



# OUR TOILETS ARE DIRTY

REPORT OF THE SOCIAL AUDIT INTO THE JANITORIAL SERVICE FOR COMMUNAL FLUSH TOILETS IN KHAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN

14th–19th July 2014

REPORT ON THE  
SOCIAL AUDIT INTO  
THE JANITORIAL  
SERVICE FOR  
COMMUNAL  
FLUSH TOILETS  
IN KHAYELITSHA,  
CAPE TOWN

1 OCTOBER 2014



**“The toilets are dirty and we have kids and these toilets affect their health.  
The city always promises to repair them but they never do that.”**

Resident, BT Section, 21 years old



# CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Social Audit findings .....  | 4         |
| <b>THE RIGHT TO BASIC SANITATION .....</b>                                       | <b>7</b>  |
| Introduction .....   | 8         |
| The need for a janitorial service .....  | 9         |
| The need for a plan .....  | 11        |
| Janitorial service timeline .....  | 12        |
| The need for a social audit on the janitorial service.....                       | 15        |
| <b>WHAT IS A SOCIAL AUDIT? .....</b>   | <b>17</b> |
| Participatory democracy and Social audits .....                                  | 18        |
| <b>THE SOCIAL AUDIT METHOD .....</b>   | <b>20</b> |
| Accessing budgets, plans and policies from the City of Cape Town .....           | 22        |
| Developing a list of questions to guide citizen monitoring .....                 | 22        |
| Training participants and partner organisations on the method .....              | 23        |
| Analysing budgets, plans and policies and testing questions with residents ..... | 23        |
| Collecting information .....   | 24        |
| Capturing information and analysing the results.....                             | 25        |
| Present findings to the city and residents at a public hearing.....              | 26        |
| <b>FINDINGS.....</b>   | <b>29</b> |
| Quality of service .....   | 30        |
| Maintenance of Toilets .....   | 38        |
| Systems and Equipment .....  | 40        |
| Health, Safety and Labour.....   | 44        |
| <b>DEMANDS.....</b>  | <b>48</b> |
| Resources .....  | 50        |

# The social audit found that:

## Quality of service

- A third of residents say that janitors clean their toilet only one day per week
- Janitors say they work on weekends, but most residents don't agree
- Roughly half of residents are unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with the janitorial service
- Some residents clean the communal toilets themselves
- Almost half of the toilets inspected were either dirty or very dirty inside
- Over half of the toilets inspected were either dirty or very dirty outside
- Most toilets are locked and not all residents can access a toilet
- Janitors cannot easily access toilets

## Maintenance of Toilets

- One in four flush toilets audited were not working
- Janitors are not fixing or reporting minor faults



## Systems and Equipment

- Most residents found out about the janitorial service by observing janitors
- Most janitors are employed in the sections in which they live
- Most janitors have a contract and have consistent work hours
- The distribution of janitors is unequal and not all sections have enough janitors
- Janitors do not have the required cleaning equipment
- There is no designated role for ward councillors
- The Fault Reporting system does not work effectively for toilets in informal settlements

## Health, Safety and Labour

- Janitors are not receiving the required training as required by City janitorial service documents
- Only one in eight janitors were inoculated against disease as required by City janitorial service documents
- Janitors do not receive the required Protective Personal Equipment (PPE) as required by City janitorial service documents



# THE RIGHT TO BASIC SANITATION

Between 14 and 19 July 2014 the Social Justice Coalition (SJC), Ndifuna Ukwazi (NU), residents of Khayelitsha, and partners from around the country, came together to hold government accountable for one of the most basic services affecting the lives of informal settlement residents.

We undertook a week-long social audit on the janitorial service for communal flush toilets in four informal settlements in Khayelitsha. This culminated in a public hearing where community members asked their elected leaders the question –

**Why is a highly funded service that could have a major positive impact on people's lives not being fully delivered?**



# INTRODUCTION

Millions of people across South Africa still lack access to adequate basic services and are not able to meaningfully participate in service delivery. Over several years the SJC has engaged with the City and Mayor de Lille on the urgency of the sanitation crisis facing poor and working class residents in Cape Town's informal settlements.

According to the Constitution, local government is responsible for progressively realising the right to basic sanitation. The failure to do so violates the right to human dignity, freedom and security, particularly for people living in informal settlements.

Currently, the City's delivery of sanitation services is provided on an ad hoc basis, while the maintenance and monitoring is haphazard and irregular. The City of Cape Town does not have a detailed, integrated, time-bound plan in place to progressively realise the right to basic sanitation.



According to the 2011 Census more than 29,000 homes in Cape Town have no access to any sanitation facility including communal toilets. The Census also found that almost 50,000 homes were making use of bucket latrines in Cape Town. Roughly 20 per cent of homes in South Africa's largest cities are informal.

# The need for a janitorial service



Shared communal toilets in informal settlements are public toilets. Like all public toilets in the City, these should be cleaned, maintained and monitored regularly by dedicated City employees.

In many informal settlements in Khayelitsha and elsewhere, the City provides communal flush toilets to some residents. In these communities, the flush toilets are shared by many people. If toilets do not receive routine maintenance and cleaning, they become unhygienic and unsafe. When they fall into disrepair they can remain in such a state for months or years, reducing already limited access to facilities.

After sustained activism and engagement with the City of Cape Town and other levels of government to improve sanitation provision, particularly on improving monitoring and maintenance of existing facilities, the SJC hosted a

Cape Town Sanitation Summit in 2011 where the janitorial service was first discussed. The SJC made a formal submission in March 2012 to the City on this proposed service after a request from the Mayor requesting that the SJC assist the City in the development of an implementation plan.

On 16 May 2012 the Mayor officially announced the introduction of this service, signaling a significant shift in policy with the potential to have a major impact on the quality of life in informal settlements. This was the result of both sustained community activism, and a willingness by the City to effect positive change through meaningful partnerships.



When the janitorial service was introduced, Mayor de Lille stated that: **“the service would include the daily cleaning of flush toilets, standpipes and surrounding areas, doing minor repairs of flush toilets and reporting all instances where more extensive repairs are needed.”**

**“The Launch of a Janitorial Service for all informal settlements in Cape Town is a victory for South Africa and for human dignity. We hope all municipalities will follow suit.”**

*– Archbishop Thabo Makgoba*



An effective janitorial service for public toilets in informal settlements has the potential to dramatically improve conditions and access to toilets. It sets an important precedent for local governments nationally to accept the responsibility to maintain communal facilities in informal settlements.

Ideally, janitors should regularly clean and sanitise toilets and the surrounding areas. Where toilets are broken or not working effectively, they should be able to do basic plumbing and repairs or report the fault to their supervisors.

In order to be effective, the janitorial service needs to be effectively managed. It requires that janitors are well trained, have the correct tools for the job and protective equipment and clothing to keep them safe and healthy. It also requires that there is an effective and foolproof system in place for reporting faults, in a way that ensures that toilets are easily located and can be fixed. Likewise, there needs to be effective communication so that everybody understands exactly what the job entails and how to do it.

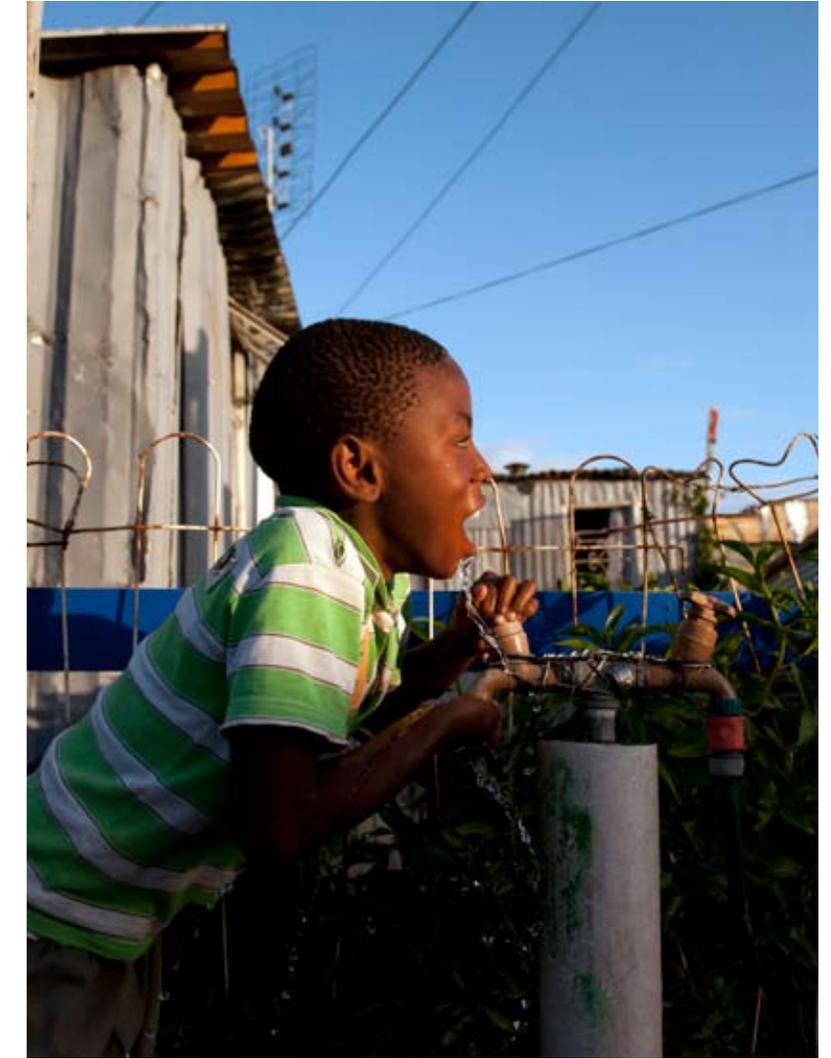
# The need for a plan

The SJC always held – and the City repeatedly agreed – that for the service to run smoothly, a proper plan needed to be developed. In a meeting between the SJC and the City on 1 October 2012 the City committed to producing a draft departmental policy on the janitorial by 31 October 2012 and an operational plan by 12 October 2012.

The policy document and an operational plan would indicate how the janitorial service should function and assist in improving its effectiveness. It would help communities to understand the roles and responsibilities of the City and other stakeholders. This would contribute to better citizen monitoring and facilitate accountability for the service.

Through countless letters, emails, phone calls, submissions, meetings, and protests we repeatedly pointed out that the consequences of failing to produce a plan for the janitorial service – and indeed a plan for sanitation in Cape Town’s informal settlements in general – were severe, life threatening, and undermined the health, dignity, and safety of janitors and the communities that they serve.

Though Mayor de Lille herself has made several commitments over a period of more than two years to produce a plan, to date no such plan has been released to the public. As a result the service has often been poorly managed and ineffective. Janitors are often forced to clean toilets without inoculation, protective clothing, equipment or training; and communities have not been consulted and complain that the service is not operating effectively.



# JANITORIAL SERVICE TIMELINE

## SEPTEMBER 2011

SJC hosts sanitation summit and janitorial service discussed where more than 100 individuals (including Mayor de Lille) representing more than 60 organisations discussed joint plans for improving sanitation conditions in informal settlements.

## OCTOBER 2011 – MARCH 2012

Mayor de Lille asks for assistance in developing plan.

## APRIL 2012

Janitorial service rolled out by Utilities Directorate without plan or consultation.

## MAY 2012

SJC begins monitoring the delivery of the janitorial service.

## OCTOBER 2012

Mayor issues public statement admitting that *"city has not managed programme effectively"* following SJC monitoring report and commits to urgent remedial action.

## DECEMBER 2012

The City commits to developing a formal timeframe by January 2013 for development of a plan following SJC's second monitoring report.

## JANUARY 2013

SJC attempts to meet to develop timeframe. No Response from City.

## APRIL 2013

SJC requests an update on the status of the plan. No Response from City on the plan.

## JUNE 2013

SJC marches to mayor's office to demand a timeline to develop plan. Cllr Sonnenberg issues statement that an operational policy had been developed but City refuses to release it publicly.

## JULY 2013

City released Systems Procedure after SJC's lawyers send letter of demand.

## AUGUST 2013

SJC requests urgent meeting to discuss concerns about Systems Procedure. City proposes October date.

## SEPTEMBER 2013

SJC leaders and supporters chain themselves to Civic Centre, demanding that the mayor commit to firm deadlines to honour her commitments and develop a plan. Mayor's office refuses to meet protesters and they are arrested by SAPS.

## OCTOBER 2013

SJC finally meets with Mayor together with Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum. Mayor refuses to commit to timeframes or a plan but proposes a janitorial services summit.

## FEBRUARY 2014

After the janitorial services summit, held almost 18 months after the first commitment to a summit, Cllr Sonnenberg commits to developing an implementation plan and proposes a committee to draft it.

## MARCH 2014

SJC publicly commits to supporting the committee's work to develop the plan and to provide a submission if called upon to do so.

## JULY 2014

SJC conducts social audit on Janitorial Service.

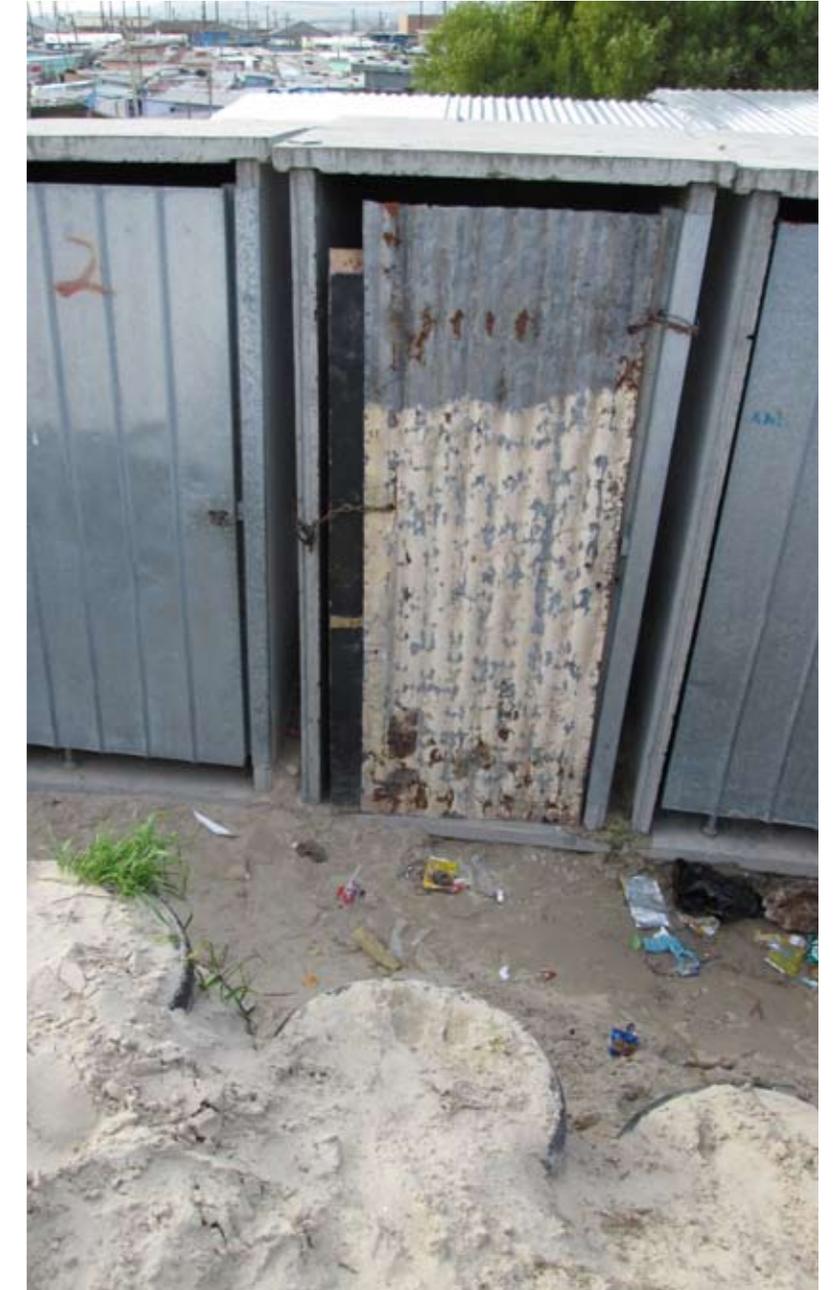


# The need for a social audit on the janitorial service

The SJC and Ndifuna Ukwazi conducted a social audit on the Janitorial Service in four sections in Khayelitsha.

**The social audit findings are dire.**

They show that due to a lack of planning and poor management, the implementation of the janitorial service remains inconsistent and haphazard. The result is that residents, many of whom rely on communal toilets, are left without access to clean, safe and dignified toilets, posing life-threatening risks to the poorest and most vulnerable communities in the City. Every day that this continues, the rights to life, equality, dignity, safety and environmental health of informal settlement residents are violated.





# WHAT IS A SOCIAL AUDIT?



A social audit is a civil society driven process and encourages community participation for monitoring government service delivery and expenditure. Social audits began in India more than 20 years ago; since then they have been used as an important tool for enhancing grassroots participation and monitoring the accountability of government spending.

**The process allows communities to understand, measure, verify, report and ultimately contribute to improving government performance.**

In 2013 we undertook two social audits on outsourced services provided to informal settlements in Khayelitsha, Cape Town – first, on ‘Mshengu’ chemical toilets and second, on refuse collection and area cleaning. The social audit work has received significant attention, support and interest from civil society

and government, including the National Treasury, Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation in the office of the Presidency, Global Initiative for Fiscal Transparency, the Human Sciences Research Council, Open Society Foundation, Planact, Afesis-Corplan and many others.

## PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL AUDITS

The Constitution sets out the democratic values and principles that must govern public administration. Section 195 of the Constitution requires that public administration “must be development oriented” and that people’s “needs must be responded to, and the public encouraged to participate in policy-making”.

The specific object and duties of local government are set out in Chapter 7 of the Constitution. The objectives of local government include “to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities” and “to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matter of local government”.

The Municipal Systems Act is clear on the role of citizenship in local governance: “[a] municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance”.

Local government must create conditions for the community to participate among others in preparation, implementation and review of the integrated development plan, performance management, monitoring, budget preparation and also to participate in “strategic decisions relating to the provision of municipal services”.

To realise the development of a culture of municipal governance that includes citizen participation, local government “must contribute to building the capacity of the local community to enable it to participate in the affairs of the municipality”.

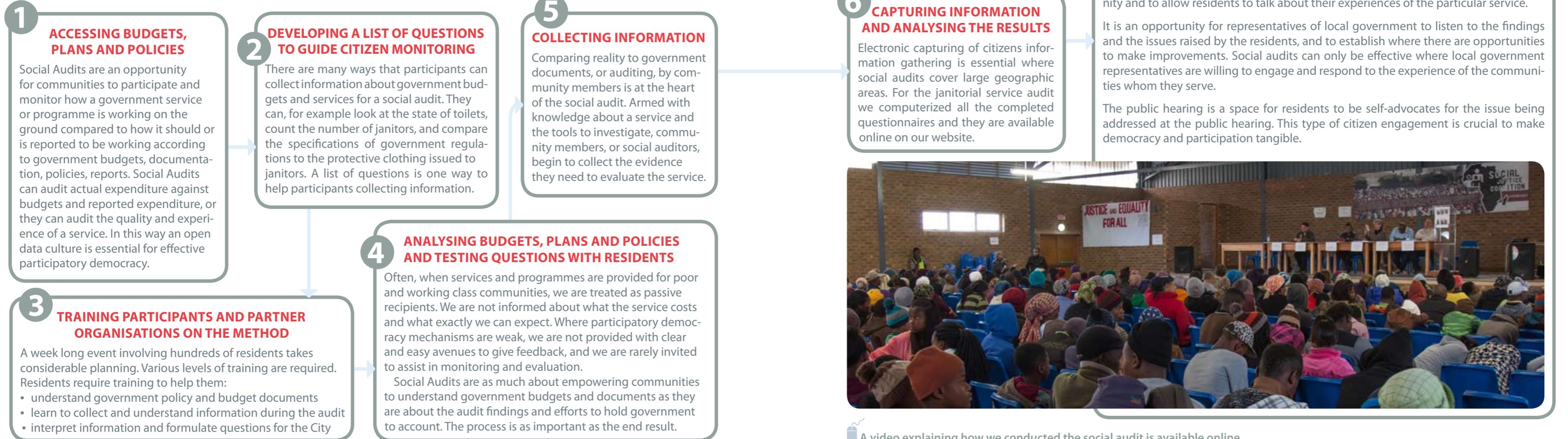
Participatory democracy is of special importance to those who are relatively disempowered in a country like ours where great disparities of wealth and influence exist. Participation by the public on a continuous basis strengthens the functioning of representative democracy. A social audit contributes the following to participatory democracy:

- Encourages citizens to be actively involved in public affairs
- Enables communities to systematically and meaningfully ensure that leaders are held accountable for government expenditure and service provision
- Brings together citizens and governments to evaluate the extent to which the commitments contained in legislation, policy and budgets are being honoured in practice.



# THE SOCIAL AUDIT METHOD

Social Audits typically follow seven steps:



 A video explaining how we conducted the social audit is available online

# THE JANITORIAL SERVICE AUDIT IN 7 STEPS

## 1 ACCESSING BUDGETS, PLANS AND POLICIES FROM THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

The janitorial social audit required access to data and documents held by the City of Cape Town. Requests were sent to the utilities directorate and the health department of the City on 10 June 2014 and some of the information was made available to us on 11 July 2014. To date, the City health department has yet to make available the documents we asked for. The budget and actual expenditure information associated with the janitorial service were also not provided.

 The documents that were provided are available as resources online on our website.

During the social audit, participants studied a selection of documents, these included:

- **Project Initiation Document (PID), CoCT:** The City provided the PID on 13 November 2013 after repeated requests from the SJC for a janitorial services plan which City officials claimed that they had developed. The PID according to the City is a “funding application document required for all EPWP programmes”.
- **Systems Procedure for Janitorial Services, CoCT:** The City provided the Systems Procedure on 17 July 2013 following a final letter of demand from the SJC’s lawyers for the janitorial ‘policy’ C’Ilr Sonnenberg claimed existed. The Systems Procedure according to the City describes the ‘operational system of procedure’ for the janitorial service.
- **Janitors employed in Khayelitsha informal settlements (as of 11 July 2014), CoCT, 11 July 2014:** This is a list of the numbers of janitors working in Khayelitsha, provided to the SJC following an access to information request in June 2014.
- **Presentation by City of Cape Town, 14 July 2014:** During the

week of the social audit City officials gave a presentation on the janitorial service to social audit participants.

- **Letter from Cllr. Ernest Sonnenberg, Request of Clarity Regarding the Development of the Janitorial Service Implementation Plan, 11 July 2014:** This letter provided information on the janitorial service procedures following an access to information request by the SJC in June 2014.
- **CoCT Personal protective equipment policy Doc V1.3, June 2011:** This document provides information on the City’s policy on equipment to janitors such as gloves and masks, and was received after an access to information request in June 2014.

## 2 DEVELOPING A LIST OF QUESTIONS TO GUIDE CITIZEN MONITORING

For the janitorial social audit, we developed a list of questions to guide participants’ information gathering. Here, we wanted to see whether the service was working compared to how it was intended to work. Where information was provided by the City, we based questions on this information. We also based some questions on issues that the SJC had previously identified through site inspections as needing further investigation. The lists of questions were translated into isiXhosa and participants were encouraged to collect information in the language they were most familiar with. The physical verification questions were designed to assist the inspection of toilets in order to see whether janitors were maintaining and cleaning toilets. The City does not provide any monitoring and evaluation guidance for cleanliness or maintenance. In order to assist with assessments, participants all used the same photographs of clean, dirty and very dirty toilets, which had been chosen as representative by group leaders during training.

The resident question list was designed to interview residents about their satisfaction with the janitorial service.

The janitor question list was designed to investigate what standardised systems were put in place and whether the City was managing the service in an effective way so that janitors had the tools, protective equipment and training to do the job.

 You can access the lists of questions in the resources online as well as cleanliness guides and questionnaires.

## 3 TRAINING PARTICIPANTS AND PARTNER ORGANISATIONS ON THE METHOD

### Group leaders

Participants were divided into groups and each group had two leaders from the SJC who had previous experience of conducting social audits. During training, the group leaders read the documents in detail together. They then role played the lists of questions and provided feedback on points of confusion and interpretation. Group leaders also spent time finding consensus on how to evaluate toilet cleanliness.



## Partner Organisations

Social Audits are growing in South Africa and a number of civil society partners from the Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Mpumalanga and North West attended to learn about the methodology. Partner organisations discussed their campaigns and capacity for conducting social audits in their own communities and provinces.



## 4 ANALYSING BUDGETS, PLANS AND POLICIES AND TESTING QUESTIONS WITH RESIDENTS

Participants spent the first day of the audit learning about the methodology and listening to a presentation by the City on how the janitorial service is designed to work. Group leaders then led document analysis workshops. Finally, the lists of questions were role played and tested.

 We workshopped a guide for everyone to use to determine how clean the toilets were inside and outside, available online.

## 5 COLLECTING INFORMATION

The social audit was conducted across four informal settlements in Khayelitsha – BM Section, PJS, Nkanini, and BT section.

A range of people and organisations participated in the janitorial social audit. Around 90 participants were divided into five groups. Each group contained, SJC staff and branch members, residents from the four informal settlements being audited, independent observers, and representatives from partner organisations across the country.

A map showing where we inspected the toilets is available online.



The groups interviewed:



193  
residents



31  
janitors

and inspected



528  
toilets

in BM, BT, PJS and parts of Enkanini informal settlements

## 6 CAPTURING INFORMATION AND ANALYSING THE RESULTS

Considering that over 800 questionnaires were completed, a team of volunteers<sup>1</sup> from a range of organisations was needed to accurately capture the data. Their name is logged next to each questionnaire that they captured on the spreadsheets.

Raw Data spreadsheets are available online.



### METHOD

- Completed information sheets were divided amongst capturers.
- Each sheet was captured and recorded onto a central spreadsheet using Google Forms and Google Docs.
- Decisions regarding how to capture ambiguous, contradictory or empty responses were recorded and are presented in an appendix to this report.
- Once all the information sheets were entered, a master spreadsheet was created.
- Capturers worked in pairs to analyse the findings to determine what general trends emerged.
- Preliminary findings were then summarised and reviewed.
- On the fourth day of the social audit, participants met to workshop the main issues emerging from the audit findings.
- These were written down in groups and summarised into main thematic areas.

## 7 PRESENT FINDINGS TO THE CITY AND RESIDENTS AT A PUBLIC HEARING

19 July 2014, Matthew Goniwe Memorial High School, Khayelitsha, Site B.

### Who was there?

#### Residents

- Around 400 residents from Khayelitsha attended the public hearing

#### Ward Councillors

- Monde Nqulwana, Ward 89 Councillor, CoCT

#### Local Government

- Cllr Ernest Sonnenberg, Mayoral Committee member for Utilities, CoCT
- Dr Gisela Kaiser, Executive Director of Utilities, CoCT
- Joseph Tsatsire, Head of Water & Sanitation, Informal Settlements, CoCT

#### Provincial Government

- Helen Zille, Premier of the Western Cape, Western Cape Government

#### National Government

- Jonathan Timm, Director, Citizen Based Monitoring, DPME, The Presidency

#### Observers

- Stephen Law, Director, Environmental Monitoring Group
- Unathi Tuta, Presenter, Radio Zibonele, Khayelitsha

#### Chapter 9

- Karam Singh, Head of Research, South African Human Rights Commission



### Who was not there (and should have been)?

The following representatives were also invited because they are key government bodies responsible for sanitation and health issues. Unfortunately they failed to attend the public hearing:

- Dr Zandile Mahlangu, Executive Director of City Health, CoCT
- Dr Virginia De Azevedo, Sub District Manager, Khayelitsha District, City Health, CoCT
- Regan Melody, Manager for EPWP, CoCT
- Amos Komeni, Ward 93 Councillor, CoCT
- Mpucuko Nguzo, Ward 95 Councillor, CoCT
- Monde Mabandla, Ward 91 Councillor, CoCT
- Mlulami Velem, Ward 87 Councillor, CoCT



### What happened?

Some of the group leaders presented the preliminary findings to residents and to the City. Residents were then given an opportunity to give oral testimony. Some residents took the opportunity to express their anger and frustration about the janitorial service and government service delivery in general.

### What did the City say?

The City representatives dealt with some of the findings directly. Generally, they challenged the legitimacy of the social audit findings. They challenged the objectivity and methodology as unreliable and the sample size of the audit as not representative. The City positioned itself as performing well in the context of urbanisation and in comparison to other metropolitan governments. Representatives felt that they had not had sufficient time to review the findings before being asked to respond.

Representatives recognised their role in improving the janitorial service and ensuring that everyone has access to decent sanitation services, but stressed the importance of residents taking responsibility. They emphasised the high cost of vandalism of toilets and the low number of faults being reported to the City call centre. The City felt that the community should work with the City and look after the toilets. Cllr Sonnenberg committed to responding in detail once the full report was published and to return to discuss progress.

### What did the observers say?

The observers recommended that the City put in place a monitoring system and perform unannounced site visits to inspect. They felt that, despite the social audit being widely publicised, there had been a missed opportunity between all stakeholders to engage on the methodology and the evidence before the hearing. They emphasised that the issues that the findings raised, and the participatory process that produced them, was crucial. They also emphasized that the City should take more care to engage with such community efforts to participate rather than dismiss them.





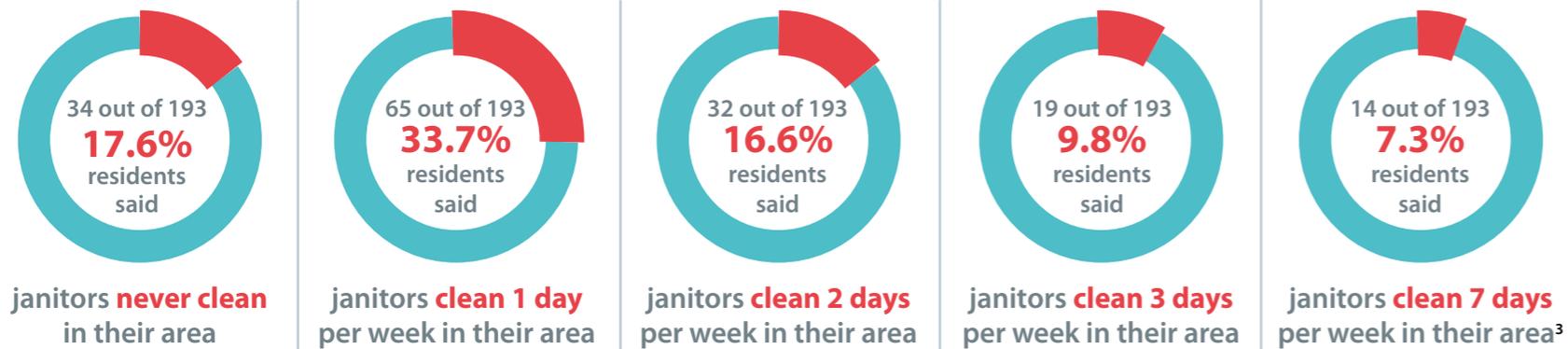
**FINDINGS**

# FINDINGS: Quality of service

## A third of residents say that janitors clean their toilet only one day per week

The City's Project Initiation Document states that janitorial services will include: 'Weekdays, Saturdays, Sundays and Public holidays'.<sup>2</sup>

We asked residents how often janitors clean in their area. The social audit found that:



Mayor Patricia De Lille said that toilets would be cleaned daily. Janitors may be cleaning in an area every day but most residents say that their toilet is not cleaned everyday. This may mean that there are not enough janitors cleaning in an area to clean each toilet daily, or janitors are not cleaning fast enough to get to every toilet.

All the documents referred to in the findings are available online

## Roughly half of residents are unsatisfied or very unsatisfied with the janitorial service

### Satisfaction Levels

- 53 out of 193 (27.5%) say they are **very satisfied** 😊
- 42 out of 193 (21.8%) say they are **satisfied** 😊
- 48 out of 193 (24.9%) say they are **unsatisfied** 😞
- 36 out of 193 (18.7%) say they are **very unsatisfied** 😞
- 4 out of 193 (2%) say they **don't know** 😐



#### Very Satisfied:

- "They have the chemical that clean germs. They properly clean the toilet inside and outside. They rake the outside area of the toilet to make it look clean and tidy."<sup>4</sup>



#### Satisfied residents:

- "We are just happy we have toilets instead of going to the bush."<sup>5</sup>
- "They sometimes chill and do not clean toilets."<sup>6</sup>
- "They were good when they started, but as for now they cheating us in terms of cleaning."<sup>7</sup>
- "The smell of the chemicals is very nice, instead of the dirty smell of an unclean toilet."<sup>8</sup>
- "They doing their job very well because they also clean at the back of the toilets."<sup>9</sup>



#### Unsatisfied residents:

- "They don't clean properly and only clean once. Once they are done cleaning they don't lock. No one is monitoring them."<sup>10</sup>
- "Because the janitors are stealing our material for example if I left my brush/broom in the toilet when they came I will never see it again. And they don't clean well."<sup>11</sup>



#### Very Unsatisfied residents:

- "The toilets are dirty and we have kids and these toilets affect their health. The city always promises to repair them but they never do that."<sup>12</sup>

The mixed satisfaction on the service again shows the high levels of inconsistency with the service. Many residents who say they are satisfied still indicate problems and do not have a clear sense of what they can expect from the janitorial service. In some places and at certain times the service works. In others, it does not work at all.

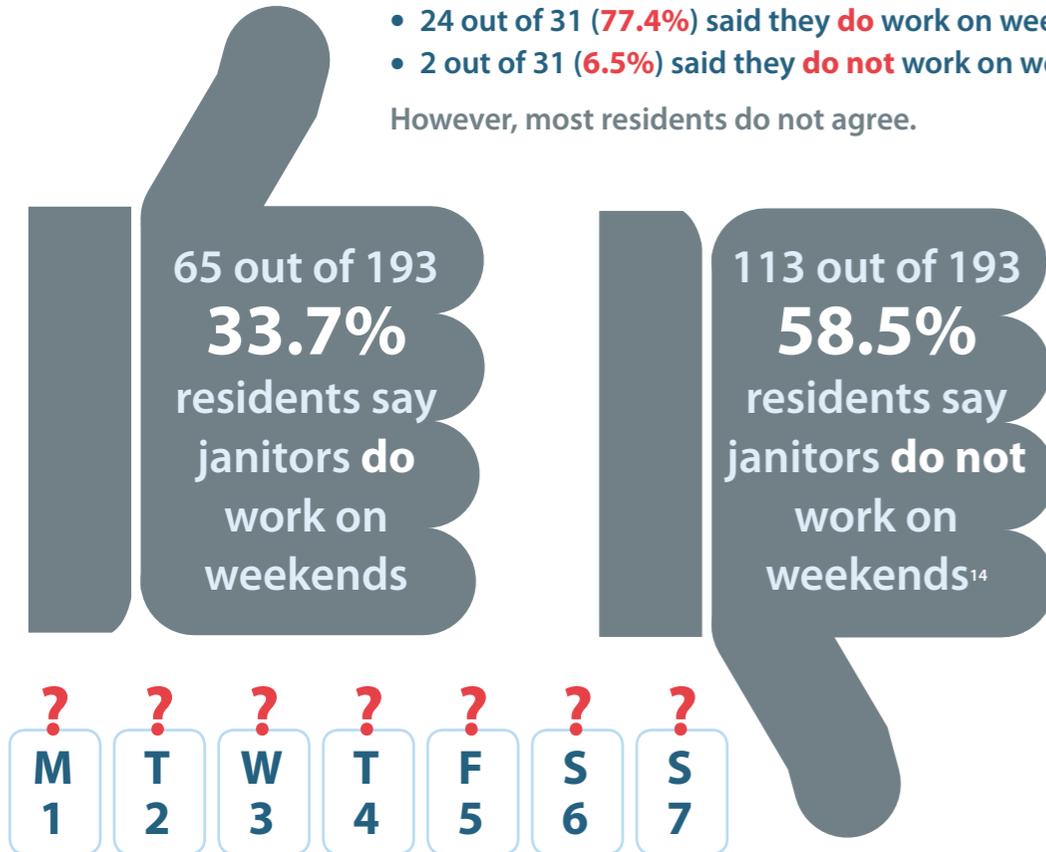
## Janitors say they work on weekends, but most residents don't agree

According to the Project Initiation Document, janitors are required to clean every day of the week, including weekends

Nearly all of the janitors interviewed said that they clean on weekends:

- 24 out of 31 (77.4%) said they **do** work on weekends
- 2 out of 31 (6.5%) said they **do not** work on weekends<sup>13</sup>

However, most residents do not agree.



It would seem that most janitors are contractually obliged to work on weekends, but only a third of residents see them or perceive them to be working on weekends. Just over half of the residents do not think they work on weekends. It may be that some janitors do not show up for work on the weekends, or there are less janitors working weekends so they are not as visible.



## Some residents clean the communal toilets themselves<sup>15</sup>

The social audit found that:

- “The toilets don’t get cleaned and they are not safe, it gets better if we clean them ourselves.”<sup>16</sup>
- “They don’t communicate well with us as residents, we clean the toilets ourselves as we don’t get the service.”<sup>17</sup>

At the public hearing, Premier Helen Zille said that it is not a bad thing for residents to clean toilets themselves, pointing out that she cleans her own toilet at home.

This line of argument is often heard from people who have access to toilets in their own home and have never experienced using a public communal toilet. The implication is that a janitorial service is “a nice-to-have” service and does not form part and parcel of the right to basic sanitation. It implies that the default expectation is that residents should all be cleaning the communal toilets and the janitorial service is filling in the gaps where residents are not fulfilling their responsibilities.

In fact, communal toilets in informal settlements are shared by many households and should be seen as public toilets and a public good. They should be cleaned and maintained like any other public toilets in the city, and the service should be the very best it can be. Unlike public toilets at beaches and at stations, for example, communal toilets are there to fulfill the right to basic sanitation and this includes a decent sanitation service.



As it stands, the fact that some residents are cleaning speaks more to the haphazard irregular nature of the service.

# Almost half of the toilets inspected were either dirty or very dirty **INSIDE**

The City's Systems Procedure says, "Toilet cleanliness: the cleaning and sanitising of the toilets will include the toilet pan, floor, the cisterns, the inside and outside toilet structure wall and the surrounding area of the toilet facility, but limited to a maximum of 2m from the toilet facility", p2.

In terms of cleanliness inside the toilet, of the 528 toilets inspected, we found:

**36%** 188 out of 528 were **CLEAN**



The cleanliness of the **inside** of each flush toilet was measured by using the following criteria:

- Clean toilet pan with no dirt or excrement
- Clean floor with no rubbish
- May have a little sand or clean water
- Generally clean walls
- It looks like it was last cleaned recently

**28%** 149 out of 528 were **DIRTY**



- Toilet pan has dirt or excrement but you can still use it carefully
- Floor may have some rubbish or dirt and water
- Walls have marks
- Looks like it was last cleaned a while ago

**21%** 149 out of 528 were **VERY DIRTY**<sup>18</sup>



- Toilet pan is blocked with excrement or rubbish and you cannot use it
- Seat is filthy and you cannot sit down
- Floor covered with rubbish, rocks or sand
- It looks like it hasn't been cleaned in a long time or never

Cleaning inside the toilet is the primary function of the janitorial service. We would have expected that on any given day, the toilets would be clean. Too many toilets are still dirty or very dirty and some have indications that they have not been cleaned in a very long time. This indicates that the service is failing residents. Providing a toilet is not enough. The City has the duty to ensure that it progressively realises the right to basic sanitation. Maintaining levels of access is crucial to realising this right.

# Over half of the toilets inspected were either dirty or very dirty **OUTSIDE**

In terms of cleanliness on the ground outside the toilet, of the 528 toilets audited, we found:

142 out of 528 were **27% CLEAN GROUND**



The cleanliness of the **outside** of each flush toilet was measured by using the following criteria:

- The ground has no rubbish at all
- Looks like it has been swept or raked

155 out of 528 were **29% DIRTY GROUND**



- There is some rubbish only
- There may be some leaking water

134 out of 528 were **25% VERY DIRTY GROUND**<sup>19</sup>



- There is rubbish everywhere
- There may be rotting food
- There may be sewage

Ensuring clean and well maintained ground around the toilets is an essential part of the service. Children play on the grounds around toilets and people must access the area to use the toilets. All too often the grounds are littered with rubbish and in many cases raw sewage or leaking water creates pools of water which residents have to negotiate to enter the toilets.

## Most toilets are locked and not all residents can access a toilet

When asked if the toilet they use is locked:

144 out of 193  
**75%**  
residents  
said their toilet  
WAS usually locked<sup>20</sup>

35 out of 193  
**18%**  
residents  
said their toilet was  
NOT usually locked



144 out of 193  
**75%**  
residents said  
that they have  
access to  
a key<sup>21</sup>

The remaining 27 out of 193 residents (14%) use a variety of workarounds. For example, they use a bucket in their house, they ask a neighbour to use their key, or they try and find an unlocked toilet.

Most toilets were locked and residents had to be asked to open them up to inspect inside. The fact that toilets are locked by residents is not a problem in and of itself, and is a good way to keep toilets clean. There is no system for determining which households use a toilet and who should have access to a key and this seems to have been negotiated differently in different areas. This has two effects: some toilets are overused and some are underused. Also, some residents do not have keys to access a toilet close by and have to go out of their way to find an unlocked toilet.

## Janitors cannot easily access toilets

Considering the fact that most communal toilets are locked, we asked janitors what they do when they want to clean a locked toilet. The social audit found that:

- 5 out of 31 (16%) janitors said that they **don't** clean the toilet if it is locked
- 8 out of 31 (26%) janitors **leave a note** in the morning
- 10 out of 31 (30%) janitors say they **shout, call or ask residents nearby to open up**
- 5 out of 31 (16%) janitors have **not yet been able to access a toilet**<sup>22</sup>

There were numerous responses from residents as to what happens when toilets are locked:

- 52 out of 193 (27%) residents said that janitors **don't** clean when a toilet is locked
- 63 out of 193 (34%) residents said that janitors **try and find a key from somewhere**
- 35 out of 193 (18%) residents said that they **wait for the resident**<sup>23</sup>



While locked toilets do not prevent cleaning, they may delay cleaning because janitors have to find an alternative way to access them, and less toilets may be cleaned in the day.

There is no routine or systematic way for janitors to access and clean toilets. Leaving a toilet unclean is entirely unacceptable as this is the core function of the service. Leaving a note, often in the morning, seems a popular workaround. However, considering the number of toilets that need to be cleaned this seems an inefficient way to access toilets as janitors must then return at a later time on the off chance that the toilet has been opened. Shouting or calling for residents to open may work for those who live close by, but not when residents are away at work or live far away. Further, as it would seem that each toilet may have any number of keyholders, a janitor cannot be expected

to remember which residents have the keys to which toilet for each and every toilet.

This finding is particularly disappointing when you consider that the janitorial service has been in operation for over two years and the City has still has not found a systematic way to enable janitors to access toilets. It would seem that most toilets are only cleaned on the off chance that they are unlocked, some toilets that are locked are never cleaned and it is then a matter of chance whether a toilet is cleaned or not.

The City of Cape Town states it has begun to trial a new system of master keys, which has potential to speed up cleaning. This has not yet been trialled in Khayelitsha. This would seem to be an encouraging start.

# FINDINGS: Maintenance of Toilets

## Over a quarter – one in four – of flush toilets audited were not working

Janitors are responsible for minor faults and the reporting of major faults to the City’s call centre and to their supervisor<sup>24</sup>

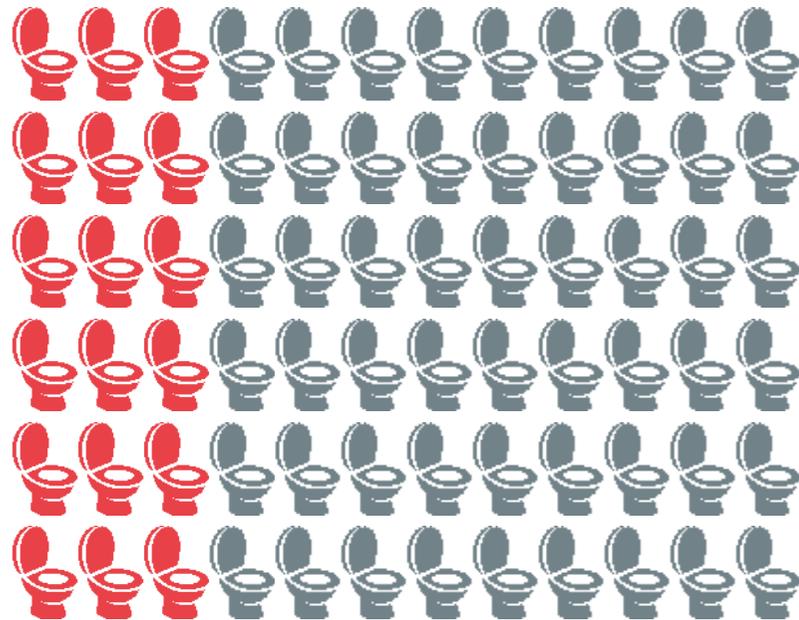
However, the social audit found that:  
 138 out of 528  
**26%**  
 toilets audited do not work

The most common reasons given for the toilet not working are:

- 78 out of 528 (15%) were blocked
- 78 out 528 (15%) couldn’t flush
- 65 out of 528 (12%) had no water
- 31 out of 528 (6%) had no sewage pipe

*Due to a lack of policy or plan, we do not currently know what procedures janitors are expected to follow when they come across a toilet that does not work, beyond the general expectation that janitors are responsible for reporting them. The high number of toilets that do not work would indicate that either there is no effective system for janitors to report faults, janitors know how to but are not reporting toilets, or toilets are being reported but there is a break in the communication to the call centre, or that toilets have been reported but the maintenance teams haven’t fixed them yet, can’t fix them, or can’t find them.*

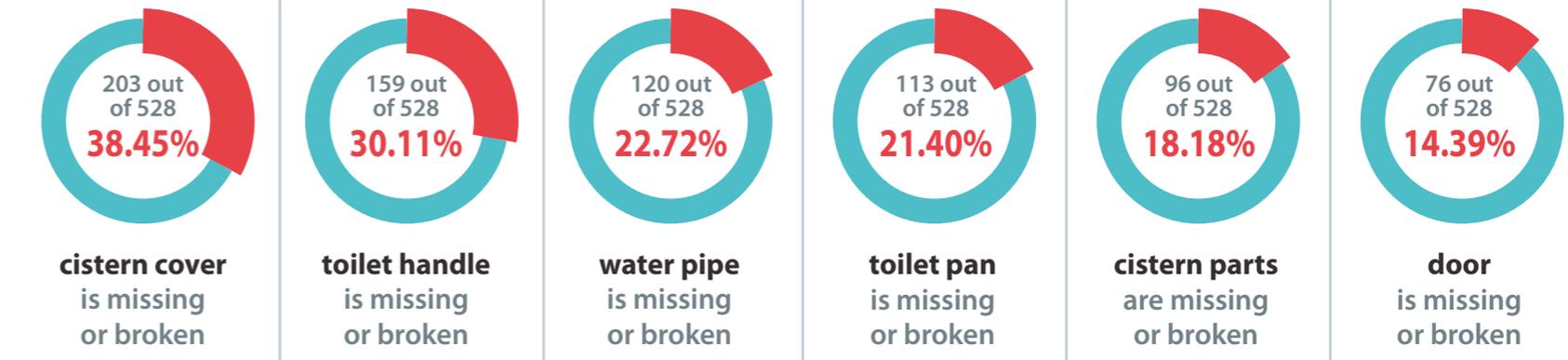
*When the maintenance of the toilets does not happen, some residents have to use the toilets that remain working which then increases the usage rate of other toilets putting much strain on the existing infrastructure. Some residents are left to use open fields and bushes and become most vulnerable to criminal attacks especially at night.*



## Janitors are not fixing or reporting minor faults

According to the Project Initiation Document, Janitors are responsible for fixing minor faults, though there is a lack of detail of what faults janitors should be able to fix and what should be reported.

The social audit found that considerable numbers of toilets are in need of major or minor repairs:



*The fact that so many of the toilets we inspected had faults and maintenance problems would indicate that janitors are not fixing toilets. This may be because they have not had the training, or perhaps the tools and equipment to do so.*



# FINDINGS: Systems & Equipment

## Most residents found out about the janitorial service by observing janitors

- 6 out of 193 (3%) residents found out about the service by speaking to a janitor
- 7 out of 193 (4%) residents found out about the service from a pamphlet
- 10 out of 193 (5%) residents found out about the service from a neighbour
- 19 out of 193 (10%) residents found out about the service at a meeting
- 117 out of 193 (61%) residents find out about the service by observing the janitors in the area<sup>25</sup>

Most residents have not received communication from the City about the purpose of the janitorial service and what they can expect from janitors cleaning in their area. New services and changes to services are clearly communicated in formal areas of the City and it is unacceptable that the City would implement such a costly and important service in informal settlements without informing residents. This omission leads to misunderstanding of the service, confu-

sion and dissatisfaction. Importantly it limits the capacity for citizen based monitoring and oversight and participatory democracy.

Had the City consulted widely with residents and organisations in informal settlements before implementing the service, or communicated the nature of the service, some of the systemic issues (such as locked toilets) that have plagued the service may have been avoided.

## Most janitors are employed in the sections in which they live

The Systems Procedure states that the janitorial service should, where possible, employ janitors in each section from people who live in that section.

- Of the 31 janitors interviewed, 28 (90%) lived in the same section in which they worked<sup>26</sup>

This is a major achievement and the City should be congratulated for implementing this. It makes complete sense for janitors to live in the same section in which they work as they are more likely to be familiar with the particular problems in that section, may know some residents and know where most of the toilets are located.

## Most janitors have a contract and have consistent work hours



- Of the 31 janitors interviewed, **only 1** did not have a contract.<sup>27</sup>
- Of the 31 janitors interviewed, **most** work regular hours 7:00 to 17:30<sup>28</sup>
- Of the 31 janitors interviewed, **most** are paid bi-weekly at a rate of R120 per day.<sup>29</sup>

This is a very good finding and the City has successfully met its obligations. Contracts are essential for an effective service because they help ensure that janitors understand what is expected of them and know how much and when they will be paid. The fact that janitors reported consistently on their working hours demonstrates a systematic implementation of contracts and a clear expectation.

## The distribution of janitors is unequal and not all sections have enough janitors.



The City has committed to a ratio of at least 1 janitor per 25 toilets.<sup>30</sup>

|              | Toilets    | Janitors  | Ratio       |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| BM           | 648        | 42        | 1:15        |
| BT           | 94         | 2         | 1:47        |
| PJS          | 146        | 0         | 0:146       |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>888</b> | <b>44</b> | <b>1:20</b> |

The SJC did a physical count and GPS mapping of the total number of flush toilets in the four sections that we audited and we found the following approximate numbers: BM (648), BT (94) and PJS (146). We have not completed mapping Enkanini and it is not included in this analysis.

The City of Cape Town's data, provided to us on 11 July 2014 after our information requests, shows the total number of janitors in each sections: BM (42), BT (2) and PJS (0).

On the face of it the total number of janitors (44) employed to clean toilets (888) would give a ratio of 1 janitor to 22 toilets. This would meet the City's janitor to toilet ratio of at least 1:25. However, this masks discrepancies in the different sections.

BM has one janitor for every fifteen toilets and this is less than the expected ratio. BT has one janitor for every 47 toilets and this is nearly double the expected ratio. It is important to note that there were no janitors working in PJS at the time of the physical verification process.

## Janitors do not have the required cleaning equipment

The PID states that the following equipment is existing:<sup>31</sup>

- Brooms, refuse bags, cleaning chemicals, and rags

It states that the following is required:

- Water pliers

The social audit found that:

- 16 out of 31 (52%) of janitors have brooms, refuse bags, cleaning chemicals, and rags
- **No janitors had water pliers.**<sup>32</sup>

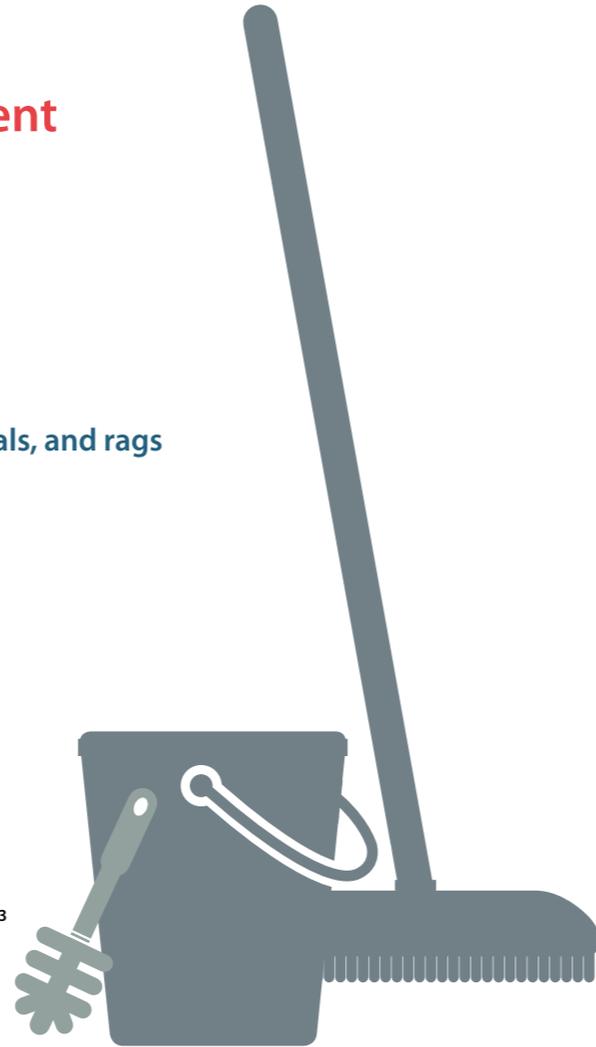


Not all janitors have the same equipment:

- 21 out of 31 (68%) janitors had a **bucket**
- 5 out of 31 (16%) janitors had a **rake**
- 4 out of 31 (13%) janitors had a **spade**
- 6 out of 31 (19%) janitors had a **mop**
- 6 out of 31 (19%) janitors had a **toilet brush**

Moreover,

- Most janitors reported that they ask their supervisor for replacements, but at least 8 of 31 (25%) janitors did not know how to get replacements<sup>33</sup>
- Janitors reported that it can take anywhere between one hour and one month to get a replacement<sup>34</sup>



The provision and replacement of cleaning and maintenance equipment to janitors appears inconsistent. Janitors indicate that essential cleaning items are not consistently provided, which makes one wonder exactly what janitors are using to clean. It would seem that there is no standard provision of equipment for janitors, nor is there a system to monitor and evaluate whether janitors have the equipment they need to do the job.

The lack of equipment such as pliers prevents the janitors from performing minor repairs of the flush toilets. Some janitors who did not know how to get replacements were new janitors and this demonstrates that there is little or no training, or essential parts of the job are not communicated during training. The wider variety of responses to the question of how long replacements take, demonstrates that a standard has not been set.

## There is no designated role for ward councillors

At the public hearing, the City lamented the fact that ward councillors are not approached directly on sanitation fault or problems with the janitorial service. They felt that there ought to be greater communication between residents and ward councillors as elected representatives and that ward councillors should be accountable to the residents in their ward.

The janitorial service is budgeted and managed centrally and ward councillors have no authority over the service. A structured and clear role for ward councillors has never been articulated by the City. Ultimately a lack of a policy and plan, where ward councillors have been delegated specific roles means that ward councillors remain ineffective as accountable representatives in regard to the janitorial service.



## The Fault Reporting system does not work effectively for toilets in informal settlements

At the public hearing, the City stated that Khayelitsha has one of the lowest reporting rates in the city. They stated that it is free to call from municipal offices or alternatively residents can SMS from a mobile phone. They stated that the City relies on residents to find out about broken or poorly maintained toilets, so if residents reported more then more toilets would work.

In reality, most residents in informal settlements use mobile phones and it is a premium rate telephone number to call the city. A ten minute conversation costs up to R25.00, depending on the network. Currently, the City provides only three landlines for the whole of Khayelitsha to report faults for free. If residents want to report a fault, then they need to walk or take a taxi to one of these phones.

Alternatively, if residents wish to use the SMS facility, there is no guidance on what information to send and our experience is that these go unanswered. Regardless, it is impossible to report faults for specific toilets in informal settlements through the call centre as it does not have the facility to locate and direct maintenance teams where there are no house numbers and roads.

NU and SJC are currently mapping toilet locations using GPS and are developing a simple free solution using mobile phones to report faults. There is no intention to replace or duplicate the City's fault reporting system, rather to provide the call centre with accurate location based and specific information.

# FINDINGS: Health, Safety & Labour

## Janitors are not receiving the required training

The City indicates in the PID that Janitors are required to be provided with the following types of training:

- Safety with equipment
- Health and hygiene

The Systems Procedure states that basic 'on the job training' will be provided to janitors on aspects of hygiene, use of equipment, fixing basic faults (e.g. misaligned cistern floaters), p.3.

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1997) (Code of Good Practice for Employment and Conditions of Work for EPWP, 18 February 2011) states that the management of an EPWP and each employer must:

- Inform and train workers about the precautions and steps that must be taken to avoid or minimise risks and dangers to them or others;
- Not permit workers to perform tasks for which they have not been trained.

The social audit found that:

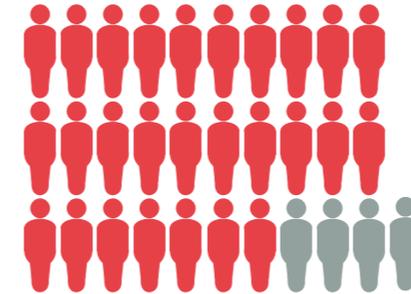
- Only 4 out of 31 (13%) of janitors received training in both health and hygiene and safety with equipment
- Of the 10 janitors who had worked for six months, only 1 had received the required training
- 6 out of 31 (19%) of janitors received no training at all

*Most janitors appear to be working without receiving the required training in order to do an effective job and in order to protect their own health and safety. We have not seen any training materials or pamphlets and it would seem that there is no centralised training programme from which janitors graduate. Most janitors seem to begin work and access only some training at some point. This is likely a major contributor to the uneven results of the service.*

## Janitors are not being inoculated against disease



The social audit found that:  
27 out of 31 **87%** janitors were NOT inoculated against disease



The Systems Procedure for Janitorial services states that every janitor will be inoculated in accordance with council policy prior to starting work.<sup>35</sup> The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 states that: **every worker has the right to work in a working environment that is safe and without risk to his or her health.**

At the public hearing, Executive Director of Utilities, Dr Gisela Kaiser, however stated that "in future all the janitors will be inoculated on time".

*This would indicate that the City of Cape Town has not prioritised inoculation and that the vast majority of janitors have been exposed to the risk of disease. Further, because of the delays, in some instances, janitors have not been able to work.*

## Janitors do not receive the required Protective Personal Equipment (PPE)

There are 5 different pieces of protective equipment that janitors are supposed to be provided with. According to the City of Cape Town in its presentation to the audit on 14 July 2014.

The personal protective equipment policy Doc V1.3, June 2011 states that: "Personal services shall determine and initiate processes and guidelines to ensure standardisation for the selection, purchasing, issuing and control of PPE".

The social audit found:

- **61%** of janitors had all 5 types of PPE as stipulated by the City of Cape Town in its presentation
- **26%** of janitors did not have raincoats
- **26%** of janitors did not have uniforms



*The conditions in which janitors work exposes them to risks which could be lessened with proper action and systems. As with inoculation, providing proper PPE is important for the health and safety of janitors. It also contributes to effectiveness of the service and the cleanliness of toilets.*



# DEMANDS



The social audit on the janitorial service found severe poor management and ineffective implementation of a most basic service to many thousands of informal settlement residents. The City has acknowledged these problems and Councillor Ernest Sonnenberg confirmed in correspondence to the SJC on 11 July 2014 that a draft implementation plan for the janitorial service was already in existence.

THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN MUST:

## Janitorial Service

1. Take immediate remedial action on the janitorial service ensuring that:

- All janitors receive the required PPE, tools and equipment.
- All janitors are inoculated.
- All toilets in the four areas are repaired so that they are in a proper working condition.

2. Within 4 weeks, complete and release the janitorial service implementation plan. This should include:

- What training is required, when it will be provided, and how.
- Details of when and how new janitors will be inoculated promptly and efficiently.
- How janitors will be equitably and rationally distributed across the city.
- Provision for monitoring and evaluating of the service.
- Directions on what minor maintenance janitors will perform.
- How the distribution of PPE, tools and equipment will take place.
- Clarification of the role of ward councillors and other stakeholders in implementing the service.
- An effective and well communicated strategy to deal with locked toilets.
- Systems and responsibilities for reporting faults.

## The right to basic sanitation

3. Immediately release a timeline with details how the City will implement the recommendations of the SAHRC report of 09 July 2014.

4. Immediately release a timeline for the development of a plan for sanitation delivery in Cape Town's informal settlements, with provisions for the monitoring and maintenance of existing facilities as well as the delivery of new services.

# Resources

All of the following resources are available online at either:

[www.nu.org.za/socialaudits](http://www.nu.org.za/socialaudits) or [www.sjc.org.za/social-audits](http://www.sjc.org.za/social-audits).

## RAW DATA

Raw data is available in spreadsheet form

- All Data spreadsheets
- Janitor's Questionnaire
- Resident's Questionnaire
- Physical Verification Questionnaire

## DOCUMENTS

All of the correspondence and documents that the city released and are referred to in the methodology and findings.

### INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS

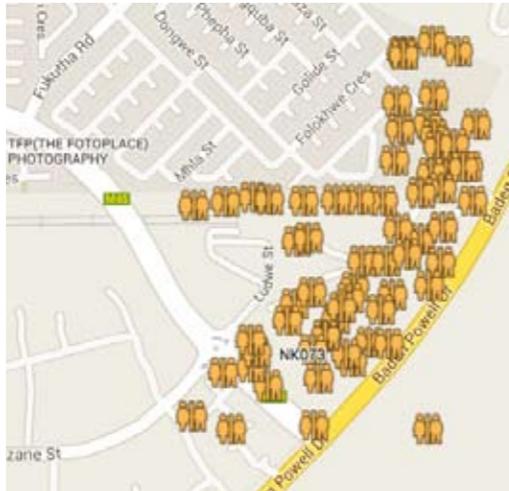
Two independent observers attended the week from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). Their job was to help us to provide feedback on the process and improve our methodology.

## VIDEO

A video has been released as a companion to this report. It contains interviews with participants and footage which helps to explain social audit methodology and how and why the janitorial social audit was conducted.



[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBubBBkg2\\_g](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IBubBBkg2_g)



## ACRONYMS A-Z

BEMF: Budget Expenditure Monitoring Forum

CoCT: City of Cape Town

EE: Equal Education

GUBICO: Gold and Uranium Belt Impact Censoring Organisation

HSRC: Human Sciences Research Council

IBP: International Budget Partnership

MACUA: Mining Affected Communities United in Action

NU: Ndifuna Ukwazi

SAHRC: South African Human Rights Commission

SJC: Social Justice Coalition

TAC: Treatment Action Campaign

## MAP

In 2014, the SJC and NU have been mapping flush toilets in informal settlements of Khayelitsha with GPS. The map helped us to locate flush toilets during the physical inspections. It will help you find all the toilets that we inspected, together with photos and inspection results.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> **IBP:** Mario Claasens, Shaamela Cassiem, Albert Van Zyl, Jessica Taylor; **NU:** Jared Rossouw, Shaun Russell, Martha Sithole, Yandisa Dubula; **Planact:** Shumani Luruli; **BEMF:** Thoko Madonko, Stacey Matlen (intern), Pablo Santos (intern); **HBS:** Keren Ben-Zeev; **HSRC:** Elme Vivier, Diana Sanchez

<sup>2</sup> City of Cape Town. Project Initiation Document, November 13, 2013

<sup>3</sup> Resident Questionnaire, Question 11

<sup>4</sup> Resident 40, 29 year old woman, PJS Section

<sup>5</sup> Resident 152, 27 year old woman, Enkanini

<sup>6</sup> Resident 74, 24 year old woman, BM section

<sup>7</sup> Resident 68, 36 year old man, BM section

<sup>8</sup> Resident 46, 19 year old woman, PJS section

<sup>9</sup> Resident 58, 29 year old man, PJS section

<sup>10</sup> Resident 142, 38 year old woman, Enkanini

<sup>11</sup> Resident 64, 32 year old woman, PJS section

<sup>12</sup> Resident 10, 21 year old woman, BT section

<sup>13</sup> Janitor Questionnaire, Question 12

<sup>14</sup> Resident Questionnaire, Question 12

<sup>15</sup> Resident Questionnaire

<sup>16</sup> Resident 22, 28 year old woman, BT section

<sup>17</sup> Resident 139, 32 year old woman, Enkanini

<sup>18</sup> Physical Verification Questionnaire. Question 8

<sup>19</sup> Physical Verification Questionnaire. Question 9

<sup>20</sup> Resident Questionnaire. Question 9a

<sup>21</sup> Resident Questionnaire. Question 9c

<sup>22</sup> Janitors Questionnaire. Question 21

<sup>23</sup> Resident Questionnaire. Question 10a

<sup>24</sup> System Procedures, p2, paragraph 5.4

<sup>25</sup> Residents Questionnaire. Question 6a

<sup>26</sup> Janitors Questionnaire. Question 8

<sup>27</sup> Janitors Questionnaire. Question 11

<sup>28</sup> Janitors Questionnaire. Question 12a & 12b

<sup>29</sup> Janitors Questionnaire. Question 14

<sup>30</sup> Systems Procedure. Page 2, paragraph 4

<sup>31</sup> PID, Page 2

<sup>32</sup> Janitor Questionnaire. Question 16a

<sup>33</sup> Janitor Questionnaire. Question 17

<sup>34</sup> Janitor Questionnaire. Question 18

<sup>35</sup> Systems Procedure. Page 3, paragraph 6.2

The SJC and NU thank the following organisations for their support of the janitorial service social audit: International Budget Partnership, Ford Foundation and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



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Photography by David Harrison, Shaun Swingler and the social audit team



