

CHAPTER 5: INCLUSIVE CITIES





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CHAPTER 5. SOCIAL TRENDS AND THE STATE OF THE INCLUSIVE CITY

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION STABILITY

The strength of the urban economy is a key determinant of how residents feel about the city, and their willingness to commit to it as the place to build their futures. But it is not the only factor. The National Spatial Development Perspective observes that while people are still moving into metropolitan centres where they perceive levels of income and employment to be higher, 'there are also significant movements into areas with weak, declining or non-existent economic activity (especially smaller towns and/or dense peri-urban or rural settlements).'

The key reason for this is that unemployment in many urban centres is now as high, if not higher, than it is in smaller and more rural settlements. As the differential economic attractiveness of cities, relative to other parts of the country, declines pull factors other than urban employment and urban income levels become more and more important in driving migration. Reporting on research that modelled South African migration patterns for the NSDP, Catherine Cross concludes,

South African urban and rural unemployment have reached levels where there may be little advantage for the rural unemployed in moving to the city to look for work. To an important extent, public goods that provide basic needs like water and energy have become a second-best substitute goal, which has risen in importance as jobs have become relatively unavailable while services have become easier to find.

The fact that potential migrants are more and more sensitive to non-economic factors is a very important issue for the SACN cities. It implies that even if they do not manage to provide residents with means to earn a living, they may still attract migrants from other parts of the country and internationally. This may seem like a further challenge at first glance. But for cities with either strong or flagging population growth, it is an opportunity. By ensuring that all residents are able to share in the social benefits of urban life, city leaders can help to structure residents' material, psychological and financial commitment to the city, and thereby help stabilise their populations. Those cities facing fast-growing populations may thereby anticipate, or at least deflect, heightened expectations that may ultimately turn into social tensions and political conflict. Those cities concerned with slow growth, and possibly even depopulation, may thereby counter out-migration when there seems little hope of kick-starting local economies in the short term.

Strategising about social development

Social development is an important strategic pillar for cities concerned with unstable populations. But cities need to think quite broadly about what to do within the area of social development.

First and foremost, city leaders ought to think about social development as more than just infrastructure development. Infrastructure that provides basic needs such as water and electricity is critical. But at the end of the day these are actually only a part of the social benefits of city life that residents value.

It appears that when unemployment is high enough to force households to turn to other ways of accessing basic needs, a number of different livelihood-related factors involved with basic needs and with household investment strategies come to the front alongside jobs. These factors are likely to be as important or more important in driving migration than an elusive urban labour market. With high general unemployment, migration may become a process of moving toward second-best incentives – those that help the household to fill in livelihoods when wage income or remittances are no longer accessible.

That is, the kind of migration found in the coastal provinces is often towards a default option – not necessarily toward the urban job market as was assumed to be the case in the past. The cluster of secondary or default factors which influence migration decisions includes access to sites to live on and to land for cultivation, security of tenure, business opportunities, access to transport and services infrastructure including schools and clinics, access to basic needs infrastructure including water and electricity, access to natural resources free of charge, and personal safety. Of these, results for KwaZulu Natal and the Western Cape suggest that infrastructure delivery as a package – here defined as water, electricity, telecoms and mass transport access – is perhaps the most important in influencing migration decisions.

(Catherine Cross, Spatial implications of population migration for South Africa's development & infrastructure programmes, NSDP, January 2000)

In theory, living in a city promises more social goods and opportunities than life in small towns and rural areas can offer. These obviously include greater work and income opportunities. But over and above this are:

- Improved social amenities such as health services, sports and recreation facilities, and culture and entertainment;
- Better access to social welfare services;
- A wider pool of better-quality education facilities as well as an environment that encourages and enables broader knowledge generation and exchange;
- In general, better human development on such indicators as gender equality and life expectancy;
- Greater mobility to see and do more things both within the settlement and beyond; and
- The ability to secure against risk and insecurity through access to finance and insurance, the build-up of saleable assets, and the nurturing of social capital networks.

Secondly, city leaders need to think more broadly about social development by seeing themselves as responsible for it. This is not always easy. Social development is still mostly seen as a welfare function within a provincial government competency. And fiscally pressed municipalities would usually far rather give resources to economic development than social development because this directly builds the local tax base.

The appropriate allocation of limited public and private resources is a vital debate. However, new evidence emerges all the time to suggest that giving attention to citizens' 'social needs' does not take resources and energies away from building the economy and stabilising the tax base. On the contrary, there is a close positive relationship between social and economic development and between social development and municipal financial viability. Many countries, and cities, now recognise that they build tomorrow's entrepreneurship and middle-class buying power with the social policies of today. Various forms of social exclusion – lack of access to infrastructure, health and education opportunities; weak families; disintegrating communities; spatial disadvantage and therefore a lack of participation in urban life; the denial of aspirations, leading to the erosion of confidence and disinvestment from the challenges of modern life – all limit the development of the next generation of producers and consumers. To address these things is to build a more stable future economic base, and in turn a more substantial municipal rates base. In addition, South African municipalities that have done the investigations, such as Cape Town, know that integrated and well-functioning communities and families are more inclined to pay their rates and service charges, regardless of their wealth. Put in another way, social policy is a policy of economic development and fiscal stabilisation, with a slightly longer time-horizon for meaningful outcomes.

The challenge

South African cities have been left with a serious social challenge by apartheid. It was the systemic function of apartheid cities to ensure that white residents had all the social benefits of living in the city, and to deny black residents equal access to urban social goods and opportunities. The result is cities where very large proportions of the population are not included – materially



or psychologically – in urban life. This profoundly impacts on the baseline conditions for future economic growth and municipal fiscal security.

This section examines how well South Africa's key cities have done, and are doing, at reversing 'apartheid', and creating more inclusive social contexts. It looks at five factors:

- How well SACN cities have done in addressing the social circumstances in which their residents are forced to live, in particular racial disparities in access to urban services and shelter;
- Continued differentials in wealth and poverty that lead to sections of the population bearing relatively higher costs of living in the city, and being unable to adequately secure against risk and tragedy;
- Progress in ameliorating forms of spatial exclusion, especially the fragmentation of the city into enclaves of wealth on the one hand and ghettos and slums, frequently located on the far edges of the city, on the other;
- How cities are doing at improving human development on such measures as gender equality, life expectancy, education and health;
- How well cities are performing at promoting a general sense of quality of life, and whether they are enabling city residents to aspire and meaningfully realise their aspirations for advancement in social status. On the basis of this the report asks whether cities have been able to ensure that more and more people, of whatever race, class and gender, are willing and able to regard themselves as city 'residents' and 'ratepayers'.

SHELTER, INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Extending network infrastructure and household services to previously disadvantaged communities has been the principal social development strategy of the municipalities democratically elected in 1995/1996. 'Addressing backlogs'; 'meeting basic needs'; and 'equitable service delivery' was seen as the most important way that municipalities could incorporate residents historically excluded by apartheid policies.

The nine SACN cities have seen mixed success in meeting the infrastructure, shelter and community service needs of their residents. On the one hand, many more people now have access to these goods as a result of municipal efforts. On the other, backlogs and the racial disparities remain.

THE CHALLENGE OF KEEPING PACE

On the plus side, the absolute numbers of households receiving an acceptable level of service have increased dramatically. This is particularly evident in some service areas, such as waste management. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of households receiving a municipal waste collection service at least weekly increased by 1 048 593. However, in spite of this clear evidence of progress, the challenges of assimilating people by providing them with a measure of basic urban services remain.

While the absolute numbers of households served has increased, the numbers without many basic services has also increased. As a result the proportion of households receiving these services has often remained static or has improved

only marginally. For example, households using electricity for lighting purposes (the best indicator we have of an electricity connection) increased by 928 368 between 1996 and 2001. But the number without electricity also increased, resulting in only a modest improvement of households without electricity from 22,3% to 18,9% of total.

In some cities and in some service areas the numbers of households without services has increased at a rate equivalent to, or even faster rate than, the increases in households served. The proportion of households without access to basic services has even declined slightly, even in the face of absolute increases in numbers of households served. For example, 712 249 more households enjoyed water on site (either piped to the stand or inside the dwelling) in 2001 than in 1996. But between the two census years the proportion of households forced to use public stands, boreholes, rivers or water vendors increased from 19,7% to 21,4%.

In general terms this means that the nine SACN cities are keeping pace with some of the needs of residents, but they are not yet eroding many of the backlogs they inherited.

Variations across cities and service sectors

The picture is highly variable across cities and across services. The graphs in figure 31 compare the numbers of households without specific infrastructure services in 2001 to those in 1996. They show that some cities are doing relatively well at meeting some needs, but not others. For example, eThekweni reduced the number of households not receiving electricity from 164 518 to 159 442 between 1996 and 2001, and almost halved the number of households without adequate refuse removal from 198 047 to 114 719. However, this city also saw the number of households without water on site climb from 186 855 to 238 472.

In general, those cities with the fastest growth in population and growth in the numbers of households were less able than others to keep pace with growing needs. But this does not always the case. For example, Ekurhuleni, which saw numbers of households grow 39,2% between 1996 and 2001, still did better than Mangaung (with 21,1% household growth) at keeping down the numbers of households without adequate refuse removal services. Mangaung did better on other services.

Nuances in success by service levels

Although the number of households served has increased across the board, the total access to some levels of services has declined in absolute terms. Most worrying are trends in the water services sector. The numbers of households receiving piped running water on site (that is, either to their yards or directly in dwelling) increased between 1996 and 2001 from 5 468 083 to 6 871 464. This was a growth of 25,7%. Although there was a slight decline in the percentage of households served with water on site – from 80,3% to 78,6% – this was nevertheless an important accomplishment.

However, this growth was almost all made up of new yard connections. 833 814 more households had yard connections in 1996 than in 2001. But in all but two of the nine cities, the actual number of households with water connections in their dwellings declined. The total decline across the cities was a remarkable 121 565 households between 1996 and 2001. In 1996, 66,2% of households in the nine cities had water in their dwellings: in 2001 only 49,5% enjoyed this convenience. Figure 31 gives various perspectives on this trend.

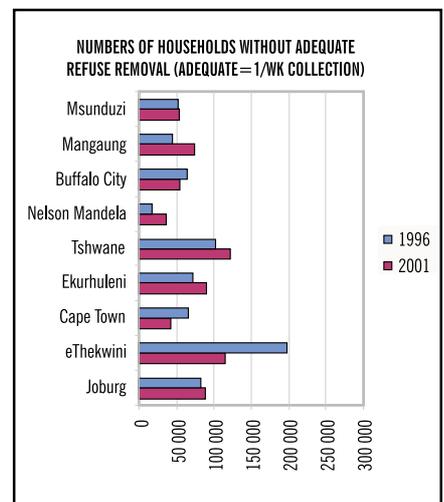
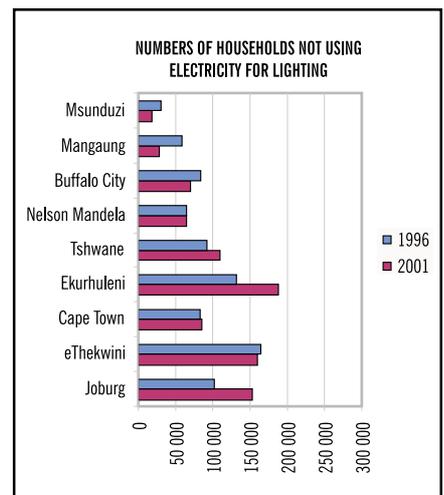
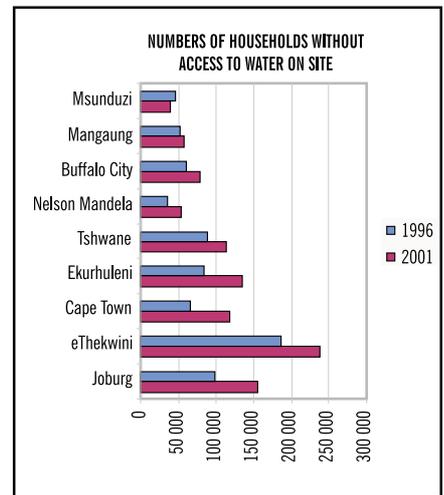


Figure 31. Comparison in numbers of households without access to specific services: 1996–2001.

	Joburg	eThekwin	Cape Town	Ekurhuleni	Tshwane	Nelson Mandela	Buffalo City	Mangaung	Msunduzi	Total of 9 Cities
Number hsh with water in dwelling 2001	499 469	397 617	526 866	315 704	272 805	121 818	60 104	46 805	48 627	2 289 815
Number hsh with water to yard 2001	351 223	150 658	114 551	294 383	175 995	86 148	52 407	80 535	42 681	1 348 581
% hsh with water in dwelling 1996	65,90%	62,51%	79,28%	68,21%	69,48%	64,04%	47,99%	45,72%	48,74%	66,16%
% hsh with water in dwelling 2001	49,60%	50,54%	69,35%	42,38%	48,49%	46,71%	31,46%	25,30%	37,29%	49,47%
% hsh with water on site 1996	86,48%	84,35%	79,51%	70,96%	60,37%	89,84%	84,29%	61,75%	65,70%	80,29%
% hsh with water on site 2001	84,48%	81,90%	79,77%	69,69%	70,03%	84,42%	79,74%	58,89%	68,83%	78,61%
% hsh with no water on site 1996	13,52%	29,04%	10,16%	15,65%	20,49%	15,71%	38,25%	34,30%	39,63%	19,71%
% hsh with no water on site 2001	15,52%	30,31%	15,58%	18,10%	20,23%	20,26%	41,11%	31,17%	29,97%	21,39%
% change in hsh with no water on site	58,71%	27,62%	79,03%	59,58%	29,47%	49,51%	28,79%	9,95%	-14,94%	37,76%
% change in hsh with water on site	35,06%	20,07%	9,72%	34,00%	31,52%	9,69%	14,27%	26,72%	30,46%	24,34%
% change in hsh with water in dwelling	4,07%	-1,15%	2,14%	-14,26%	-8,52%	-15,43%	-21,45%	-33,06%	-13,94%	-5,04%
% change in hsh with water to yard	134,25%	176,94%	66,66%	238,00%	308,83%	89,09%	138,78%	163,48%	216,53%	161,98%
Actual change hsh with water in dwelling	19 542	-4 610	11 025	-52 495	-25 400	-22 218	-16 410	-23 121	-7 878	-121 565
Actual change hsh with water to yard	201 288	96 258	45 819	207 288	132 947	40 589	30 459	49 969	29 197	833 814

Both the causes and the likely consequences and implications of this trend need to be considered. One cause is obviously the service delivery choices made under provincial housing development processes as well as by municipalities. Many municipalities now prefer yard-based pre-paid water meter systems to curb problems with non-payment. But behind this lies more interesting and significant trends in where people are living in the cities.

SHELTER TRENDS

Out of backyards

The greatest decline in the numbers of dwellings with piped water has occurred in formal and informal backyard dwellings. There clearly has been some switchover of service levels in these housing categories (the number of households living in formal backyard dwellings and served with water in-dwelling dropped by 66 499, while the number served with water in-yard increased by 54 146). But the more important trend here is an absolute decline in the numbers of households living in backyard dwellings.

Across the nine SACN cities the number of *formal* backyard dwellings declined by 16 073 between 1996 and 2001 (5,1%). The number of informal backyard dwellings declined by a huge 462 849 (65,7%). The graph at the bottom right of figure x suggests some correlation between the extent of movement out of backyards, and the decline in the numbers of households served with water inside their dwellings (although some cities, such as Cape Town, buck this trend).

The movement of residents out of backyards is one of the most important trends shaping South African cities. Between 1996 and 2001 there was a net movement of 478 922 households out of backyards in the nine SACN cities.

	Piped water in dwelling	Piped water to yard
Formal Dwelling (1996)	2 050 231	181 449
Formal Dwelling (2001)	2 109 300	804 328
Formal Backyard Dwelling (1996)	165 719	72 845
Formal Backyard Dwelling (2001)	99 220	126 991
Informal Backyard Dwelling (1996)	57 627	81 971
Informal Backyard Dwelling (2001)	23 132	160 996
Informal Dwelling (1996)	62 461	146 326
Informal Dwelling (2001)	54 156	251 625
Other (caravan, tent, etc) (1996)	3 592	2,265
Other (caravan, tent, etc) (2001)	4 007	4,639
Total (1996)	2 339 630	484 856
Total (2001)	2 289 815	1 348 579

Different cities have different legacies with regard to backyard shacks, and different degrees of movement out. Figure 33 compares Johannesburg and eThekweni on the percentage of total households living in informal and formal backyard dwellings in 1996, and again in 2001. In 1996, 99 024, or 13,8% of Johannesburg's total households, stayed in formal backyard dwellings. In 2001, the total number had increased to 105 193, but this now represented only 10,5% of total. By contrast, eThekweni saw numbers of households living in formal backyard dwellings decline from 55 735 to 39 862, and percentages of total from 8.7% to 5.1%. For Johannesburg a similar trend was seen in informal backyard shacks.

However there is a difference with eThekweni's informal backyard dwellings. First, a remarkable 24,6% of all households lived in informal backyard structures in 1996 (next to Johannesburg's 13,93%). Second, in the five years to 2001 a phenomenal 129 447 households moved out of these housing circumstances, driving the percentage of households living in backyard shacks down from 24,6% to 3,5%

Residents moving out of backyards might be doing so for a number of reasons, and may be moving to a number of other shelter types. One possible reason is the large decline in employment in private households, discussed in Chapter 3. Many domestic workers may have had live-in accommodation in the backyards of suburban properties. The 91 145 decline in private household jobs across the nine SACN cities may at least partially account for the movement out. It is noteworthy that eThekweni saw a far greater relative loss of jobs in this sector than Johannesburg. 19 851 private households jobs were shed in eThekweni between 1996 and 2001, a decline of 22,5% of total, whereas Johannesburg saw a loss of 15 802 domestic worker jobs, 12,2% of total.

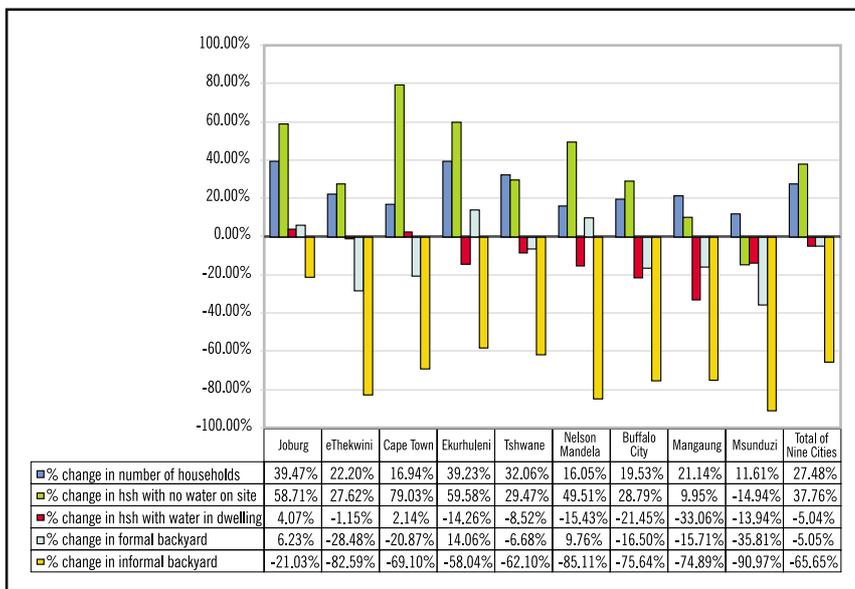


Figure 32. Changes in access to household water services in the nine SACN cities, 1996 to 2001. Note that the category 'on-site' is a composite category referring to piped water either to yard or into dwelling. The graph bottom right compares the % changes in households with water piped into dwelling to % changes in number of households and number in backyard.

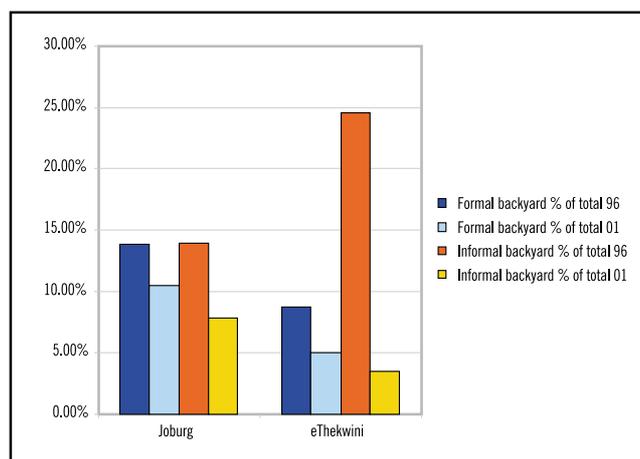
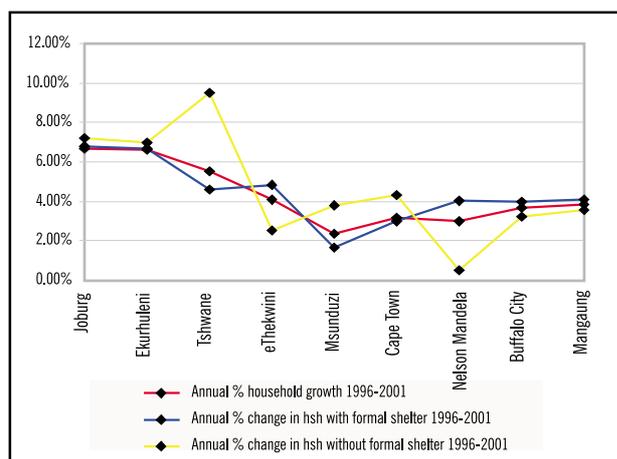


Figure 33. Graph on left below: comparison between SACN cities on (a) annual percentage increases in the number of households; (b) households without formal shelter, and (c) households with formal shelter. Graph on right below: comparison of percentage of total households living in informal and formal backyard dwellings: 1996 and 2001 in Joburg and eThekweni.

Into other kinds of housing

The most likely explanation, however, is that households are voluntarily leaving backyards for other housing opportunities. Some might be moving into apartments in inner-city buildings converted informally from commercial office use, or even into derelict factory space close to city centres. For example, across the cities the number of households occupying one-room flats increased from 32 378 to 50 752. But the majority are moving into formal self-standing houses or informal dwellings not in backyards. They are moving into formal houses in response to the availability of housing subsidies, an incentive that may also be driving the decomposition of larger households and therefore the phenomenal growth of households in most of the cities. And they are very likely moving into informal dwellings to escape mounting costs of living in the city.

There was a net increase of 735 627 informal dwellings not in backyards between 1996 and 2001, signalling a substantial growth in the total number of informal settlements. Furthermore, there was an increase of 743 843 formal self-standing houses in this period, with the greatest increases being in the number of one-room formal houses (a 226,9% increase from 81 940 to 267 834) and two-four-room room formal houses (a 41,9% increase from 833 732 to 1183 418).

Of course, not all of this growth is attributable to residents moving out of backyard accommodation. Some will obviously be due to new migrants moving into the city. And there may be even more complex patterns. Qualitative research and field observations by housing officials suggest that large numbers of people may be moving out of backyards to take occupancy in new subsidy-built housing, only to move out again to an informal settlement shortly thereafter. They are keeping their homes, but renting them out in an attempt to realise some form of steady cash flow.

Changing proportions of formal and informal dwellings

The percentage of households living in informal dwellings remained constant at some 25% between 1996 and 2001. In the face of greater total numbers of households, and an increasing number of households in informal shelter, cities did well to ensure that many more residents enjoyed acceptable shelter in the 1996-2001 period.

However, as with many services, cities are running to stand still here. The absolute number of households without formal shelter increased by 264 649 between 1996 and 2001. This was an increase of 28,5% across the cities. Across the cities there remained 1 191 905 households without adequate housing in 2001.

Sharing rooms

A disturbing trend is the increase in the numbers of households sharing a single room in the SACN cities. In 1996 8,7% of all households shared a single room across the nine cities. By 2001 this had doubled to 16% of all households. The greatest increases were in Johannesburg, eThekweni and Cape Town.

	City of Joburg	eThekweni	Cape Town	Ekurhuleni	Tshwane	Nelson Mandela	Buffalo City	Manguang	Msunduzi
Clinics	0,30	0,84	0,36		0,73			0,32	0,39
Libraries	0,24	0,24	0,35		0,20			0,11	0,16
Swimming pools	0,18	0,10	0,12		0,11			0,15	0,13
Parks		0,17			2,66			1,82	0,09
Public toilets	0,49	0,36	0,43					0,24	0,63
Sports fields	0,69	0,05	0,23		0,17			0,69	0,75
Community halls & recreation facilities	0,29	0,62	0,37					0,31	0,02
Nursery schools	0,28		0,03		0,05				
Child care facilities	0,28		0,04						
Welfare facilities	0,01								
Retirement homes	0,08		0,01						
Total rates per capita 2002/03	R653,97	R655,21	R640,24	R444,60	R588,42	R367,56	R289,00	R278,23	R405,55
% CapX spent on comm, projects 02/03	7,83%	2,64%	3,72%	2,79%	3,92%	8,28%	3,47%	2,00%	11,41%
CapX / p on community projects 02/03	R29,10	R14,96	R24,01	R7,86	R16,97	R35,78	R16,06	R5,78	R37,61
Establishment Of Parks And Gardens	R7,74		R3,21	R0,15	R2,83	R8,29	R1,30	R1,22	R5,19
Sports Fields	R8,92		R6,58	R2,94	R0,49	R10,96	R1,15	R0,73	R5,63
Community Halls	R5,87		R0,75	R2,09	R3,78	R0,49	R1,98	R0,76	R4,76
Libraries	R1,65		R0,54	R0,24	R2,72	R0,39	R0,01	R0,00	R11,35
Recreation Facilities	R0,60		R3,83	R0,92	R2,17	R2,52	R0,30	R1,00	R1,84
Clinics	R2,23		R4,02	R0,55	R2,37	R2,17	R0,00	R2,07	R0,58
Museums and Art Galleries	R0,91		R2,36	R0,97	R0,01	R7,50	R0,00	R0,00	R0,00
Other	R1,19		R2,73	R0,00	R2,62	R3,45	R11,31	R0,00	R8,25

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

Household infrastructure services and shelter are not the only concerns of residents. As important, but often overlooked, is the extent to which residents are able to share in the benefits of higher levels of social services and 'amenities' that urban economies of scale enable.

Data on development of community facilities and amenities is unfortunately not complete. Nor is it possible to compare development of this social infrastructure over time. But that which is available shows interesting contrasts across the cities. For example, while the City of Joburg administered 100 clinics for its population, eThekweni was able to offer almost three times this number, 266, to its slightly smaller population (these numbers exclude provincial health facilities). In its turn Johannesburg maintains 233 sports fields, compared with eThekweni's 13. Interestingly, Msunduzi has the largest number of sports fields relative to population: it has 0,8 fields for every 10 000 residents, whereas Johannesburg has 0,7. Cape Town has by far the largest number of libraries in absolute terms, and relative to population served. The available data for number of facilities per 10 000 people is shown in figure x.

This comparison needs to take into account the different socio-economic and spatial contexts of each city. For example, the re-demarcation of eThekweni in 2000 saw the city take in a large rural area where the density of social facilities was likely to have been relatively low. Benchmarking also needs to recognise varying municipal tax capacity. Since the operation of such facilities is financed out of the rates account, municipalities with relatively high per capita rates income are more likely than others to be able to maintain higher numbers of facilities. The relatively high proportion of some community facilities in Msunduzi clearly reflects this.

Figure 34. Social services and amenities run by the municipality of each SACN city (number of facilities per 10 000 people), compared to total rates per capita and capital expenditure on community projects per person in 2002/03. The number of facilities is based on 2003 data, and divided by 2002 population to achieve relative consistency with the budget data.

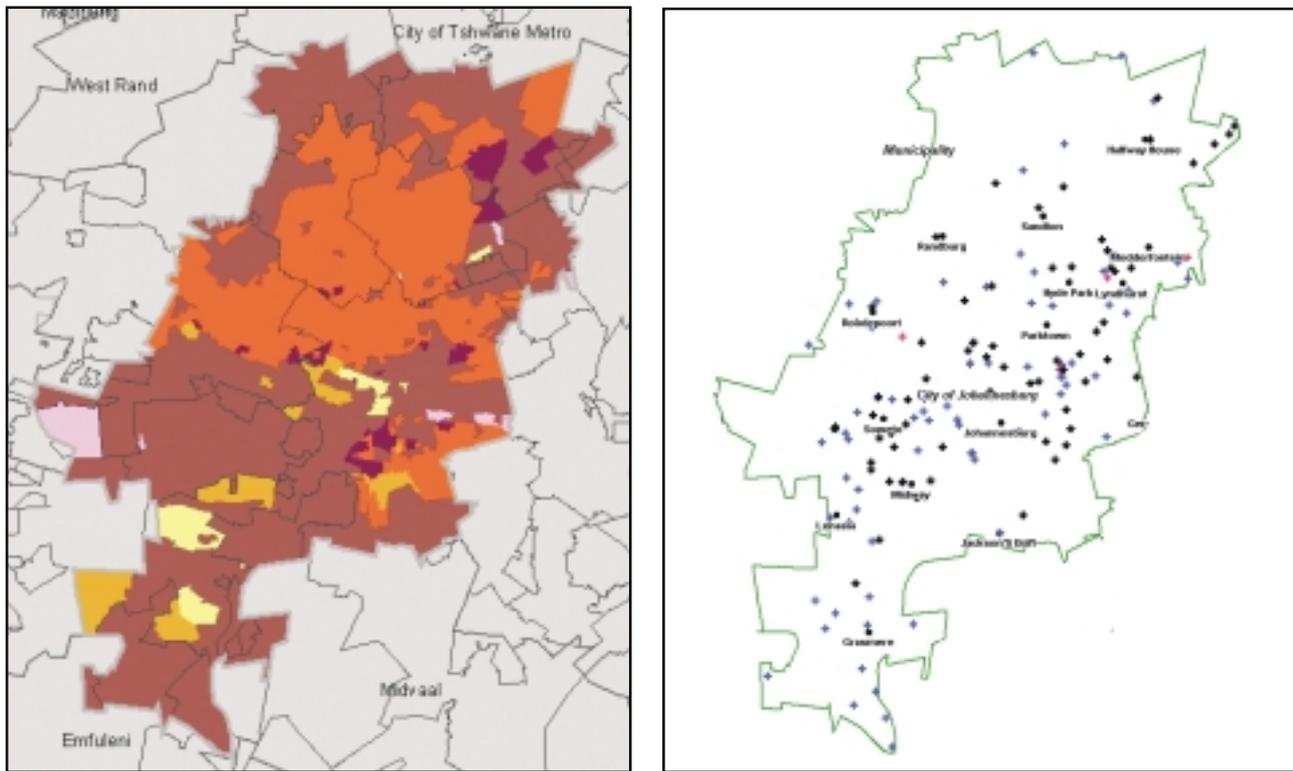


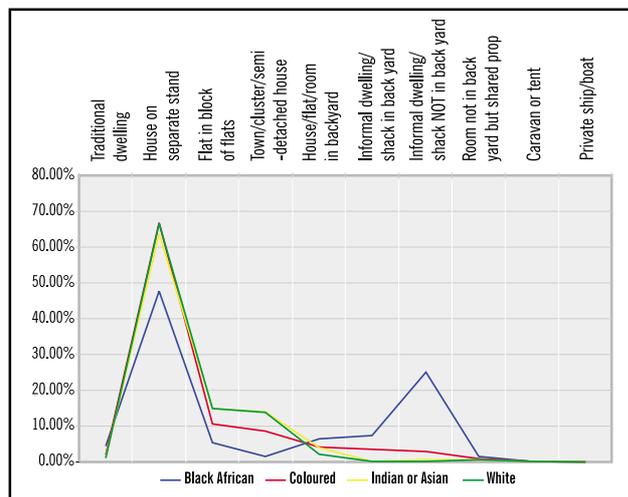
Figure 35. A comparison of the geographic distribution of health facilities and the spatial location of households by population group of head in Johannesburg. In the racial distribution map, orange represents white-headed households as dominant; dark brown represents African-headed households; light yellow is Indian; dark-yellow is coloured and purple is mixed.

However, it is also clear that different municipalities are giving different levels of priority to amenities. National Treasury budget data for 2002/03 suggests that whereas both eThekweni and Cape Town both have equivalent rates income to, and far larger capital budgets than Johannesburg – R1,8 billion and R1,2 billion in comparison to Johannesburg’s R1,2 billion – they devote far less of it to ‘community projects’. Currently, 2,6% of eThekweni’s capital budget and 3,7% of Cape Town’s goes to community projects, compared with Johannesburg’s 7,8%. On a Rand-per-capita basis, Johannesburg spent R29 on community projects in 2002/03, double that of eThekweni. Of the cities, Nelson Mandela and Msunduzi spent the most on new community capital projects in 2002/03. Nelson Mandela spent R11 on sports fields and Msunduzi spent R11,35 on libraries, almost as much per capita as nearby eThekweni spent on its entire community projects capital budget.

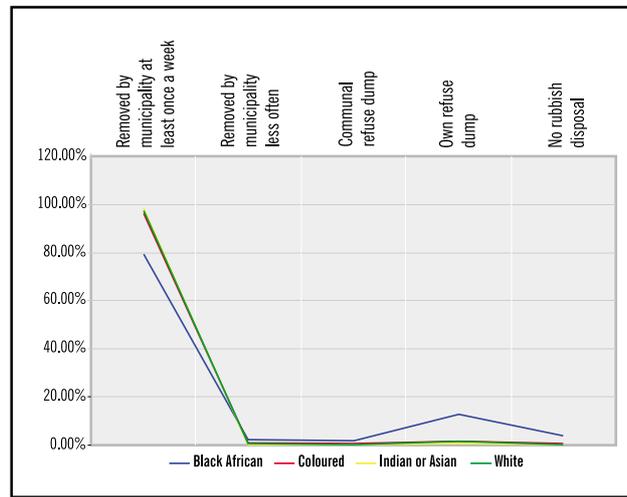
RACIAL AND SPATIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACCESS TO SERVICES

Progress in eroding the backlog of household infrastructure services, adequate shelter and community facilities needs to be assessed first and foremost in terms of absolute numbers of new households served and the proportion of households still unserved. However, as important as overall numbers and percentages, are the communities in the city which are still not adequately provided for. The essence of apartheid cities was the exclusion of geographically segregated racial groups from the social benefits of a tax base they contributed to building. To what extent have the SACN cities addressed the social injustice of black, coloured and Indian residents, overwhelmingly located in apartheid-demarcated neighbourhoods, not being able to enjoy equal access to the benefits of urban life?

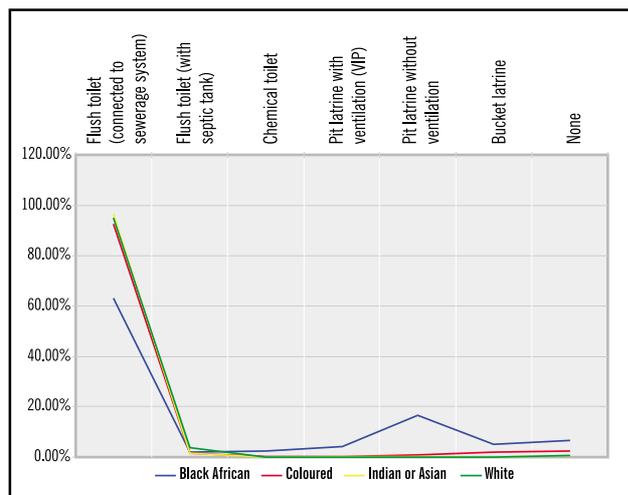
The evidence shows that racially based disparity in access to services, shelter and social facilities is still a predominant feature of SACN cities. Whereas 66,7% of white-headed households occupied a house on a separate stand in 2001, and a



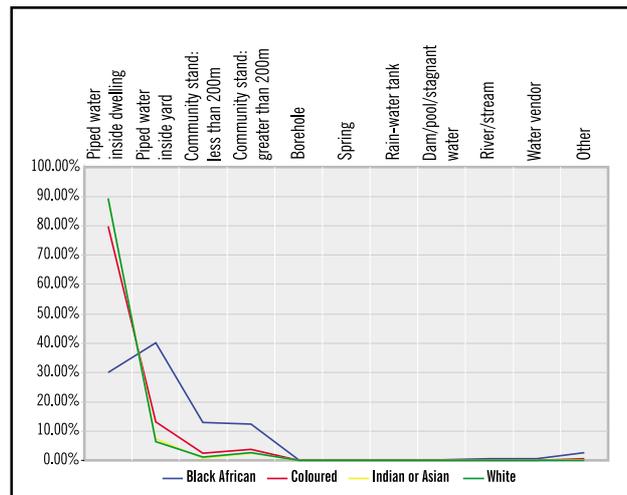
Disparities in shelter



Access to waste collection services



Access to sanitation services



Access to water services

further 28,7% were otherwise adequately accommodated in an apartment block or townhouse/cluster complex, only 47,9% of African-headed households lived in a house, and only another 7% lived in a flat or cluster. Across the nine SACN cities 32,6% of African-headed households lived in informal dwellings either in informal settlements or backyards. By comparison, a tiny fraction of white households – 0,5% – were in similar circumstances in 2001.

Similar disparities can be seen for all the major municipal services – water, sanitation, power and waste collection, as shown in the graphs in figure 36. The most startling inequality is evident in relation to water services. In 2001, a mere 29,84% of African-headed households had water piped directly into their dwelling, compared to 79,8%, 88,9% and 89,4% of coloured, Indian and white heads of households respectively. True, a further 403% of African-headed households had water piped to their yards, and another 13% had RDP level services of a community-standpipe within 200m of their homes. But only 7,6% of white-headed households had to accept these lower levels of service.

A similar picture of disparity can be drawn for community services. An analysis of the spatial distribution of provincial and municipal health facilities in Johannesburg shows that these are still overwhelmingly concentrated near the city centre and in areas that continue to be dominated by white residents. The facilities concentrated in the inner city are obviously now available to a much larger portion of the population than previously. However, most telling is the fact that the far south and far north of the city have relatively few facilities. These are parts of the city where the largest

Figure 36. Graphs illustrating the proportion of households, headed by different population groups, with access to various levels of services and shelter.

number of African-headed households are concentrated. Some of these parts are obviously less densely populated than those nearer the city centre, which may mean that the same 'density' of health facilities is neither appropriate nor viable. However these are also the fastest-growing areas of the city.

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION, ASSET FORMATION, SECURITY AGAINST RISK

Basic services infrastructure, shelter and community facilities are essential to life in the city. But they are not the only social benefits that people look to share in when coming to a city. Nor are they sufficient to guarantee that people will wish to stay and commit to building lives and futures in the city. Perhaps more important than these public goods are opportunities to 'secure' livelihoods. This means a fair distribution of income sufficient for all households to both cover the cost of urban living and build up assets over time. It also means the capacity of all households to secure against unexpected risks and uncertain futures so that they can manage crises that may otherwise tip them over into chronic poverty.

The movement of households out of backyards discussed above gives an interesting perspective on whether an ever-greater proportion of households are able to access wealth, build assets and insure against risk. As suggested the movement out of backyards may be driven by either of two things.

On the one hand is perhaps the aspiration of people to move to formal houses that they own themselves. This suggests that apartheid divisions of wealth and poverty are being addressed, as previously excluded residents begin to acquire important urban assets of their own.

On the other hand is perhaps the desperation of those obliged to move to less formal circumstances with lower levels of services. This speaks to the deepening of apartheid disparities, as income-poverty increases and more and more people are excluded from the benefits of urban living.

Various sets of data suggest that both things are happening. But the evidence says that the benefits of urban asset formation are being outstripped by deepening wealth divisions and increased dependency, increased cost of living in the city, and a lack of access to instruments that secure against long-term risk.

WEALTH DIVISIONS AND DEPENDENCY

Income distribution

The average household income across the cities increased from R48 291 per annum to R71 835 per annum between 1996 and 2001. Across the cities there have been increases in the numbers of households earning in all income

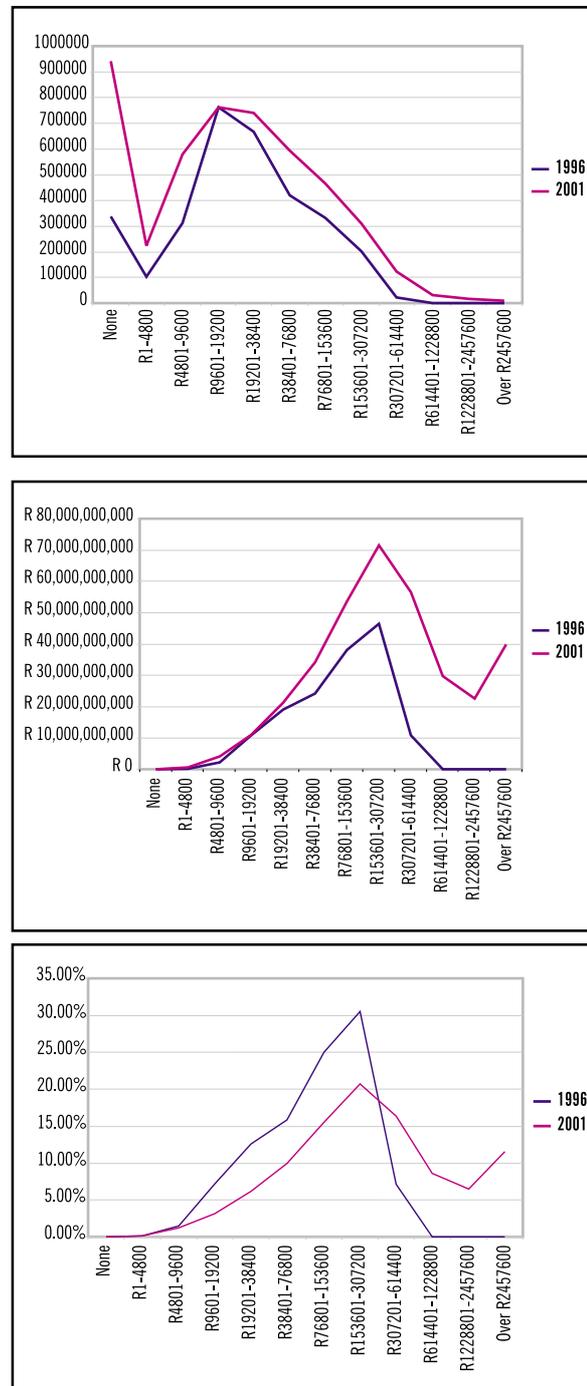


Figure 37. Three graphs showing census data on household income distribution. The top shows the number of households earning within each income bracket in 1996 and 2001. The middle shows total income earned within each income bracket in 1996 and 2001. The bottom shows the proportion of total income earned in each income bracket in 1996 and 2001. The data is for all nine cities combined.

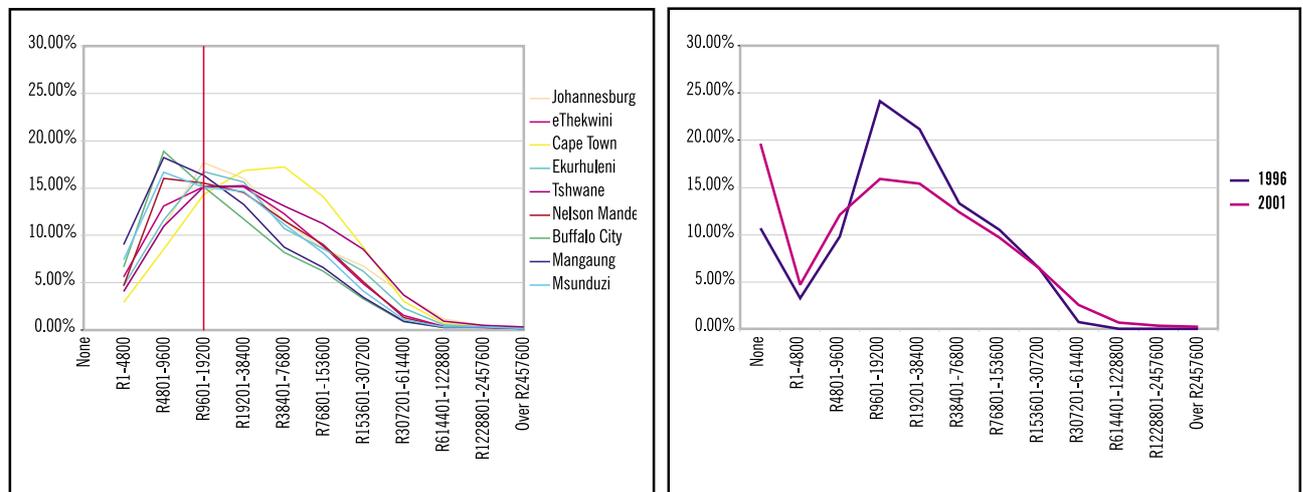
brackets as shown in the graph at top of figure 37. This apparently healthy increase masks increasing disparities in the distribution of income in the nine SACN cities. In total, a far greater amount of total household income was earned in the higher-income brackets (above the midpoint bracket of R76 801 per annum) in 2001 than in 1996. In effect this means a significant shrinkage of the proportion of total income flowing to lower- and middle-income bracket households. True, there have been increases in the proportion of households earning between R4 800 and R9 600. But there have been substantial declines in the proportion earning in the middle-range income categories above this. At the top end of the earning scale there are today a far greater proportion of households earning over R300 000 per annum. (See figure 38 bottom right).

Methods typically used to show income disparity reflect this trend. In 1996, 58,6% of all households fell in the middle-income range of R4 801-R38 400, and collectively earned 35,7% of all income. In 2001, the proportion of households in this middle range had fallen to 43,7%, and collectively captured a mere 19,9% of total income. In 2001, the poorest 36,4% of households (those in the bottom 25% income brackets) captured a mere 1,4% of total income, while the top 1,3% claimed a staggering 26,7% of all income earned. The gini coefficient for the nine SACN cities combined is 0,76 on average.

Zero-income households, household size, dependency

There was a 179,6% increase in the number of households claiming to have zero income between 1996 and 2001. In 1996, 10,9% of households had zero income; in 2001 the number had reached 19,6% of total households. In total, 943 095 households said they had no income at all in the 2001 census.

Figure 38. Indicators of income distribution across the SACN cities. The graph bottom right shows census data indicating the proportion of households earning within each income category between 1996 and 2001. The graph bottom right presents the same data from the 2002b AMPS survey, revealing a similar curve for each city.



	1996 hsh: 0 income	1996 total hshs	1996 % of total	2001 hsh: 0 income	2001 Total hshs	2001 % of total	Growth in 0 inc hshs
Buffalo City	20 915	150 155	13,93%	55 253	194 063	28,47%	164,2%
Cape Town	38 436	565 826	6,79%	101 928	777 391	13,11%	165,2%
Ekurhuleni	55 101	447 639	12,31%	174 936	776 554	22,53%	217,5%
eThekwini	73 812	569 584	12,96%	186 664	823 702	22,66%	152,9%
Joburg	60 718	602 657	10,08%	196 722	1049 676	18,74%	224,0%
Tshwane	28 906	381 357	7,58%	98 704	597 876	16,51%	241,5%
Nelson Mandela	27 415	200 242	13,69%	57 270	265 104	21,60%	108,9%
Msunduzi	16 233	99 021	16,39%	28 500	135 195	21,08%	75,6%
Mangaung	15 728	142 593	11,03%	43 118	188 653	22,86%	174,1%
Totals	337 264	3 159 074	10,68%	943 095	4 808 214	19,61%	179,6%

	Gini Coefficient 2001	Average hsh income 1996	Average hsh income 2001
Buffalo City	0,79	R30 745 35	R39 389 45
Cape Town	0,69	R56 543 51	R87 810 85
Ekurhuleni	0,77	R45 269 42	R65 317 92
eThekwini	0,75	R43 629 44	R61 579 18
Joburg	0,78	R52 747 17	R86 104 93
Tshwane	0,75	R59 913 82	R91 395 04
Nelson Mandela	0,75	R39 142 79	R53 227 08
Msinduzi	0,76	R36 560 40	R49 164 98
Mangaung	0,78	R33 209 73	R42 397 64
SACN Cities	0,76	R48 291 40	R71 835 82

These figures are not easy to interpret. It is hard to understand how a household with no income at all can survive as a separate household. Some analysts have suggested that the figure may be a census error – enumerators may have used the zero-income category to record non-responses by households reluctant to reveal income. However, this difficulty would also have been valid in the 1996 census.

One possible reason for the increase in numbers of households with zero income is that housing subsidies have led to the decomposition of larger households into two or even more separate households, without a corresponding increase in the number of actual 'breadwinners'. The census did ask household members to report income from regular remittances and ad hoc financial support from extended family members. However, it is possible that this information was not gathered. So there may be more households functioning as separate units, but still depending for their survival on cash and kind contributions from a breadwinner of an original larger household, now split. Another possible reason is that many more households may be surviving on welfare grants and that this was not accurately reflected.

Dependency

As employment levels shrink in real terms in a number of SACN cities, and shrink relative to growing populations, the ratio of people depending on those bringing in income is growing. The dependency ratio (that is, the ratio of total population – both those formally unemployed and those falling outside the workforce – to employed people) was 3,1 in 1996. As shown in figure 39 it rose in every SACN cities between 1996 and 2001 to average 3,4 across the cities. Buffalo City saw the greatest increase in dependency, with a growth from 4,3 to 5,1 between the two census periods.

The numbers of income earners to dependents need to be nuanced with a perspective on household living patterns in the city. Degrees of dependency may reflect in the average number of people per household, although this is obviously contingent on the typical household structures prevailing. Some of the cities see far larger proportions of their population living in households with six and more people. Figure 39 shows the highest rates in eThekweni, Buffalo City and Msunduzi.

On the other side of the spectrum are cities with a significant proportion of residents living in households with only one member. This suggests conditions of relatively greater vulnerability, rather than excess dependency, because single-person households can access less family support in moments of crisis.

The trend towards more households with smaller numbers, happening at the same time as a trend towards higher levels of dependency and larger numbers of households with zero income, is very concerning. If households are decomposing into smaller units, with many living in new subsidy-built housing, while remaining effectively dependent on an income earner in another household, it implies an ever-greater burden on lower and middle-income breadwinners. These now need to support two separately functioning households instead of one. The real burden of dependency is therefore aggravated by household structure, as breadwinners now need to bear double some of the costs of urban living.

COSTS OF URBAN LIVING

Infrastructure and shelter provision have been amongst the key social development policies sponsored by government since the end of apartheid. Efficiently run networked services guaranteeing reliable supply of water, electricity and waste collection contribute significantly to ensuring that residents feel part of the city. The same can be said of suitable housing that enables people to leave informal settlements and backyard shacks. However, in a context of increasing wealth divides and greater dependency, household services and formal housing can ironically also increase insecurity.

A full analysis of urban living costs, and how these might be disproportionately borne by the poor, is not possible here. Two sets of data are worth noting however.

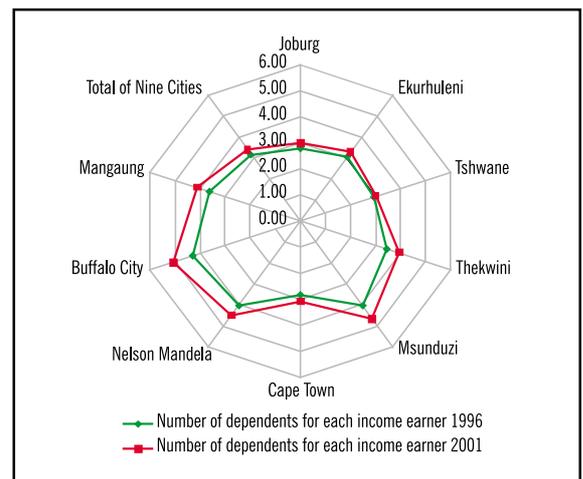
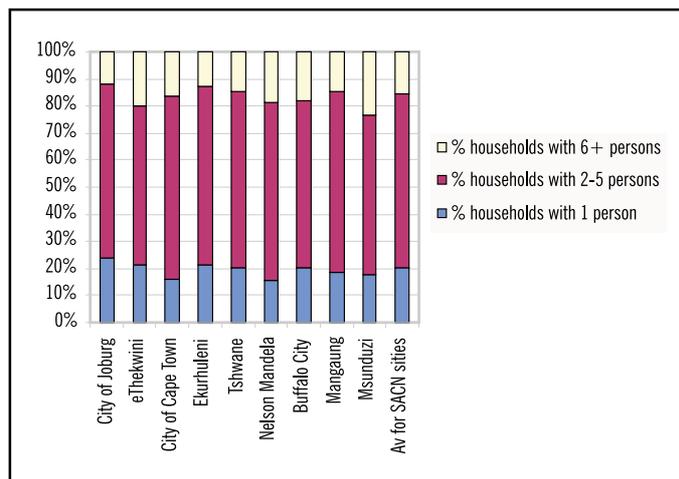
Costs of services

First, there is increasing evidence that the costs of shelter and services for which local government is at least partially responsible are increasing at a rate which is becoming less and less affordable. Figure 40 shows Reserve Bank data on the metropolitan price of services over a 30-year period. It suggests that whereas the costs of housing, transport and other services increased relatively slowly between 1970 and the mid 1980s, they rose dramatically after this and have continued to grow relatively fast since 1990.

The cost-of-housing trend line shows interesting fluctuations, most notably an actual dip between 1997 and 2000. After this the cost of housing shot up again. This is most probably explained by the roll-out of housing subsidies. The cost of transport had already started to rise in the late 1980s, but it continued its steep upward trend throughout the early 1990s until starting to level off in 1996. Most concerning is the rapid rise in costs of other services after 1990. Whereas the cost of transport doubled between 1990 and 2002, the cost of typical household services multiplied almost four times from 30,6 to 113,9 (on a normalised cost scale indexed to 100 in the year 2000).

The fast increase in the cost of other metropolitan services probably reflects the erosion of indirect subsidisation of white property owners that took place under apartheid, as well as the increase in metropolitan property values. In many SACN cities the rate in the Rand was equalised across the previously separate components of the metropolitan areas. Fast-rising house prices have pushed up the monthly rates bill of property owners. The cost of service charges has similarly increased. Whereas wealthier white residents probably bore the brunt of service cost increases, the trend has very likely also affected households in the lower- to lower-middle income brackets.

Figure 39. Measures of dependency. The graph on the left shows numbers of people per household. The graph on the right shows ratio of dependents to those employed, 1996-2001.



Municipalities have introduced free basic services to enable many poorer households to access a level of municipal services. This has been financed out of the equitable share of nationally raised revenue and cross-subsidisation within services. Various other indigent policies have accompanied this, such as a full rebate on rates for properties valued below a certain price. These measures are very significant. However, it is also important to consider the affordability of services above this level for households who are not strictly speaking in poverty, but whose social position is tenuous. If their cash flow is cramped by increasing costs of maintaining property they may have to trade down to lower-cost property, or they may be forced to leave the city core for less expensive locations. It goes without saying that those households who were in poverty, who have just managed to get a foothold on the class ladder and who have bought property, are likely to face a flood of new costs they may not be able to manage. At best these costs block advancement. At worst they push new ratepayers back down into poverty.

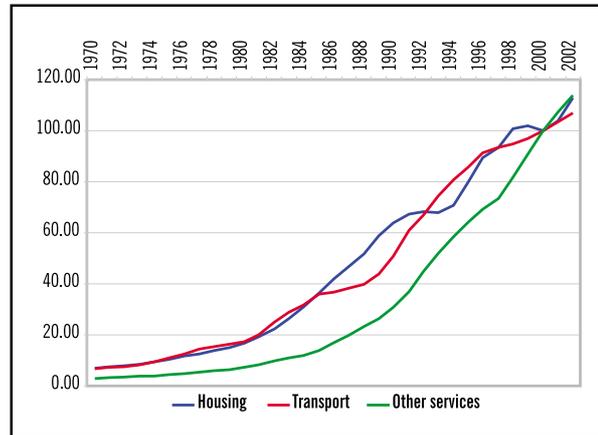


Figure 40. Reserve Bank data for 'price of metropolitan services', 1970-2002.

In the light of this, free basic service measures are sometimes blunt instruments. Free basic services assume that water, sanitation, and electricity consumption can quite easily be kept within set limits, and that residents will know how to contain their consumption to avoid paying for say, the seventh kiloliter of water consumed. This is much easier said than done in households with more than the average number of residents, which have members suffering poor health, especially from HIV and Aids, and whose survival depends on the meagre income that can be secured from a home business. Similarly, an indigent policy that gives rebates on property taxes assumes that residents with properties valued at R51 000 somehow do have the cash flow that those with properties valued at R49 000 lack.

	Average monthly expenditure on item across city	Average % expenditure on each item	Average % expenditure on living & moving in city	Average % expenditure on housing and related	Average % expenditure on municipal accounts
Rates	203,98	7,16%	7,16%	7,16%	7,16%
Water and Electricity	225,77	7,93%	7,93%	7,93%	7,93%
Housing (rental or bond)	505,01	17,74%	17,74%	17,74%	
Transport	235,49	8,27%	8,27%		
Education	240,31	8,44%			
Loan	70,43	2,47%			
Health care	148,62	5,22%			
Drinking	24,998	0,88%			
Smoking	77,31	2,72%			
Food	584,01	20,51%			
Clothing	198,5	6,97%			
Telephone (Telkom)	88,7	3,12%			
Cell Phone	60,08	2,11%			
Support of family outside city	49,65	1,74%			
Support of another family in city	22,65	0,80%			
Entertainment	52,43	1,84%			
Gambling	15,55	0,55%			
Other important expenses	43,99	1,54%			
TOTAL	R2 847,47	100,00%	41,10%	32,83%	15,09%

Figure 41. Table of average monthly expenditure on various household items, including rates and service charges, in eThekweni. This is drawn from the eThekweni Quality of Life Survey 2002/03. Note that the average monthly expenditure on rates and services is a little less than the R455,70 average specified by the National Treasury. This is probably because the average here is based on a survey of actual payments.

	Joburg	eThekwni	Cape Town	Ekurhuleni	Tshwane	Nelson Mandela	Buffalo City	Mangaung	Msunduzi
Total average monthly account for small households (2002/03)	R 313,24	R 455,70	—	R 399,73	R 409,60	R 396,96	R 428,93	R 344,96	R 510,14
Annual hsh income R 1–R 4 800 (mean = R267/m)	117,47%	170,89%	—	149,90%	153,60%	148,86%	160,85%	129,36%	191,30%
Annual hsh income R 4 801–R 9 600 (mean = R600/m)	52,21%	75,95%	—	66,62%	68,27%	66,16%	71,49%	57,49%	85,02%
Annual hsh income R 9 601–R 19 200 (mean = R1131/m)	27,69%	40,28%	—	35,33%	36,21%	35,09%	37,91%	30,49%	45,09%
Annual hsh income R 19 201–R 38 400 (mean = R2263/m)	13,84%	20,14%	—	17,67%	18,10%	17,54%	18,96%	15,25%	22,55%
Annual hsh income R 38 401–R 76 800 (mean = R4526/m)	6,92%	10,07%	—	8,83%	9,05%	8,77%	9,48%	7,62%	11,27%
Annual hsh income R 76 801–R 153 600 (mean = R9051/m)	3,46%	5,03%	—	4,42%	4,53%	4,39%	4,74%	3,81%	5,64%

Figure 42 compares the average household bill for smaller properties across the nine SACN cities, and then illustrates the percentage of monthly income that households across a number of lower household income brackets will likely have to pay. In effect this means that 52,3% of all households in the SACN cities are unlikely to be able to afford to live in properties drawing average municipal accounts for small households. This corresponds reasonably well with figures for household expenditure independently generated by the 2002/03 eThekwni Quality of Life Survey. It shows that on average, for those households with an average total monthly expenditure of R2 847,50 (the average across the survey), 15,1% was spent on rates and service charges. This is likely the affordability limit of eThekwni households.

It is possible that roughly half of all SACN city residents cannot afford to live in accommodation that attracts even low levels of rental/bond repayments, rates and service charges. Unless of course they escape costs by simply not paying rates and service charges owing. Municipalities have felt the effects of this affordability limit on their bank balances. Non-payment of services contributed to a financial crisis for many municipalities. At the time, low levels of payment were attributed to a culture of non-payment carried over from apartheid-era rent and service charge boycotts. However, over time it has become clearer that inability to pay, rather than an unwillingness to pay, lies behind poor payment compliance. Following their experience in the mid-1990s many municipalities have improved their financial management systems and enforcement procedures considerably. Information from Tshwane shows that 53 448 households had water services limited in 2002/03 for non-payment. Only 14 379 has the service restored to full levels. There are other indicators of the same thing. For example, Ekurhuleni reports that some 5 493 households were evicted from their homes over the last three years. However there is a growing recognition that the remaining mountains of unpaid debt speak not of poor financial management but of a sustained and growing fiscal crisis.

Purchasing urban goods, services and assets

The ability of residents to generate enough household income to access good accommodation and pay for the rates and service charges that come with this is an all-important indicator of whether they are sharing in the benefits of the

Figure 42. Approximate percentage household income payable on average municipal accounts for smaller properties (assuming 300m² land/plot, 48m² improvements, 498 units electricity and 25kl water). Free basic services are taken into account. The estimated monthly household accounts are from the National Treasury's, Intergovernmental Fiscal Review, 2003. The income means are those advised by StatsSA to calculate a proxy value for households falling within income brackets. It is based on a logarithmic mean method, rather than a simple midpoint average.

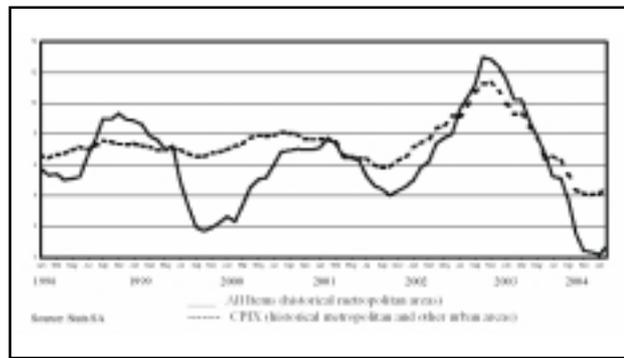
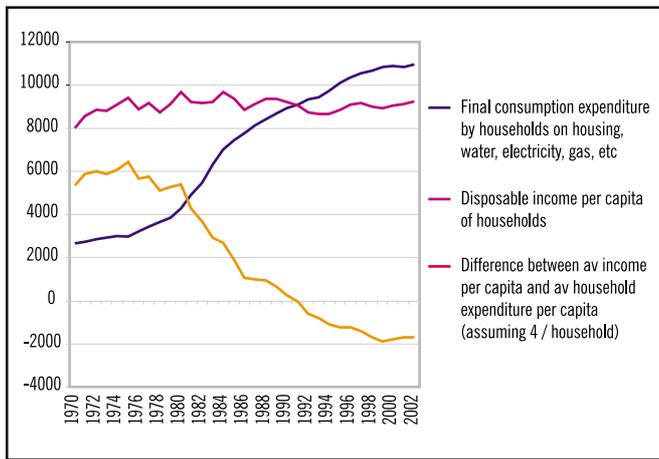


Figure 43. Reserve Bank data comparing final consumption expenditure of households on housing and utilities and per capita disposable household income. The consumption expenditure is divided by four on the rough assumption of four persons per household. Please note that this comparison is indicative only, and not an accurate picture. The graph on the right shows fluctuating CPI-X for 1998 to March 2004.

city. Even more important is evidence that they are able to free up enough household expenditure over and above this to procure household goods, access urban amenities, and also secure assets that may either be used immediately to generate wealth, or may accumulate value over time.

One of the core assumptions of urban apartheid was that the costs of social reproduction of the majority of residents could be kept artificially low. Furthermore their aspiration to consume urban products could be systematically scaled down. On this basis an unnaturally low cost of labour could be justified. This 'logic' worked in the 1960s and 1970s, but by the 1980s it becomes more apparent that costs of living in the city could not be kept low, and that these were outstripping incomes for those earning in the lower-income brackets. It was also clear that an economic growth path that prioritised cheap input costs over expanding domestic demand had a very real ceiling. Lack of business growth further dampened incomes. By the 1990s, there was less income to free up for the purchase of urban goods and productive assets.

Figure 43 gives a rough indication of this. It presents Reserve Bank data showing disposable income per capita remaining relatively static for the last 30 years. This is compared to a steeply climbing curve for final consumption expenditure by households on housing, water and power. The data suggests that the average monthly cost of these services began to exceed average incomes in the early 1990s. With high interest rates and occasional surges in a volatile inflation rate, this has choked demand for urban goods and assets. Various hidden transaction costs, that bear disproportionately on those in poverty and the working poor, exacerbate the problem.

Figure 44 shows total percentage ownership of various urban goods and services across the nine SACN cities. The table shows that many residents are able to own goods and access services, but there are still surprising proportions who cannot. Figure 44 also clearly shows the extent to which access is still skewed along racial lines. A minute 3,3% of African-headed households have a computer, next to 50,8% of white households.

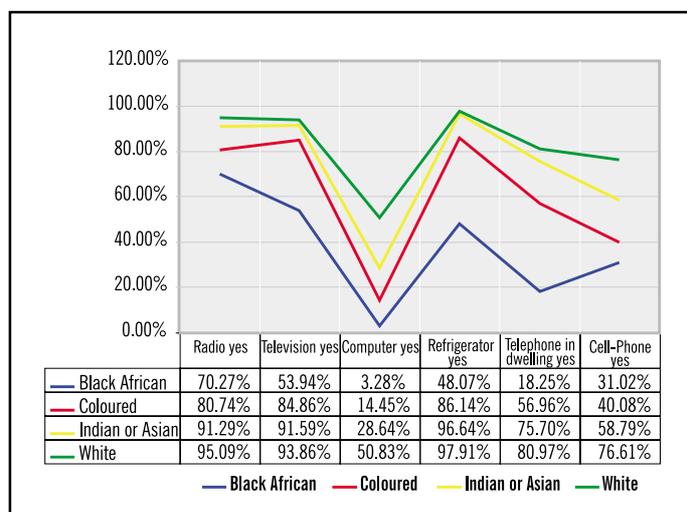


Figure 44. 2001 census data on percentages of households with access to typical household goods, broken down by population group of head of household (all nine SACN cities).

The box over-page presents survey data from a Township Residential Property Markets research project conducted by Shisaka Development Management Services in four SACN cities: Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Cape Town and Durban. It gives some indication of the capacity of lower-income households to enter, maintain a presence in, and move up within an emerging township housing market.

VULNERABILITY AND SECURING AGAINST RISK

Residents of the nine SACN cities face increasing vulnerability, especially in the face of greater joblessness, widening disparities in income and increasing urban costs.

One of the advantages of life in cities is supposedly greater access to a set of facilities that insure against risk, and help negotiate insecurity. However, evidence suggests that very few SACN city residents are able to incur the upfront costs in order to access available securities.

The table below compares the results from AMPS 2002B surveys in the nine cities on what risk cover residents enjoyed. Less than 20% of residents typically had access to some kind of risk insurance. Only 26,1% of residents had access to some kind of medical aid.

The same AMPS survey indicates that 43,1% of residents across the cities have no access to banking facilities of any kind. Some middle-class families typically access relatively cheap money from their bonds during times of financial crisis: however the survey shows that only 5,5% have access to a home loan.

A very telling indicator of vulnerability comes from the 2002/03 eThekweni Quality of Life Survey. 81,8% of residents were able to save no money at all after their average monthly household expenses. 4,7% were able to save up to R100.

This vulnerability is exacerbated by new trends. The most notable is HIV and Aids. The disease typically carries no additional costs in the first seven to eight years of infection. But evidence is showing that late-stage Aids is devastating to household finances. Those infected face the double blow of not being able to work, and seeing medical and household service costs skyrocket. Households are being forced to compensate by cutting expenditure on food and education, seriously impacting on human development. Early death also brings the added costs of funerals, which can be exorbitant.

Even accounting for sampling bias towards better-off areas in the city, the AMPS surveys show surprisingly few people with either funeral insurance or regular attendance at stokvel community-savings groups.

Another trend is crime, discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. There is a popular perception that richer suburbs bear the brunt of crime. In fact, crime on property and social crime is overwhelmingly suffered in poorer neighbourhoods. There is even anecdotal evidence that in some informal settlements a family cannot all leave their shack at the same time because the dwelling will automatically be ransacked.

In addition, crime hits poorer communities, and poorer households much harder than it does wealthier ones, even when the total value of the loss in Rand terms may be less. Whereas richer households typically have household insurance,

Banks are making millions off the poor from dubious penalty charges. Take a look at any of the major banks' financial statements and you will notice that over 50% of their income stems from non-interest income. Non-interest income of course, is basically a euphemism for fees.

Fees for opening an account, for issuing a cheque book, for facilitating transactions – the list goes on. These fees, whilst seemingly excessive are reasonably transparent. Of more concern are some dubious bank practices involving charges of which few of us are aware.

Willem van Emmenis, CEO of the Rural Housing Loan Fund, an agency which specialises in housing lending to the rural working poor, highlights a lesser-known inequitable practice of the banks. They charge rural households R100 every time there are insufficient funds to meet a debit order.

The worst thing is that a person may leave, say R200, in a bank account to meet a debit order. The bank then repudiates the debit order for insufficient funds – not because the R200 is not there but because the customer is obliged to keep a minimum balance of R50 in the account.

Then, the bank charges its customers R100 for its refusal to meet the debit order. So even if the customer hastily deposits another R50 in her account to meet the minimum balance requirement, all that is left in the bank is R150 – less than before even though the original creditor has still not been paid.

The shame is that those most affected by these penalties are the poor. These fees that are deducted coldly and automatically by computer could be anything from five to 10% of their net income.
(*Moneyweb*. 5 December 2003)

	Johannesburg	Durban	Cape Town	East Rand	Pretoria	Port Elizabeth	East London	Pietermaritzburg	Bloemfontein	Total cities
% of survey population who ...										
Own their own home	64,43	72,28	74,39	69,44	72,59	88,39	80,35	74,30	62,71	72,01
Own, use or maintain a vehicle	57,39	55,70	59,60	64,47	67,42	55,88	41,81	73,02	52,29	59,61
Have at least 1 domestic worker in hsh	21,25	18,65	13,94	13,40	22,30	12,21	14,61	16,29	17,63	17,15
Have an electric stove in home	77,86	70,59	83,83	65,20	74,57	70,96	66,56	64,89	82,01	74,09
Have a fridge or fridge freezer in home	87,26	80,35	90,44	80,62	82,76	75,69	78,55	83,59	90,89	83,87
Have a dishwasher in home	5,24	4,23	5,66	3,42	6,64	3,31	2,02	4,81	2,09	4,65
Have a vacuum cleaner in home	31,35	29,46	50,19	30,81	33,81	28,39	25,22	35,80	24,27	34,15
Have a television in home	89,53	81,86	93,16	84,62	85,93	85,41	84,71	85,16	93,16	87,17
Have a hi-fi or music centre in home	73,61	62,95	76,33	70,83	62,11	65,50	63,88	65,87	83,16	69,57
Have a personal computer in home	17,86	17,65	27,30	11,11	18,99	12,43	10,02	14,94	14,18	17,70
% of survey pop who in last 4 weeks ...										
Attended a gymnasium or health club	8,56	4,75	4,76	6,50	4,22	3,91	3,52	5,92	1,91	5,56
Eaten in restaurant / steakhouse	44,10	37,39	44,02	25,18	43,27	27,76	18,44	30,60	21,98	36,56
Bought take-away food from an outlet	55,26	44,62	58,99	36,71	41,86	34,42	35,11	38,34	41,14	46,32
Ordered takeaways delivered to house	10,41	13,25	13,23	5,11	6,18	6,54	8,78	8,84	17,26	9,84
Hired a videotape or DVD	13,65	16,65	24,21	10,00	13,18	13,86	9,49	11,32	16,66	15,32
Visited a casino	7,22	5,26	7,54	7,78	4,65	7,07	11,01	4,19	8,01	6,81
Bought lottery ticket(s)	62,36	53,69	47,77	54,86	59,83	49,07	43,39	65,40	53,85	54,82
Bought scratch card(s)	10,41	4,70	5,75	6,53	5,01	10,42	5,51	20,89	3,62	7,24
% of survey pop who have in last year ...										
Bought furniture	6,50	7,02	10,17	2,16	9,01	7,48	5,74	13,80	7,70	7,14
Spent money on part time education	5,69	4,58	4,96	2,31	5,07	3,25	3,26	4,26	3,05	4,36
Moved into another house or flat	10,68	12,93	11,36	6,28	12,83	9,42	8,51	8,32	9,36	10,44

	Johannesburg	Durban	Cape Town	East Rand	Pretoria	Port Elizabeth	East London	Pietermaritzburg	Bloemfontein	Total cities
% of survey pop who make use of ...										
Cheque account	13,50	10,84	15,94	7,10	18,26	9,77	7,23	13,71	7,98	12,36
Savings account	54,93	44,98	57,26	43,68	42,87	39,71	47,99	53,63	44,78	48,68
Transmission account	5,39	6,92	6,50	6,45	3,05	5,58	2,80	4,65	17,43	5,99
Investment/paid-up shares	3,02	4,97	6,37	3,13	4,90	3,31	0,93	4,47	4,20	4,22
Credit card	9,53	9,95	12,66	3,39	9,36	7,18	2,52	10,04	6,13	8,63
Petrol/garage card	3,95	3,68	4,56	1,18	4,98	2,76	1,42	3,48	1,74	3,43
ATM card	42,90	41,48	57,75	39,77	50,03	35,50	31,26	42,76	38,59	44,59
Home loan/mortgage bond	3,09	6,47	8,85	4,16	4,34	6,88	3,33	5,80	4,62	5,45
Other loan	1,25	2,48	2,34	0,31	0,78	1,93	0,68	2,42	2,77	1,56
None of these	38,47	46,28	34,22	52,58	40,43	50,07	49,64	39,33	48,23	43,13
% of survey pop who have ...										
Cover policy	17,34	14,03	21,11	12,47	15,13	10,37	10,33	15,11	14,15	15,47
Endowment/savings/invest policy	8,87	10,82	14,88	6,51	10,60	9,75	7,56	9,11	13,24	10,27
Retirement annuity	12,30	8,48	13,71	4,32	9,83	10,88	8,19	9,16	15,22	10,06
Funeral insurance	13,25	10,77	30,20	11,11	15,19	18,15	13,47	12,90	30,58	16,68
Medical insurance	8,26	3,51	6,72	1,69	3,05	5,70	7,62	0,91	7,37	5,04
Short-term insurance	4,96	5,76	12,94	3,89	11,04	5,96	2,78	7,22	9,81	7,31
Other	0,15	0,32	0,91	0,18	0,01	0,18	0,23	0,17	0,07	0,31
None of above	68,62	73,02	50,08	78,04	70,11	68,33	78,11	68,21	60,01	67,75
% of survey pop who ...										
Attended stokvel meeting last 4 wks	6,14	2,50	1,04	2,95	2,89	1,38	1,45	3,88	3,14	3,00
Is a member of medical aid scheme	22,58	24,61	34,25	22,25	29,43	25,94	17,88	22,35	28,30	26,05

Figure 45. Table top: All Media Purpose Survey (AMPS) 2002b comparison across cities of ownership and access to goods and services. Note that the AMPS survey sample is slanted towards the traditional urban centres of the nine SACN cities, hence the use of the town centre names rather than municipal names. Table above: All Media Purpose Survey (AMPS) 2002b comparison across SACN cities of access to banking facilities, insurance, and related cover against risk.

poorer households without such cover often cannot re-stock their assets. When the lost asset is critical for sustaining livelihoods – such as a vehicle – a poor household may not be able to recover from the loss at all. The death or injury of a breadwinner, or even the trauma of a rape suffered by a schoolgirl with promising prospects, may have a similar impact. Both property and social crimes may therefore easily tip poorer households over into chronic poverty.

CITY RESPONSES TO VULNERABILITY

It is not always easy for municipalities and their partners in national and provincial government to act directly on the distribution of wealth in South African society. However, they can help to ameliorate the cost burden shouldered by those who face increasing vulnerability. Two very important strategic responses led by municipalities have been in the areas of social crime prevention and HIV and Aids mitigation.

Social crime prevention strategies

Recognising the challenges resulting from crime and violence, several SACN city municipalities have developed social crime prevention projects to fight exclusion. One such initiative is the Safer Cities Project in eThekweni. This is a partnership between the United Nations Council for Human Settlements (UN-Habitat), the eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality, the National Department of Safety and Security and the South African Police Services (SAPS). The partnership also extends to key local actors in the civil society, and business domains.

The project targets crime in the city using various techniques. One component is a social crime prevention project focused specifically on street children. Street children are an excluded social group. They are both victims and perpetrators of crime. The programme attempts to capture information on all street children in the city in order to assist the police and welfare organisations in attempts to reunite them with their families. The Safer Cities Project is aligned with urban renewal strategies such as the Cato Manor Housing Project and Warwick Junction Project.

HIV and Aids strategies

The key challenge to inclusive cities in the next decade will undoubtedly be the HIV and Aids epidemic. South African cities are gearing up as best they can to deal with the social implications of the disease.

Mindful of the need for the provision of services to ensure that unhygienic living conditions are avoided, the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality has begun to plan for 'metro houses' available to people living with HIV and Aids. These houses are fitted with installations to assist people in the late stage of the illness. Tshwane has begun to rethink the spatial design of new housing development to accommodate the fact that every fifth house will likely be headed by Aids orphans. Instead of streets being laid out on a simply straight-line grid pattern, small side-streets will lead to a circular cluster of five houses around a common parking area/courtyard. It is hoped that the micro-communities formed in each cluster will care for and support the Aids-orphaned child-headed households in their midst.

Msunduzi Local Municipality has led a dynamic social mobilisation process amongst civil society organisations to fight HIV and Aids. An HIV and Aids



partnership was initiated under the political leadership of the deputy mayor. Together, the Council and Health Department undertook a situation analysis to ascertain what existing resources there were in the city. After locating all service organisations dealing with HIV and Aids, an information-sharing workshop was held where each organisation presented the resources they had to offer. On the basis of this, a 60-organisation partnership was formed. Together the organisations worked out and implemented a multi-pronged strategy. The following actions have been undertaken:

- An Aids Referral Network has been developed as a comprehensive system linking all partner organisations. Through the Referral Network all people testing positive at clinics and community health centres can access a network of supporting services hosted in over 140 different NGO and government departments.
- Fully trained Lifeline Counsellors have been placed in every municipal clinic to support a Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) programme. The personnel also provide counselling on family violence, rape, abuse etc. They are linked by the Referral Network to the full range of support services.
- Comprehensive plans are being developed with NGOs around emergency food relief, nutrition education and food production to support people with HIV. This makes use of the Msunduzi Local Municipality's Geographic Information System. Funding has been received for a project to rationalise and coordinate urban food production initiatives in the city in partnership with a local University Institute and the CINDI NGO Network.
- The use of indigenous plants for symptomatic relief has been investigated and supported by the Parks Department.
- Council buildings have been donated for child-care facilities, home-based care training centres, hospices and drop-in centres.
- The Thapelo project provides for the systematic distribution of home-based care supplies to an NGO network. Distribution is carefully monitored.
- Funding has been sourced to evaluate and improve nurses' diagnosis and treatment of Aids-related conditions in clinics, and their implementation of prophylactic treatment programmes.

The SACN network has completed a full assessment of what each city is doing to address the affects of HIV and Aids. Some of the primary lessons from this exercise are captured here.

SACN HIV AND AIDS PROGRAMME OF ACTION

International Organisation Development (SA)

There have been a number of initiatives launched to support local government in developing a response to HIV and Aids. However, to date there has been limited attempt to take stock of the challenges facing South African cities in crafting and implementing mitigation strategies. In an effort to fulfil its mandate 'to encourage best practices in urban development and city management,' SACN commissioned research to examine current HIV and Aids responses at a city level. The purpose of the research was to identify emerging and innovative practices adopted by its member cities in the fight against the pandemic.

The main finding of the two-month study conducted in the nine member municipalities is that South African municipalities are engaged and committed partners in the battle against HIV and Aids. Across the board municipalities are grappling with newly mandated responsibilities and a developmental agenda that includes HIV and Aids. However, the research also revealed that there are a number of barriers to the formulation and the implementation of a comprehensive response to HIV and Aids.

Key Challenges

There is a recognition that municipalities must be at the forefront of city-level responses to HIV and Aids. But there are challenges with this. Firstly, although municipalities have instituted HIV and Aids programmes these have often been driven by individuals and departments. The resources of the municipality alone are insufficient to manage the impact of the epidemic on communities. A city-level response which engages all stakeholders, including other spheres of government, the private sector, community and faith-based organisations would strengthen and leverage limited resources to increase the impact of mitigation programmes. Municipalities must create an environment in which constructive partnerships with the private sector and other civil society organisations (CSO) can be developed.

Secondly, an HIV and Aids strategy must be contextualised within and balanced with other strategies to deliver services to households and industries. To date, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) has not been used effectively to plan and implement a response to HIV and Aids. In some cases mention of the HIV and Aids in the IDP appears to be an add-on. IDPs do not yet reflect the strategic planning needed to sustain or adapt service delivery to meet the changing circumstances created by the epidemic.

Third, urbanisation and temporary migration is fuelling the epidemic as a highly mobile population migrates into cities in search of employment opportunities, moves back to rural areas, or relocates to other cities. Newcomers to cities may find themselves in transitory environments without strong social networks and with limited access to health services. Susceptibility to the virus is increased by limited access to: treatment for sexually transmitted infections (STIs), HIV prevention media and health education, condoms, VCT (voluntary counselling and testing) and antiretroviral therapy and other treatment for opportunistic infections. All of these are significantly less accessible in newly or informally established communities.

Way Forward

Having recognised these challenges SACN members committed themselves in 2003 to developing comprehensive HIV and Aids mitigation strategies. The pillars of this mitigation strategy are the following:

- **Visible Leadership.** A significant factor in the progress and success of municipal HIV and Aids programmes is the active involvement of a political champion from the municipality. In the case of Msunduzi Municipality, the collaboration between the Deputy Mayor and the Medical Officer of Health effectively transformed HIV and Aids from a 'health' issue to a governance issue that concerns political, business and community leaders.
- **Community mobilisation.** Without broad-based participation, HIV and Aids mitigation strategies initiated by municipalities will not meet the needs of the community. The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality has effectively capitalised on existing momentum at grassroots level. Using the established ward committee system, the municipality works with community activists to ensure that HIV and Aids is addressed through AIDS forums. Within these forums community members come together to find collective solutions to the problems created by the epidemic. The ward-based system also ensures that community members have direct access to their ward councillors and municipal officials.
- **Multi-sectoral focus.** Lack of acknowledgement by all sectors of the community of the impact of HIV and Aids remains a barrier to mainstreaming and managing the pandemic. Municipalities are positioned to transform this discussion by working internally to ensure that at a local level policy is generated with the question in mind, 'how does HIV impact service delivery across sectors?' Externally, the

municipality can influence its clients by actively promoting HIV and Aids awareness as well as its vendors by requiring inclusion of HIV and Aids policies and programmes as part of tenders, thereby challenge all sectors to become active in the fight HIV and Aids.

- **Partnerships with non-municipal stakeholders.** The interdependent nature of society necessitates the establishment of formal partnerships between local authorities and civil society organisations that operate within the municipality. The international and local formal business sectors, individuals, informal traders, and social welfare organisations religious communities are all affected by and seeking ways to manage HIV and Aids. By creating relationships with other stakeholders, experience and resources can be pooled and leverage for far greater impact. Msunduzi Municipality has forged partnerships with the local chamber of commerce, religious leaders and various HIV and Aids service organisations to reach more members of the community.
- **Coordination.** Duplication of services is just one negative consequence of a lack of coordination. In the fight against HIV and Aids, poverty and poor access to health services further compound the problem. Municipalities are in a unique position to ensure that through coordination, services are adequately serviced, to identify gaps in delivery and initiate appropriate solutions within their boundaries. The City of Johannesburg has implemented a coordination system that includes the placement of an HIV and Aids coordinator in each of the city's 11 regions. The coordinator serves as a community liaison and helps to ensure that gaps in service delivery are met from a strategic and grassroots level. Uncoordinated work slows down the goal of mitigating HIV and Aids.
- **Integration.** Integration is the stage beyond coordination in that steps are taken to ensure alignment and synergy between initiatives and policies implemented and driven by different stakeholders. The work of the South African National AIDS Council and the South African Business Coalition Against HIV and Aids, as well as that of community groups, needs to reinforce the objective of mitigating HIV and Aids. Without coordination and integration the goal of successfully managing HIV and Aids will remain elusive.
- **Resource mobilisation.** The nature of the HIV and Aids epidemic requires that municipalities find creative and flexible approaches to meeting the changing requirements of service delivery. The City of Cape Town has been able to tap into local, national and international funding bases as well as technical skills in order to increase access to HIV and Aids services for its residents. By forming partnerships with international NGOs and working closely with provincial counterparts, the City of Cape Town has been instrumental in expanding treatment to residents in resource-poor settings, notably in Khayelitsha through a pilot anti-retroviral therapy programme run by Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF).
- **Effective use of information.** One issue that hampers the capacity of municipalities to formulate an appropriate policy to mitigate HIV and Aids is lack of information. At the same time, the costly and time-consuming trend of intensive data collection as a prerequisite for action has resulted in further inaction. The City of Cape Town, Mangaung Local Municipality and Msunduzi Municipality have been strategic in sourcing available information from reliable research institutions and using available data to formulate policy can be implemented.

Progress to date in SACN cities shows the most effective city-level HIV and Aids programmes have been those that transcended the gap between policy development and consistent implementation. Until the above elements are factored into the creation of a multi-sectoral and broad-based city response, mainstreaming HIV and Aids will remain an elusive goal. The acknowledgement that HIV and Aids is a universal problem in that all communities are affected is not enough. All stakeholders must fundamentally understand how HIV and Aids does and will continue to impact the functioning of their organisations and communities. With this information, an appropriate and sustainable approach to production and service delivery can be crafted and implemented. In the absence of a long-term vision of cities in the midst of HIV and Aids, politicians, officials and city residents cannot hope for a future in which cities thrive and prosper.

The challenges will be heightened as the National Department of Health develops a programme for the rollout of anti-retroviral therapy in 2004. Local government is well positioned to play a central role adapting nationally mandated programmes for their communities. Municipalities can:

- Take stock of current HIV and Aids programmes that are functioning within the municipality. This means learning what stakeholders in other sectors are doing to mobilise funding, human resources and public support in their activities and look for linkages with municipal programming, or ways in which the municipality can assist these programmes to reach larger areas of the community.
- Link HIV and Aids programming to other developmental issues, such as poverty alleviation.
- Develop clear guidelines for mainstreaming such that it becomes an activity that all municipal departments can identify and prioritise activities directly related to their functions that can be included in an overall mainstreaming policy.
- Develop stronger intergovernmental relations with provincial and national government across sectors in the implementation of national Aids strategy.

The SACN will use these recommendations to strengthen its programme of support to member cities through the following activities:

- Promoting a shared-learning partnership between different spheres of government to support the governance of South African cities;
- Collecting, analysing and disseminating the experience of large city government in a South African context;
- Promoting innovation and strategic thinking between cities and other spheres of government; and
- Fostering cooperation and exchange of best practice.

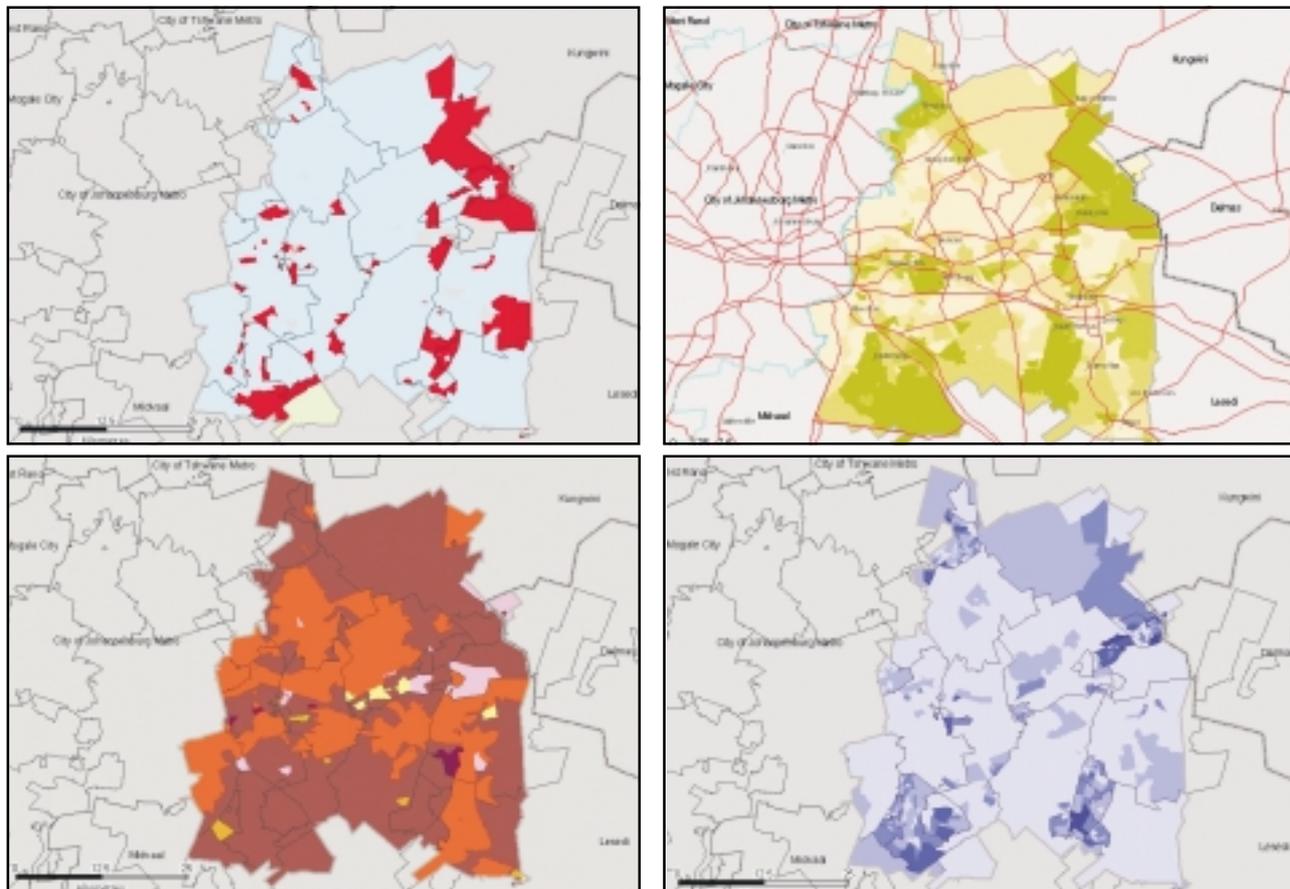


Figure 46. Four maps showing the effects of spatial disadvantage in Ekurhuleni. The bottom left map shows dominant population group with dark brown being black residents. Top left shows dominant dwelling type with red being informal. The top right shows unemployment levels with dark green being high unemployment. The bottom right shows the geographic spread of residents with no schooling over the age of 20. The implication of these maps is that there is an increasing number of black residents, unemployed and with poor schooling, forced to live in informal settlements on the far edges of the urban centres of Gauteng.

SPATIAL EXCLUSION

LOCATIONAL DISADVANTAGE

Inequality is not only felt in skewed distribution of income, relatively higher urban costs and disproportionate vulnerability. A key feature of all South African cities is their spatial division into rich and poor areas along racial lines. African, Indian and coloured residents – sections of the population on average much poorer than whites – were forced to live in locations demarcated by apartheid planning laws. Here they were far from both opportunities and facilities that enabled them to earn greater income. Their costs, both in actual travel expenses and in the opportunity costs of time that could have been spent more productively, were relatively much higher than those of white residents living centrally. The spatial structure of the apartheid city therefore further impoverished people already made poor by inequitable income opportunities.

The ‘apartheid nature’ of the nine SACN cities remains. And research shows that the race/space divides that mark our cities are not being addressed rapidly enough. Spatial analysis shows that increasing numbers of residents are taking up occupancy in new housing developments and informal settlements on the margins of cities. In these settlements unemployment typically climbs to well over 40%. The spatial mismatch between where poor people live and available work opportunities in areas zoned industrial and commercial also represents a serious locational disadvantage for poorer residents of the city. This is made worse where SACN cities have seen the flight of firms from central business districts. Schools are typically concentrated in old neighbourhoods. The travel times of children living in marginal settlements to centres of learning costs extremely poor families more money. It also exposes children to greater dangers such as crime.

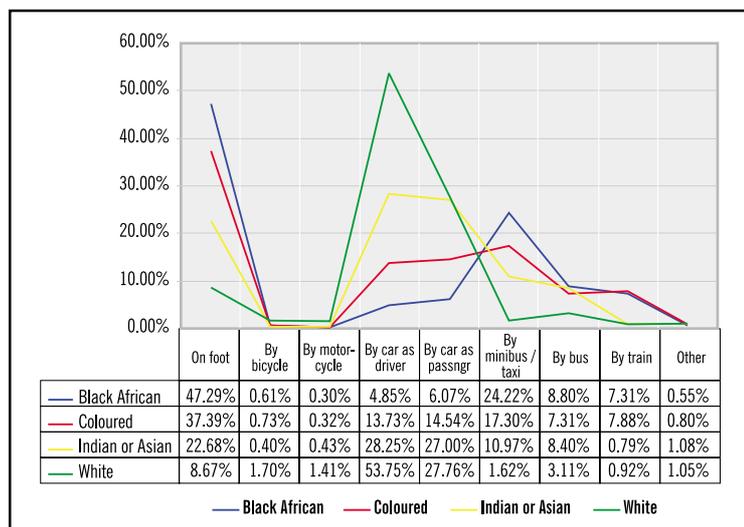
In 2001, 36,8% of SACN city residents going to work or school made the journey on foot. 25,4% made use of a bus or minibus taxi. Some of the residents who made their journey on foot are close to work and school opportunities. Others are what the City of Joburg Integrated Transport Plan calls 'striders' – people who, regardless of income bracket, prefer to walk or cycle even if it takes them longer than 30 minutes. But some of those who walk do so because they are 'stranded', trip-makers with an income of less than R4 000 per month who walk longer than 30 minutes to work. The Joburg ITP also identifies some commuters as 'survivalist' – those earning less than R2 000 per month who are obliged to use cheaper forms of public transport. In 1995, 0,8% of all commuters were stranded, and 10,2% were survivalist. In 2002, 1,6% were stranded and 15,2% were survivalist.

The racial split in who walks, who uses public transport, and who drives is shown in figure x. In 2001, 2 546 837 black South Africans walked to school or work in the nine SACN cities. By contrast only 152 813 white commuters did so. 53% of white commuters went to school or work as drivers in their own car. Only 4,83% of black residents did so.

The tables in figure x give some indication of travel times and costs for people using a sample of different modes of transport in Johannesburg, as well as the average percentage of trips represented by the transport mode. It is noteworthy that the average cost of travel for commuters in relatively more wealthy Region 3 (Sandton/Rosebank) is lower than that for commuters from Region 11, Orange Farm. 63% of commuters from Orange Farm spent more than 10% of their personal income getting to work. This was double to that in Region 3.

The spatial dislocation of cities is compensated somewhat by the greater 'connectivity' of residents, especially as a result of the cellphone revolution. In 1996 the use of cellphones was so poorly spread that the option did not

Figure 47. Indicators of mode of transport, transport costs and travel times. The graph top left shows modes of travel by population group across the nine SACN cities. The table top right shows average costs and travel times for the top 10 most-used travel mode combinations in the City of Johannesburg (2003). The table bottom shows average monthly expenditure on transport and average travel times for commuters from each of the 11 Administrative Regions in Johannesburg.



	% of all trips	Average travel time in mins	Average cost
One taxi all the way	24,36%	48,7	R3,11
Taxi – taxi	8,88%	77,5	R6,06
One train all the way	3,76%	73,1	R2,23
One bus all the way	3,70%	55,5	R4,06
Taxi - train	1,63%	83,8	R4,40
Train – taxi	0,66%	98,7	R5,04
Taxi – taxi – taxi	0,57%	98,8	R8,33
Train – train	0,47%	101,2	R2,81
Taxi – bus	0,36%	84,9	R6,48
Bus – bus	0,30%	85,4	R6,45
Taxi – train – taxi	0,28%	114,9	R8,24

	Region 1	Region 2	Region 3	Region 4	Region 5	Region 6	Region 7	Region 8	Region 9	Region 10	Region 11	All areas
Average travel time (work in minutes)	53	48	28	34	38	66	44	38	35	56	58	50
Average travel time (education in minutes)	29	27	21	21	18	34	30	23	20	30	27	28
Average travel cost (work R/month)	R130	R162	R190	R165	R146	R185	R212	R196	R176	R177	R218	R186
Average travel cost (education R/month)	R114	R160	R202	R144	R155	R144	R151	R146	R154	R162	R163	R151
Commuters spending + 10% of personal income on work trip	30%	50%	33%	31%	32%	49%	55%	49%	34%	48%	63%	48%

feature in the census questionnaire. By 2001, 898 023 households had a cellphone in their dwelling, and 1 054 675 more had a cellphone and telephone. As a result the proportion of households without easy access to a phone declined from 55,28% to 43,32%. However, 2 005 142 households still do not have any kind of telephone in their homes, with 77,87% of these making use of public telephones.

AREA-BASED STRATEGIES TO COUNTER EXCLUSION

Recognising the spatial dimensions of poverty in the South African city many SACN municipalities have introduced area-based strategies to address locational disadvantage.

The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Municipality, in line with the objectives of its Spatial Development Framework, has developed the concept of the Sustainable Community Unit (SCU). An SCU is understood as a self-contained neighbourhood where employment, services and education, and so on, are easily accessible to residents. In planning for SCUs the NMMM aims to ensure that residents have access to major public transport routes, have an equitable level of service, and are socially and functionally integrated into the city through proximity to work opportunities and amenities.

The NMMM explains the project as follows: 'The intention within an SCU is to achieve a more balanced structure of the city in order to reduce discrepancies in terms of service provision and standards, promote integration in socio-economic and functional terms and provide for economic activities and employment opportunities'.

The first phase of the SCU project has been started. It involves clarifying exactly what areas the project should cover and how the project should be implemented. What is clear from the preliminary exercise is that the project will comprise a spatial model as well as programmes for implementing the spatial model. Physical, social, economic and environmental sustainability have all been identified as key outcomes. Pilot areas are being selected on the basis of existing programmes in the area, extent of poverty and marginalisation, as well as availability of information relating to the area.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Poverty and inequality have a very serious impact on human development. A quick survey of some of the measures classically used to indicate levels of human development gives the following picture.

MORTALITY AND LIFE EXPECTANCY

Few of the cities readily available indicators of life expectancy. Provincial life-expectancy is available from the Actuarial Society of South Africa (ASSA) modelling of the impact of HIV and Aids. According to this model the average life expectancy across the country is 50 years, with a high of 62 in the Western Cape and a low of 45 in KwaZulu Natal. Johannesburg relies on the South African Health Review to peg the life expectancy of its residents at 54, slightly above the ASSA's estimate of 52. eThekweni gives its own estimation at 48, and Msunduzi 43.

The age profile of a city is a proxy indicator of life expectancy. It also indicates the likely health challenge facing the city, on the general assumption that populations with larger numbers of older residents will present greater health and welfare challenges. It can also be assumed that cities with faster growth rates will become younger over time, because of the tendency for younger people to migrate to cities in search of work opportunities. Therefore cities with faster growth rates will be better off in terms of basic human development indicators such as mortality and life expectancy, and will also be generally healthier.

However these assumptions are not necessarily valid in cities with complex migratory patterns, and severely affected by HIV and Aids.

Graph x suggests that it is broadly true that cities with faster growth rates have younger populations. Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane, and to a lesser extent Cape Town, all saw a decrease in the percentage of population over 65% between 1996 and 2001. The other cities all saw an increase, most likely as a result of out-migration of working-age residents to other centres. However, if the pace of return migration of older residents to rural areas accelerates in slower-growth cities, and if many of the youth being received by fast-growth cities are HIV and Aids infected, the age profiles of these two groups of cities may change dramatically in the next decade.

The cities record some dramatically different infant mortality rates. Johannesburg, again from the South African Health Review data, gives its rate as 54,8/1 000 live births. Manguang shows a similar rate at 55,5/1 000. However, Msunduzi gives very much better human development figures on this indicator, at a 21,7 infant deaths per 1 000 live births.

HEALTH

Some of the cities have undertaken their own HIV and Aids prevalence surveys or are able to disaggregate data from provincial surveys. Whereas Gauteng's Annual Antenatal HIV/Syphilis Survey showed a prevalence rate of 31,6% across the province in 2002, the City of Joburg's rate was 32,0% in 2001. Tshwane showed similar rates. Its surveys indicate that the HIV prevalence rate for women aged 20-24 years in antenatal studies is 29,1% and the rate for women aged 25-29 was 30,6%. In 2001, the Institute for Pathology at the University of Pretoria found that 37% of all blood specimens tested for HIV in the city were positive. Correlating with national pictures of the progression of the disease across various provinces, eThekweni showed the highest prevalence rates amongst the cities that currently have city-specific data. Prevalence here was 36% in antenatal surveys.

GENDER EQUALITY

The level of gender equality is often taken as a measure of human development. Figure 49 shows that the cities do still have a way to go to ensure complete equality. A higher percentage of women than men over the age of 20 have completed primary school and some secondary education as their highest level of education. However 27,6% of men over 20 years had completed

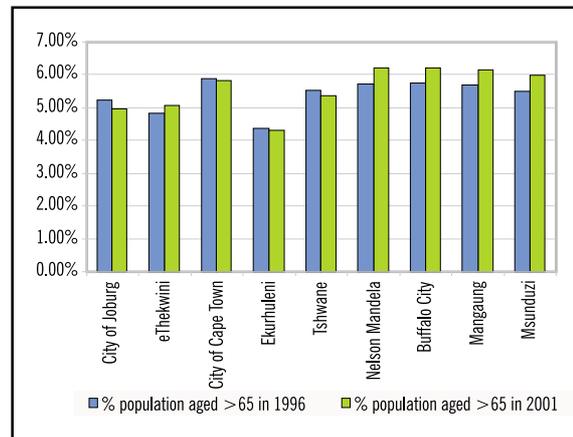
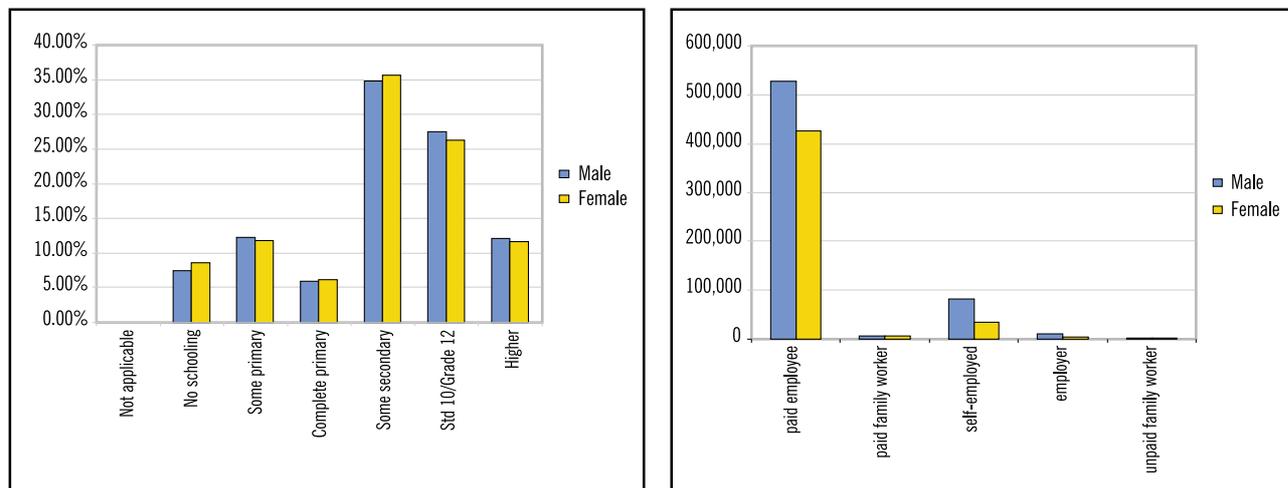


Figure 48. Population over age 65 in the nine cities, 1996 vs 2001.

The Cape Town Equity Gauge project has found a recurrent geographical pattern of inequity in health status and the underlying determinants of health across the sub-district data, using a wide range of data sources. This geographical pattern of health inequity is again apparent in the burden of disease data. Khayelitsha and Nyanga consistently emerge as the areas carrying the highest total burden of disease and the highest burden of group I (HIV and Aids, TB and malnutrition-related) and III (physical injury) causes. The only exception to this is the pattern of Group II diseases (various non-communicable diseases such as cancer, diabetes etc) although even here Khayelitsha and Nyanga show a higher than average burden. Of particular concern is the inequity in premature mortality, which is disproportionately higher in Khayelitsha and Nyanga. The social and economic consequence of the loss of young lives is great. It undermines the Province's hope of creating prosperity for all and restoring human dignity and the Unicity's vision of becoming prosperous, safe and secure. The Province and the City will do well to invest in securing a healthy work force, able to contribute to the wealth of Cape Town and care for its families. *(Cape Town Mortality: an equity lens – lessons and challenges 2001)*



matric in 2001 compared to 26,3% of women. A greater proportion of men than women also had a higher degree.

The graph on the right shows women’s involvement in the labour market in Johannesburg. There were 100 000 less women than men in formal paid employment in the city in 2001. And there were half as many self-employed women and employers who were woman than there were men. By contrast, 2 254 women were in unpaid family labour, compared with 1 592 men.

Figure 49. Some indicators of gender equality. The graph on the left compares the highest level of education completed for men and women over 20 years age in all nine SACN cities. The graph on the right compares male and female participation in the Johannesburg labour force. Both from census 2001 data.

QUALITY OF LIFE

Good access to high-level and high-quality services, as well as reasonably equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity, are necessary conditions for residents to be committed to life in the city. But they are not sufficient. Less easy to measure, but arguably as important, is residents’ perception of themselves in their place of residence. It is entirely conceivable that a resident may have access to full infrastructure services and a good job, and still not feel that they ‘have a future in this city’. Residents’ subjective sense of who they are, how well they are doing and what their future potential is, in relation to the place where they live, is a key determinant of their willingness to stay and invest.

Quality of life

The concepts ‘satisfaction with quality of life’ and ‘sense of well-being’ go some way towards capturing what this self-perception / attitude to place means. There are many possible factors underpinning residents’ perception of their quality of life. These include their sense of:

- Personal dignity, especially in relation to their access to socio-economic rights;
- Security, both in terms of threats to safety and property and degree of social insurance against risk;
- Convenience, relative to costs, of living in the city;
- Belonging in the city and connectedness to a neighbourhood or local community; and
- Voice and degree of influence over social processes that impact on life.

A feeling on the part of residents that they have a good quality of life is an end in itself, but there are also other positive results that flow from high levels of satisfaction with quality of life. The most important is what some urban theorists call the 'capacity to aspire'. This is the willingness and the ability of residents to see themselves achieving an even better quality of life if they act in ways that will bring this about. This translates into the confidence and entrepreneurial behaviour necessary to drive local economies; the willingness to put time and energy into social networks that create the basis for social capital and informal social safety nets; and the desire to invest in urban assets, most importantly residential property and service payments, on which municipal revenues ultimately depend.

A number of the SACN cities have done surveys of their residents' subjective sense of their quality of life. The different SACN cities use different methods and questions in their surveys, so it is not possible to compare results directly. But in all the surveys there is evidence of some important trends.

One trend is that the perceived quality of life is declining amongst black residents, while increasing amongst white residents. This is in spite of the fact that considerable municipal capital has gone into infrastructure expansion in previously disadvantaged communities over the past decade. For example, in Buffalo City's August 2001 quality of life survey of 2 477 households, only 26% of African residents said they were satisfied with their lives, while 84% of white residents reported satisfaction. Similar results were found in eThekweni's extensive 2002/03 quality of life survey. Just 33,3% of African residents surveyed said they were satisfied or very satisfied. By contrast 79,4% of white residents indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their lives.

Similar results were obtained when respondents were asked whether they were satisfied with their standard of living, as illustrated in figure x. Whereas 35,1% of African residents, and a remarkable 58,6% of coloured residents were very dissatisfied with their standard of living, no white residents surveyed were very dissatisfied.

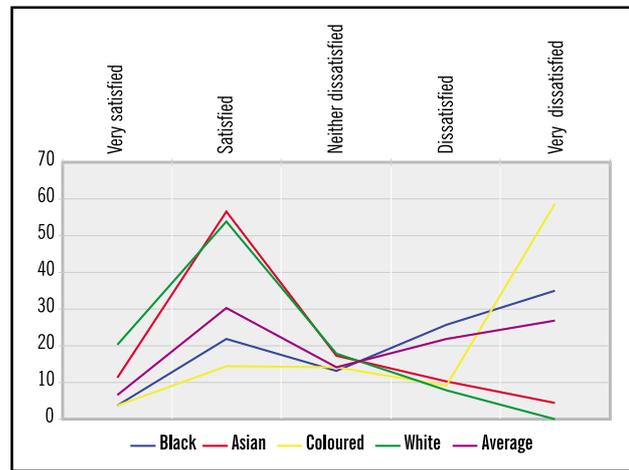


Figure 50. Levels of satisfaction with standard of living across population groups. eThekweni Quality of Life survey, 2002/03.

Dwelling Type	Plans for improving dwelling?	
	yes	no
House or formal structure on a separate stand	37,2	62,8
Traditional dwelling-hut-structure made of traditional matter	76,7	23,3
Flat in a block of flats	5,0	95,0
Town-cluster-semi-detached house (simplex-duplex or triplex)	51,2	48,8
Unit in retirement village	80,0	20,0
House-flat-room, in backyard	22,5	77,5
Informal dwelling-shack, NOT in backyard, in an informal settlement	38,2	61,8
Informal dwelling-shack, IN the backyard of a formal house	40,6	59,4
Room-flatlet in main dwelling	12,6	87,4
Other	31,0	69,0

Figure 51. Responses to question: Do you have any further plans for improving your dwelling? (eThekweni Quality of Life Survey, 2002/03).

CLASS ADVANCEMENT

Subjective impressions of quality of life reflect how residents feel about themselves in their current place at this moment of time. Just as important, however, is how residents perceive their personal prospects for the future, as well as whether the city is in fact both appropriately shaping their aspirations and enabling them to meet their aspirations.

Two issues are worth noting.

First, it would be wrong to under-estimate the spirit of entrepreneurship that prevails amongst poorer sections of the population. There is ample anecdotal evidence that many residents of the nine cities are not languishing in poverty. They are actively engaged in improving their lives in whatever way they can. They are consolidating houses, proactively looking for work, and compensating for the lack of formal job opportunities by entering into partnerships with one other and making a living through informal economic activity.

Second, not all people are in cities because they naturally have aspirations towards middle-class families and homes. There are many reasons that people may have chosen to live in South African cities. That they all wish to be climbing the same class ladder cannot be assumed.

The Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme survey of Johannesburg inner city residents asked respondents whether they felt part of South African society. 51,2% of South Africans strongly agreed that they were, and a further 19,7% said they agreed somewhat. But as many as 10,1% said that they strongly disagreed, and a further 12% were either ambivalent or disagreed somewhat. This lack of feeling part is noteworthy. Even more worrying is the pessimism expressed in response to questions on how both South Africans and refugees perceive their own lives in relation to their parents, and those of their children in relation to their own. Although most respondents saw a life cycle of betterment, some 20% of South Africans believed that their own lives would be worse than their parents, and 10% believed their children's lives would be worse.

	South African	Non-South African
Do you think your life will be better or worse than your parents lives?		
My life will be better	66,8%	78,1%
My life will be the same	10,1%	7,3%
My life will be worse	19,8%	7,3%
Don't know / refused answer	3,4%	7,3%
Do you think your children's lives will be better or worse than your own life?		
Their lives will be better	73,2%	89,2%
Their lives will be the same	6,4%	2,3%
Their lives will be worse	10,6%	2,3%
Don't know / refused answer	9,8%	6,1%
Surveyed number	388	343

Perception of lives and children's lives, from Unpublished dataset from survey conducted in March-April 2003 as part of 'Johannesburg in the 21st Century: Forced Migration, Survival, and the Socio-Politics of Urban Space. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand's Forced Migration Studies Programme.

UNDERSTANDING and MANAGING POSSIBLE FUTURE IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT TRENDS

Apartheid social divides persist despite the extension of infrastructure and services

The focus of city leaders over the last few years has very much been on trying to address apartheid-created backlogs. This has been understood as providing residents with infrastructure and housing. As a result of this, considerable progress has indeed been made in providing all residents with the shelter and services they were denied in the past.

But disparity in access to services was not the only social effect of apartheid. Much more serious was profound income and asset poverty and inequality, as the apartheid political economy worked to drive the unusually rapid class

mobility of a small racial minority. This was at the cost of equitable incomes, asset accumulation, security against risk, real human development, quality of life and social status progress for the majority.

These more fundamental social challenges remain in all SACN cities today. Apartheid's effects on wealth and poverty distribution have not yet been undone, indeed in some cases they have been sharpened. SACN cities still function mainly in a way that enables a small minority to get richer. And they do not yet work as they should as a middle-class building machine for everyone, structuring aspirations and gradually transforming poor new migrants into residents and ratepayers.

There is evidence that an ever-greater proportion of wealth has flowed to residents at the top brackets on the income scale. New subsidised housing is supported by welfare payments and by breadwinners in households elsewhere, or abandoned for informal settlements and rented out to realise a small cash flow. Households' ability to weather risk and uncertainty remains minimal, and new threats such as HIV and Aids may easily tip many more into poverty. Human development on a number of indicators shows minimal progress.

Long-term implications of not acting

Social development, as a process of incorporating or including residents by enabling them to share materially and psychologically in the benefits of living in cities, has not been a municipal priority. There are practical reasons for this.

First, the municipalities primarily responsible for governing cities have some responsibilities over, for example, early childhood development and care. But provincial governments, not municipalities, have the large welfare functions and resources required to make a real difference to areas still affected by apartheid exclusions.

Second, the tendency to transfer responsibility for social development is exacerbated by critical financial conditions in many municipalities. It does not appear to make budgetary sense to devote scarce resources to social development programmes, when in the short term money spent on both infrastructure and economic development will bring obvious financial returns.

Third, it seems rational to believe that the social problems left over by apartheid can be addressed through economic development. Municipalities are often reluctant to focus on welfarist measures when economic development initiatives will bring the jobs needed to lift people out of poverty.

However, the costs of not focusing on broader social development challenges and sticking only to infrastructure development and shelter as the key to social development are potentially enormous.

At best, cities may not be seen as anything but places where people have an excess of a bundle of fixed needs. The real significance of cities, as sites of social transformation, in which individuals, families and communities transit, through a generation of life cycles, into more empowered people, better social classes and good neighbourhoods, may go unrecognised and unutilised.

At worst the social disparities that were the hallmark of the apartheid city may remain in perpetuity. And poor social circumstances for the majority may translate directly into a lack of commitment to city life.

Instead of taking what people are actually doing – their initiatives, desires, and ways of organising themselves – as the materials through which urban life is to be developed, there is a static sense of what the city 'needs'. For example, make a public park here ... an office building here ... IDPs still fall far short of a meaningful engagement with the multiple rationalities that are shaping our cities, towns and rural areas. IDPs are good instruments for directing annual and medium-term budgeting, and for identifying projects, and are potentially important mechanisms for inter-sectoral integration, but they have yet to prove their worth in the making and remaking of space and territory. They have yet to direct us towards futures that are different from the present.

(Maliq Simone, Address at Planning Africa Conference, 2002)

KHUMALO ROAD, EKURHULENI

THERE is something sinister about the famous Khumalo Road in Thokoza, East Rand. Something that strikes fear in the hearts of ordinary people. Thousands of people died here, from the elderly to their grandchildren, when the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party locked horns over territory in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The names of those who fell are inscribed in a memorial stone erected in their remembrance and unveiled by President Thabo Mbeki and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi before the 2000 local government elections.

During those bloody clashes in Katlehong, Thokoza and Voslorus – collectively known as Kathorus – the street became an unofficial border between ANC and IFP-controlled areas. Almost 10 years since the guns fell silent, the 3kms still has an eerie and disconcerting feeling with the bloody battles fought on it still a recent memory. Back then the battle lines were simple: township folks (ANC) who lived in houses versus hostel dwellers (IFP). The main battleground was around the KwaMadala, Khuthuza and Mshayazafe hostels on Khumalo Street.

Some sections in this area, such as Phenduka, were dominated by the IFP. It was in Phenduka where ANC supporters were forced to flee their homes. Ntabansimbi, Everest, Extension 2 and Thokoza Gardens were dominated by the ANC and were no-go areas for anybody thought to be an IFP supporter.

‘The only thing that has changed in this street is that you can drive through it without being shot at,’ says a resident. This used to be sniper territory but now peace between the warring factions has returned.

While the street has become well known, the man after whom it was named has faded into obscurity. Jackson Khumalo was a businessman who owned a grocery shop and butchery in Alberton. He died in the 1960s.

These days, Khumalo Street looks like any other street in any South African township. On an early weekday morning, people walk up and down – most are schoolchildren and those fortunate enough to have work. There are also those who seem permanently to hang onto the fences of their houses, while groups of young men gather on street corners, a sign of unemployment in these hard times.

Schoolchildren, who should be using the demarcated pedestrian crossings, choose instead to cross the busy road anywhere, posing a danger to themselves and motorists. Economic activity in the street centres around minibus taxis, the Phuthaditjaba bakery, the three or so petrol stations, a dozen shops, the vendors who sell everything from cigarettes to snacks and Thandabantu Beer Hall, which sells *umqombothi* (African beer). A major supermarket will soon be opening here in what appears to be the first sign of investment.

The conflict left many homes destroyed – gutted by fire and riddled with bullets. Signifying the return to normality, these buildings have been repaired, thanks to a massive rebuilding exercise undertaken by government in the mid-1990s. The hostels, by contrast, still bear the scars and are a reminder of those horrible years. Dilapidated and with broken windows, they don’t look fit for human habitation. There was a time when government sought to convert these dwellings into family units, but hostel dwellers resisted, wary of the ANC government’s motives.

Further along Khumalo Road there are signs of new life. A block of flats has been erected at the corner of Khumalo and Thuli streets for young, upwardly mobile people who don’t fancy life in the more expensive suburbs, but don’t want to live at home with parents and family. Crime is still a problem, especially around the hostels at night. The area is badly lit, according to residents, and people stay away from this haven for criminals. At the far end of the street there’s another hub of economic activity. At the taxi rank, run by the Alberton Long-distance Association, you can buy tripe, pap, meat and just about anything else.

The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Council is planning to turn Khumalo Road into a tourist attraction, like the Hector Peterson memorial in Soweto. Posters on street poles proclaim Ekurhuleni Council as a ‘partnership that works’ and peace truly reigns.

