuss service delivery; however, according to Macodefo, the meeting was intended to measure community support for the Macodefo leadership, as the regional ANC resisted the upgrading of the settlement. Macodefo believes that the local ANC has been promised financial benefits from the planned development in the area, were the entire Makause community to relocate. According to Moyo in an interview:

**The ANC is the government so whenever we are challenging issues like the lack of service delivery we are challenging the ANC directly. The ANC got its wings around the community: all the structures, from the region down to the local levels, will be used to disorganize the community and to disempower civic organisations; to demobilize the community, to make all those promises that will not be fulfilled, to keep you unfocused.**

Macodefo maintains that the Primrose SAPS facilitates divisions in the community and is not impartial regarding development at the settlement. The relationship between the community and the police has in the past been a collaborative and fruitful one, focused on working together to combat the high crime rate at the settlement. However this has changed over the years. According to Moyo, the “mob ANC group” claiming to be community leaders at Makause are remote-controlled by ANC members who reside in Primrose and have strong ties to the Primrose SAPS.
began in 2007 when police officers were involved in the relocation of households from Makause to Tsakane. This remained over the years.\textsuperscript{53}

Indeed, a number of incidents over the years have demonstrated the seemingly political manner in which the police have operated, particularly in relation to the leadership struggle at the settlement. These incidents include: SAPS officers confiscating the keys to Macodefo’s container office (donated by DRD Gold) and handing them over to the rival community structure; Primrose SAPS discontinuing their relationship with Macodefo in the Community Policing Forum (CPF) and incorporating members of the rival structure; SAPS officials complicit in the selling of the containers donated as Macodefo offices; SAPS not assisting Macodefo when its offices and shacks are attacked; and SAPS officers arresting Macodefo and MYCB members in 2012. Police brutality and attacks on Macodefo leaders at the settlement have led to a serious lack of trust in the police. The ongoing trial of Macodefo leader Moyo is evidence of the complicit nature of the SAPS in silencing dissent.

Over the years Macodefo community leaders have engaged with a number of different partners in the struggle for development at the settlement and against repression by the police. In addition to the municipality and the private landowners, Macodefo have engaged the private sector, activist organisations, academics, journalists and public interest lawyers. The latter have included ProBono.Org, Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) and SERI. Due in part to experiences of its organiser Moyo, Macodefo has a focus on human rights and constitutional law, but is also affiliated to activist groupings.\textsuperscript{54}

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\caption{Improved water infrastructure at the settlement, 2011
\hspace{2cm}Makause informal settlement, 2013}
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\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Benit-Gbaffou “Community activists tell their story” (2013) 207.
Macodefo engaged informally with social movements Abahlali baseMjondolo (AbM)\textsuperscript{55} and the Landless People’s Movement (LPM).\textsuperscript{56} as well as with the ISN in 2008. While Macodefo was part of ISN initially, this relationship apparently soured when Macodefo realised that the owner of Toilet Boss was promoting his own commercial interests. According to Moyo, the company’s owner courted the ISN leadership, presumably in an attempt to gain access to informal settlements, and this tainted the agenda of ISN. Moyo believes ISN is being used by officials to quash “radical struggle” and community activism.\textsuperscript{57} However, the organisation continues to work with ISN (despite abandoning the joint sanitation project) because, according to Moyo, “if you not working with ISN, CORC isolates you and does not help you”, and the relationship with CORC is valued.\textsuperscript{58} For example, in 2011 Macodefo partnered with CORC on a project to improve access to water at the settlement.

Macodefo has also formed relationships with other organisations and academics, including Marie Huchzermeyer,\textsuperscript{59} who has facilitated a number of research projects at the settlement as well as provided advice on informal settlement upgrading.\textsuperscript{60} Moyo is also the Gauteng provincial organiser for the Democratic Left Front (DLF), which serves as a network for social movements and CBOs and supports independent candidates in local elections.\textsuperscript{61} DLF is also affiliated to the Marikana Support Campaign, set up after the Marikana massacre to provide support and solidarity to the affected miners and families. It was this affiliation that partly led to Moyo’s arrest in October 2012.

\textsuperscript{55} AbM is a South African shackdwellers movement formed in Durban in early 2005 with a key demand for land and housing in the city. See \url{http://www.abahlali.org}

\textsuperscript{56} LPM was a social movement formed in 2001 to challenge rural and urban landlessness and land dispossession.

\textsuperscript{57} Benit-Gbaffou “Community activists tell their story” (2013) 207.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{59} Huchzermeyer is a professor at the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand whose research examines housing and informal settlement policy across different contexts from a historical, political and rights-based perspective.

\textsuperscript{60} Moyo “Interview” (3 June 2013).

\textsuperscript{61} The DLF is “an initiative started in 2008 to bring together anti-capitalist forces for unity in action around an eco-socialist programme”. See \url{http://www.democraticleft.za.net/}
This community practice note documents the Makause community’s struggle for permanence in the face of competing interests between residents, private landowners, the municipality and local politicians. It shows how the forced relocation of Makause households to Tsakane in 2007 catalysed the community into action, and was the turning point in mobilisation. It also highlights how relatively well-located informal settlements, even if they were established decades previously, are under land market pressures. In this case an industrial and commercial land use has been pursued by the private landowners, and is preferred by the municipality as well as local politicians linked to the neighbouring suburb of Primrose.

The engagement between Makause community representatives, the private landowners, local government officials and political party leaders over the years underscores the inertia of municipalities in situations like these, and the failure to adequately address the concerns of the community to find a more permanent solution and access to services in the interim. Macodefo has utilised a variety of formal and informal tactics to try to compel upgrading at the settlement. These include building partnerships with other CBOs, social movements and academics; formal engagement with government; litigation as a tool; and protest.

However the story is also extremely politically complex and charged. It highlights how communities are not homogenous, but consist of multiple intersecting interests and motives. The dynamics of party politics and contestation over development have complicated matters in the area, and the actions of the local police have become politicised. The pursuing of a criminal charge against Moyo is particularly disturbing, and raises serious questions around the practice of silencing of dissent through the criminal justice system.
## Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AbM</td>
<td>Abahlali baseMjondolo</td>
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<td>CALS</td>
<td>Centre for Applied Legal Studies</td>
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<td>CBO</td>
<td>Community Based Organisation</td>
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<td>CORC</td>
<td>Community Organisation Resource Centre</td>
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<td>CPF</td>
<td>Community Policing Forum</td>
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<td>CUFF</td>
<td>Community Upgrading Finance Facility (CUFF)</td>
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<td>DA</td>
<td>Democratic Alliance</td>
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<td>DLF</td>
<td>Democratic Left Front</td>
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<td>EMPD</td>
<td>Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department</td>
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<td>GDARD</td>
<td>Gauteng Department of Agriculture and Rural Development</td>
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<td>ISN</td>
<td>Informal Settlement Network</td>
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<td>LPM</td>
<td>Landless Peoples Movement</td>
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<td>MMC</td>
<td>Member of the Mayoral Committee</td>
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<td>MRA</td>
<td>Mine Residue Area</td>
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<td>Macodefo</td>
<td>Makause Community Development Forum</td>
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<td>MCYB</td>
<td>Makause Creative Youth Brigade</td>
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<td>PCO</td>
<td>Parliamentary Constituency Office</td>
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<td>SAPS</td>
<td>South African Police Service</td>
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<td>SERI</td>
<td>Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa</td>
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<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Programme</td>
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<td>UISP</td>
<td>Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme</td>
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