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This shows how some residents felt that the project excluded their organisation, even though, as individuals they were beneficiaries of the project. This also sheds light into the community dynamics and the issue of housing as a whole beyond this specific project. The Sinethemba group and the Imizamo Yethu civic represent the two opposing sides on the conflict of Imizamo Yethu development. As discussed in previous chapters, these two organisations have conflicting beliefs on how Imizamo Yethu should be developed, which has led to great contestation between the two groups.

The major issue here, however, is the legitimacy of the beneficiaries, the question of who deserves a house more than the other and how the 'first come, first serve principle' should work. It seems these issues in this case have been brought up by migration of people both in and out of Imizamo Yethu. Migration seems to be a regular occurrence in places like this<sup>5</sup>, especially when the majority of people come from different places such as the Eastern Cape and other African countries as is the case here. According to a Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation Survey in 2011, the highest percentage of people living in Imizamo Yethu originally come from the Eastern Cape at 65.5%, second highest (at 16.04%) is people that came from other places in Cape Town and the last group is those (at 10.85%) that come from other countries. This highlights the level of migration of people in and out of Imizamo Yethu as they move in search for work opportunities as well as access to land and housing.

The issues of migration clearly affected how the project was viewed as some community members were seen as deserving to benefit from the project, while others who benefited were not. In this regard, Lindly (2014:148) believes that '...South Africa's poor urban settlements are regularly sites of territorial exclusion and tension between group who considers themselves established locals and those new arrivals...from within or beyond South Africa's borders.' This seems to be the point of tension here as well, where those who believe they were there first, feel more deserving and entitled to benefit in the

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<sup>5</sup> Imizamo Yethu is a township, much like many other places in South Africa, it is characterised by high levels of migration due to poor people coming to cities in search of economic opportunities.





































































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