South African
CitiesNetwork

Inclusive Cities 2009

contents

foreword

An inclusive city is one that provides all its citizens with decent public services, protects citizens' rights and freedom, and fosters the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of its residents. Promoting such an environment throughout South Africa's urban landscape is a core objective of the South African Cities Network.

South African cities continue to be marked by high levels of inequality and inadequate infrastructure, development and maintenance. The challenge is to ensure that policy and programmatic interventions promote inclusion by facilitating increased access by the poor to decent employment, improved residential opportunities and universal access to social facilities.

Ultimately, such measures should promote the sense that all urban residents are part of the city, and have a stake in its future, rather than being relegated to the margins.

This 2nd edition of SACN's Inclusive Cities Report highlights the range of urban development and management

challenges that must be faced in creating truly inclusive cities that provide socio-economic opportunities and an improved quality of life for all

The articles in this Report explore selected inclusive city topics in detail. These include job creation, food security, urban renewal in townships, urban land markets and land use management. Some of the articles are compiled from knowledge-generation projects undertaken by the SACN during the past year; and some have been written by leading thinkers in contemporary urban management.

Where the articles provide an overview and summary of more detailed research and analysis, please refer to the SACN's website for the full reports (www.sacities.

net). These include the State of EPWP in the cities by Shisaka Development Management Services, the Township Renewal Sourcebook, and the State of Land-use Management Report (forthcoming).

We are very grateful for the original articles on urban food security, written by Astrid Wood, and refugees and migration, written by Loren Landau and Taryn Polzer. We are also pleased to profile the work of partner programmes, including Urban LandMark and the Development Action Group. Finally, inclusive city indicators in the SACN's State of the Cities reporting almanac measure the overall quality of life of citizens in relation to aspects such as access to basic services, education opportunities, work opportunities, housing, and safety and security. These indicators have been reviewed and updated by Felicity Kitchin and Wendy Ovens for this report.

Sithole Mbanga, CEO of the SACN
September 2009

This 2nd edition of SACN's Inclusive Cities Report highlights the range of urban development and management challenges that must be faced in creating truly inclusive cities that provide socio-economic opportunities and an improved quality of life for all

job creation through the expanded public works programme

In February 2009, the Minister of Finance announced a new allocation of R5.3 billion as an intergovernmental grant for municipalities to scale up the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The design of the second phase of the EPWP is based on findings from the ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the programme since inception, as well as an extensive strategic review undertaken during the 2007/08 financial year.

While the first phase of the EPWP provided work opportunities for unskilled unemployed individuals, and delivered on its targets, municipalities face a number of challenges in scaling this programme up in the second phase. Given the high level of unemployment that still exists, not enough work opportunities were provided through the programme. In addition, work often did not reach the geographic areas where the unemployed are located. The training framework was not structured effectively, resulting in difficulties in providing sufficient and appropriate train-

ing for beneficiaries. Some of the difficulties experienced was, for example, long delays in obtaining approvals for training and insufficient training service providers.

The Anti-poverty Strategy [1] recommends that the scale of the EPWP needs to be increased massively, in order to reach a larger share of the target group, defined as unskilled unemployed people who are willing to work but unable to find work, and who do not have access to the social security network.

The need for scaling up the programme is also con-

1. The Anti-poverty Strategy is being developed by the Department of Social Development with the purpose of having a succinct national anti-poverty plan, a detailed anti-poverty framework and ultimately an integrated anti-poverty and social cohesion programme for South Africa.

firmed by the scenarios for employment growth that were prepared by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). These scenarios provide a useful framework for estimating the required scale of the EPWP, if it is to contribute to government's policy of halving unemployment by 2014. [2]

Phase two of the EPWP will provide 1.5 million work opportunities per annum. This represents five times the first phase of the EPWP. Of this, it is proposed that municipalities generate 500 000 work opportunities per annum, which is double that generated by municipalities over the last three years.

Implementation of the EPWP by SACN member cities

In 2009, the SACN published a report prepared by Shisaka Development Management Services on the State of EPWP in the cities.[3] The report reviews the achievements of SACN member cities in implementing the EPWP since the start of the programme and particularly in the last year, with a view to identifying successes and challenges and thereby assisting in improved implementation in the future.

While municipalities still experience challenges in identifying and structuring EPWP projects, significant progress has been made with regard to the number of work opportunities created since the inception of the EPWP. Overall, municipalities created 260 864 work opportunities for unskilled unemployed individuals, as at July 2008. While this was less than anticipated, it did contribute to 23 per cent of the 1 million target that was set for the EPWP programme in its first five years.

Of the overall number of work opportunities created by municipalities, the nine member cities of the SACN contributed 132 695, representing 51 per cent of the total provided by all municipalities. All member cities are actively engaging in the implementation of the EPWP, although some have been more effective than others.

As detailed in Figure 6, the cities that have created the most work opportunities are Johannesburg, eThekwini and Cape Town.

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2. Altman, M (2007) Employment scenarios to 2024, Human Sciences Research Council
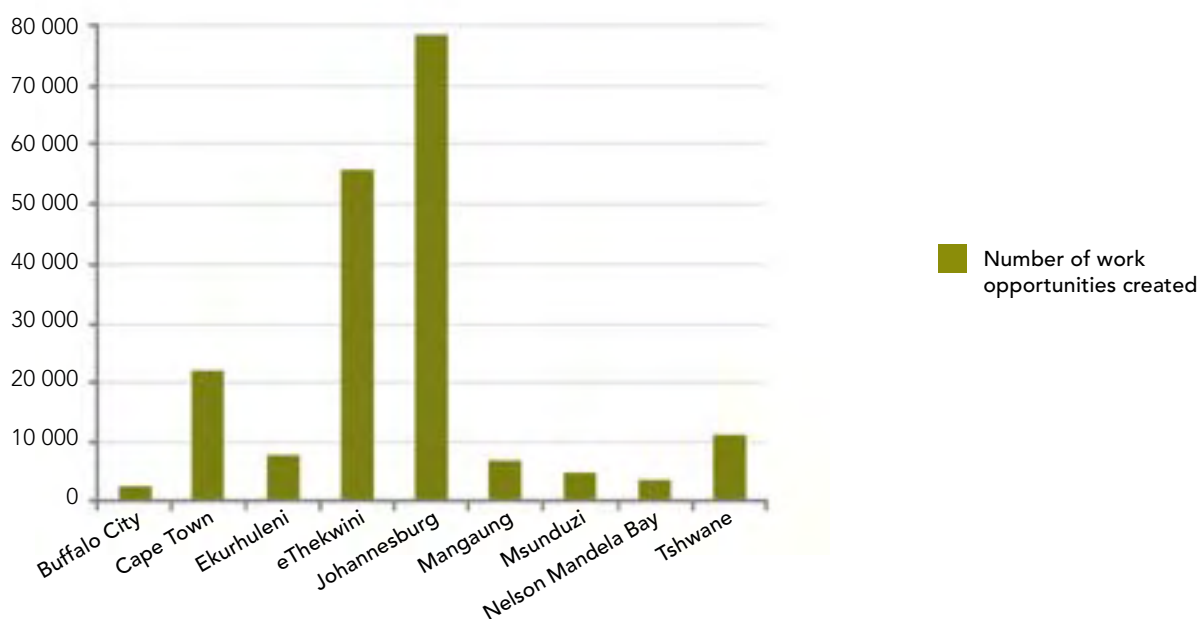3. Report of the South African Cities Network - Expanded Public Works Programme

While municipalities still experience challenges in identifying and structuring EPWP projects, significant progress has been made with regard to the number of work opportunities created since the inception of the EPWP

Figure 6: Number of work opportunities created [5]

SACN has initiated an EPWP knowledge exchange reference group to provide a platform for its member cities to meet regularly to share their experiences and best practices on implementing the EPWP. The series of meetings under this initiative also identified common challenges that cities faced in implementing the EPWP, and jointly explored ways of addressing them. It also served as an opportunity for government's EPWP Unit to meet cities to address challenges that required national intervention. In addition, other relevant national departments were able to address cities at this forum.

It is generally recognised that for successful implementation to occur it is necessary that cities have an EPWP policy in place, set targets, make budgets available, and incorporate the achievements of the EPWP into the balanced score cards of the city manager, executive directors and relevant directors.

Of the nine SACN member cities, two have an approved EPWP policy, namely eThekwini and Johannesburg. All other cities are either in the process of developing an EPWP policy or have incorporated the EPWP into their Integrated Development Plan (IDP).

The table below indicates which cities have an EPWP policy, which cities have set targets, and which have established dedicated capacity within the municipality. The table also indicates the number of work opportunities the city has provided. What is evident from the table is that municipalities that have set targets, policies and dedicated capacity, are more successful in implementing the EPWP than those who do not.

Organisational arrangements

City	EPWP policy	EPWP targets	Dedicated EPWP capacity	Cumulative work opportunities
Buffalo City	Developing one	No	No – PMU only	666
Cape Town [4]	Partial – in draft form	Yes	Policy specifies basis for this	12 342
Ekurhuleni	Partial – features in IDP	Partial – as part of roads programme	No	788
eThekwini	Yes	Yes	Yes	44 015
Johannesburg	Yes	Yes	Yes	58 486
Mangaung	Policy in the process of being written	No	Yes – located in PMU	4 602
Msunduzi	Policy in the process of being written	No	No – PMU only	1 838
Nelson Mandela Bay	Policy in process of being written	No	Yes – in Strategic Prog Unit	2 309
Tshwane	Partial – features in IDP	No	Yes – part of PMU	7 649

4. Cape Town has indicated that they have provided significantly more work opportunities than reflected in the quarterly reports. These were not incorporated by the EPWP Unit.

Work in progress and successes

Tshwane

Tshwane is implementing EPWP projects mainly in the infrastructure sector. Projects that are being reported to the EPWP Unit are mostly part of their large Labour Based Construction Programme with others falling under the Vukuphile Programme.

Tshwane's Empowered Electrician Programme was necessitated by the declining number of qualified electricians in South Africa. The aim of the programme is to transfer skills to students in the townships – primarily Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve. The programme has created 296 work opportunities as at the end of February 2008 and 100 students have been trained.[5]

A Vukuphile Contractor Learnership Programme is also being implemented by the Roads and Stormwater Division of Tshwane, involving 12 learner contractors and 21 learner contract supervisors. The learners have completed their classroom training and are doing their final practical construction projects.

There are a further 83 EPWP projects that are being undertaken in Tshwane, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects have to date created 2 409 work opportunities. Although these projects are not being implemented by the City of Tshwane they are benefiting the city's population, services and infrastructure.

Msunduzi

The Msunduzi municipality is implementing EPWP projects in the infrastructure and environment and culture sectors. Labour-intensive methodologies are being used to build roads and storm-water drains. All relevant projects in the infrastructure sector apply EPWP principles to the fullest extent possible. There has been some expansion into the environment and culture sector with the Siyazenzela Food for Waste Programme. This programme is being piloted in Hibiscus Coast and is based on a model from Curitiba, Brazil. Beneficiaries who collect five or more bags of waste can exchange it for a food parcel worth R200 and fresh fruit and vegetables worth R50. The waste is weighed and

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5. Submissions for 07/08 Kamoso Awards; Rewarding EPWP Excellence

The aim of the Labour Intensive Emerging Contractor Learnership was to provide work for the people within the municipality and also develop infrastructure in line with the provincial Infrastructure Development Plan

the food given as payment for work done. The project has resulted in a visible improvement in the area and the workers are benefiting from the food parcels.

Beneficiaries are selected with the help of community leaders who target unemployed households and not individuals. The aim was to select people who were living in households with no income, with a focus on youth and women. The municipality is putting plans in place to train the beneficiaries and is also looking to expand the programme. They are also investigating recycling opportunities and incorporating the waste into an existing recycling facility in Edendale.

The Access Road Project is a successful, branded, EPWP project. It is funded through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) and budgeted to cost just over R5 million. To date, R3.7 million has been spent. It has run very smoothly so far due to extensive community consultation and a team effort between the contractors and the ward councillor. The workers were selected from the community and identified with the help of the community liaison officer.

The project currently employs 45 people comprising 4 women, 6 men, 13 female youth and 22 male youths. It is expected that by the end of the contract they will have reported 4 000 person-days worked. The project is labour intensive and non-accredited training is provided. An application has been submitted to the Department of Labour for funding so that additional training can be provided.

Mangaung

Mangaung is implementing EPWP projects and programmes within the infrastructure sector only. Most of the projects fall within the Vukuphile programme. The municipality has been successful in integrating the EPWP into its infrastructure activities by ensuring that all projects are advertised according to the EPWP guidelines.[6]

In 2005, Mangaung launched a learnership for emerging contractors in line with the EPWP Venture Learnership Programme. Sixty people were placed in a 2-year contractor training programme. The training programme focuses on labour-intensive methods. The participants received both training and contracts. The project emanated from

interaction between the municipality and community members and 60 labour intensive projects were identified by the community. The selected contractors were assisted to form registered enterprises and were therefore able to bid for the maintenance of low-volume roads, stormwater drains and for bucket eradication projects after the learnerships had been completed. The aim of the Labour Intensive Emerging Contractor Learnership was to provide work for the people within the municipality and also develop infrastructure in line with the provincial Infrastructure Development Plan (IDP).

In addition, a large number of beneficiaries and contractors received both accredited and non-accredited training during the 2007/08 financial year.[7]

The municipality has also successfully implemented a pedestrianisation of roads project that will go towards preparing the city for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. These projects are the pedestrianisation of Elizabeth Street and Selbourne Avenue. Elizabeth Street was completed during 2007 and the Selbourne Avenue project is still underway.[8]

Johannesburg

The City of Johannesburg is implementing EPWP projects in the social, infrastructure, environment and culture sectors. The Department of Health has, to date, been one of the key contributors to the city's job targets in the social sector, providing 10 500 jobs through its measles and polio immunisation campaigns. Johannesburg Roads Agency (JRA), Joburg Water and City Power also contributed to the EPWP infrastructure programme by implementing a number of infrastructure upgrading projects. These include the tarring of gravel roads, installing water and sanitation facilities in informal settlements, laying electrical cables, and landscaping. JRA and Joburg Water have appointed permanent champions to run their EPWP projects.

Approximately 90 per cent of Johannesburg City Parks (JCP) Capital and MIG projects are in line with EPWP guidelines. The JCP programme has deployed a substantial amount of its overall annual budget allocation towards implementation of its EPWP, and is an excellent example

6. PMU Mid Term Report, December 2007
7. MIG Annual Report, 2007: Mangaung local municipality
8. Report on EPWP Vuk'uphile Learnership Programme and Exit Strategy (28 February 2008)

of how an existing department or entity is able to contribute towards the EPWP without having to change its core business. Projects include landscaping, planting trees and creating pathways in parks around the city.

The Gcinamazi Water Project aims to address aging water and sewerage infrastructure in Soweto that is resulting in water leaks and burst pipes. The leaks are costing the city a lot of money as billions of litres of water are being lost. The project commenced in July 2006 and is expected to be completed in September 2009. The progress on the project to date is substantial and in some respects has already achieved more than the objectives set.

The Vukuphile learnership is a contractor/entrepreneur development programme that aims to increase a person's ability to earn a living once they have completed training. Training for the programme lasts two years and consists of structured classroom learning and workplace experience. After successfully completing the training, learners are fully fledged contractors.

In addition to the above, there are 154 EPWP projects that are being undertaken in the City of Johannesburg, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects have to date created 1 591 work opportunities.

By the end of March 2008, the City of Johannesburg had created a cumulative total of 58 486 work opportunities, and the total expenditure in creating these work opportunities up to March 2008 was R2.64 billion.[9]

Buffalo City

Buffalo City is currently implementing EPWP projects in the infrastructure sector only. Water supply to Ward 18 and Newlands have thus far created 52 job opportunities and provided accredited training to 47 people. Sanitation projects in Mdantsane and Chalumna have created 151 job opportunities to date, and provided accredited training to 36 people. School pedestrian facilities in Mdantsane, one of the largest projects for the year, created 150 work opportunities and provided 150 people with accredited training.

An additional 339 EPWP projects are being undertaken in Buffalo City, but are implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects have to date created 3 375 work opportunities.

eThekwini

eThekwini is implementing EPWP projects in the social, infrastructure, and environment and culture sectors. eThekwini is very active in the implementation of its EPWP and has piloted the large contractor and linkages programmes.

9. Annexure G2 EPWP 4th Quarter 2005/06, 2006/07 and 2007/08: Cumulative Data 1 April 2007 to 31 March 2008. Report: District municipalities and metros per province

By March 2008 over 5 301 job opportunities had been created in eThekweni, with over 600 people trained in construction, supervision and administration

The Vukuphile Construction Learnership was a two year learnership aimed at developing sustainable emerging contractors needed to support the basic service delivery challenges of the city. It was launched by the Project Management Unit in November 2004 with 24 emerging contracting entities made up of one contractor and two supervisors. Each contractor was trained to NQF level 2 and each supervisor to NQF4 in labour intensive construction principles. The learnership ended in August 2007 and the contractors are now in various stages of being exited from the programme, dependent upon their individual exit strategy requirements.

Not only has the programme provided a boost to the city's construction capacity, but it has also realised significant professional growth of the contractors and their supervisors. These contracting companies are now in a position to tender for projects requiring a Construction Industry Development Board grading of 2-4 CE.

Many lessons have been learned, placing the city in a position that will bode well for future developmental programmes especially in terms of the next Vukuphile intake. Contractors bought into the spirit of the EPWP by renovating a crèche in Langalibalele (Inanda) at their own cost.

The Large Contractor Model was conceived by the PMU in an effort to accelerate contractor development within the city by encouraging major contractors to use emerging contractors as part of a formal Contractor Development Programme whereby they receive training and mentorship. The emerging contractors receive assistance and training with contract administration, financial management, project management and plant management.

The current project is managed by the Water Services Department and involves the relaying of AC pipes across the city. There are currently 16 emerging contractors involved with this project who are all approximately 50 per cent of the way through their first projects, and progressing well.

Individual business plans have been prepared for each contractor to ensure that the project objectives are achieved. By March 2008 over 5 301 job opportunities had been created, with over 600 people trained in construction, supervision and administration. This is a significant achievement.

The PMU is currently packaging other types of projects (rural roads programme and housing delivery) that could be implemented as large contract projects so as to take advantage of accelerated service delivery and contractor development.

An additional 81 EPWP projects are being undertaken in eThekwini, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects have to date created 1 466 work opportunities.

Nelson Mandela Bay

The Nelson Mandela Bay municipality is implementing projects in the infrastructure, social and economic sectors. In the social sector 1 002 volunteer workers, including health workers, Direct Observed Treatment Strategy (DOTS) supporters, home-based caregivers, lay counsellors and peer educators have been trained and are employed to provide community-based care functions. In the economic sector, nine agricultural projects are being implemented.

There are a number of roads and transport projects that are being initiated in Nelson Mandela Bay as it prepares itself as a host city for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The surfacing of a 15km road and upgrading of storm water infrastructure in the Tyoksville area has played a significant role in the reduction of poverty and job creation. It has created employment for 45 local people, and training and development in project-related technical skills.

Training and skills development forms an important part of the EPWP, with specific emphasis on learnership programmes. Nelson Mandela Bay is doing its best to ensure that these principles are adhered to in their projects and have put a number of beneficiaries through life skills and learnership training. [10]

An additional 174 EPWP projects are being undertaken in Nelson Mandela Bay, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects are creating an additional 1 624 work opportunities.

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10. http://www.nelsonmandelabay.gov.za/Content.aspx?objID=55City of Cape Town

By the end of March 2008, the City of Cape Town had created a cumulative total of 12 342 work opportunities

Cape Town

The City of Cape Town set an EPWP target of providing 12 000 work opportunities and training of 200 city officials for the 2007/08 financial year. The city is implementing projects in the social, infrastructure, economic, environment and culture sectors.

Project Vukuhambe which means 'get up and go' was initiated by the City of Cape Town's Transport, Roads and Stormwater Directorate in May 2002. The objectives of the project are to provide sustainable employment, training and empowerment opportunities to historically disadvantaged individuals through road construction and maintenance projects. The road-building project has employed 91 previously unemployed people from the local area and is based on a contract model of labour-intensive construction methods, ensuring the maximum utilisation of local labour and affirmative business enterprises. There is also a separate model to train local students in business and technical skills. The students are then mentored through a series of contracts until they have established their own construction enterprises, thus ensuring sustainability of the programme. The project currently employs four students and 91 residents, some of whom are working on the roads, while others work in a precast concrete manufacturing yard constructing the kerb and gutter units.

The project's success has spurred other communities to motivate for similar projects. As a result, R15 million has been approved for the rehabilitation of concrete roads in Guguletu, and a further R15 million has been committed to constructing a cycle track in Khayelitsha and building pathways in Mitchells Plain.[11]

Some other projects undertaken by the City of Cape Town include the Athlone Fish Market, the Clean and Green Campaign for the upgrade and maintenance of city parks, and the Khayelitsha Air Pollution Survey (KAPS) project which has provided 60 unemployed locals with training and employment opportunities.

Training of project managers involved in the EPWP is also a key focus area. Since the inception of the EPWP in the City of Cape Town, a total of 270 officials have been trained in NQF levels 5 and 7 Labour Intensive Construction Methods (LIC). In February 2008, 60 city officials received NQF Level 5 and 7 training in LIC. The training was organised, coordinated and facilitated by the EPWP Corporate Unit.

In addition to the above, there are 175 EPWP projects that are being undertaken in the City of Cape Town, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects have to date created 13 107 work opportunities.

By the end of March 2008, the City of Cape Town had created a cumulative total of 12 342 work opportunities. A total of 313 EPWP projects have been implemented.

Ekurhuleni

Ekurhuleni is currently implementing EPWP projects in the infrastructure sector only, offering learnership and investing in skills development. During 2007 they awarded 125 bursaries and provided 40 engineering students with experiential training through their EPWP programme. The city has also created a database of all the matriculants in the region in an effort to assist senior pupils with better access to information.

Ekurhuleni has embarked on the upgrading of six informal sports fields for the 2008/09 financial year. The project will involve the planting of grass, the installation of irrigation, and the construction of palisade fencing around the fields. The municipality has 64 wards within its informal settlements, and an amount of R64 million has been budgeted for the revamp of 64 informal sports fields by 2010.

The project will be using labour-intensive construction processes, which not only provides employment to the local community but also exposes them to skills and training. The labour intensive approach to construction also helps to spread wealth and encourage development as people receive formal training that they would not normally be exposed to.[12]

An additional 112 EPWP projects are being undertaken in Ekurhuleni, but implemented by national or provincial departments. These projects are creating an additional 861 work opportunities.

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11. http://web1.capetown.gov.za/press/Newpress.asp?itemcode=813
12. The Government Communication and Information System, 15 Jun 2008

urban food security

access, not availability, drives urban hunger: SACN, AFSUN and MDP host urban food security conference

Urban food security has become a tremendous challenge for South African cities. Food poverty and food insecurity is typically associated with rural areas, but with 50 per cent of the world's population living in urban areas, these problems are no longer confined to areas outside cities. Due to concentrated urban poverty, rapid urbanisation, rising food prices and an economic downturn that increases inequality, poor urban households are becoming increasingly food insecure.

Food security includes all aspects of production, procurement, distribution, and consumption of food by individuals and households in African towns and cities. Food shortages, rising food prices, and inflation all undermine the ability of people to secure an adequate daily supply of affordable, nutritious, hygienic, and culturally-appropriate food. Cities lose their competitiveness and productivity within the global economy if they are not able to provide food security to residents.

In June 2008, African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) and associated academics met in Gabarone, Botswana to design a study to assess the food condi-

tions in Southern Africa. The Urban Food Security Baseline Survey collected data from 6 500 households and 28 700 individuals in 11 cities in nine Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries (Gabarone, Botswana; Maseru, Lesotho; Blantyre, Malawi; Maputo, Mozambique; Windhoek, Namibia; Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Msunduzi, South Africa; Manzini, Swaziland; Lusaka, Zambia; and Harare, Zimbabwe).

AFSUN was established in 2008 as a network of international and African universities, non-governmental organisations, and municipal networks advocating for food security policies and programmes in Africa.

The Programme in Urban Food Security (PUFS) at the University of Cape Town is the lead African institution.

AFSUN aims to expand the knowledge base on urban food security in Africa; to build African human resources and capacity in food security policy and management; to help households make better decisions about food policy; and to develop and advocate for food security projects and programmes. AFSUN's strategy is based on strengthening the rural-urban linkages to ensure adequate provisions for urbanites.

The data collected in the Urban Food Security Baseline Survey supports the anecdotal evidence that urban poverty is associated with high levels of food insecurity at the household level. Across Southern Africa, the study confirmed that 77 per cent of poor urban households reported conditions of food insecurity. Furthermore, the median household dietary diversity score is 5 out of 12, demonstrating that the majority of poor urban households are not ingesting a healthy variety of foods, and after removing sugar, sugary beverages and oils, the score decreases to 2.

Eighty-one per cent of the poor urban households surveyed had experienced an average of four months of inadequate access to food provisions during the preceding year. This empirical data proves that households across Southern Africa are experiencing pervasive food insecurity; and fuels the need for poverty alleviation measures.

The data collected in the Urban Food Security Baseline Survey supports the anecdotal evidence that urban poverty is associated with high levels of food insecurity at the household level

Conference on Urban Food Security in Southern Africa, June 2009.
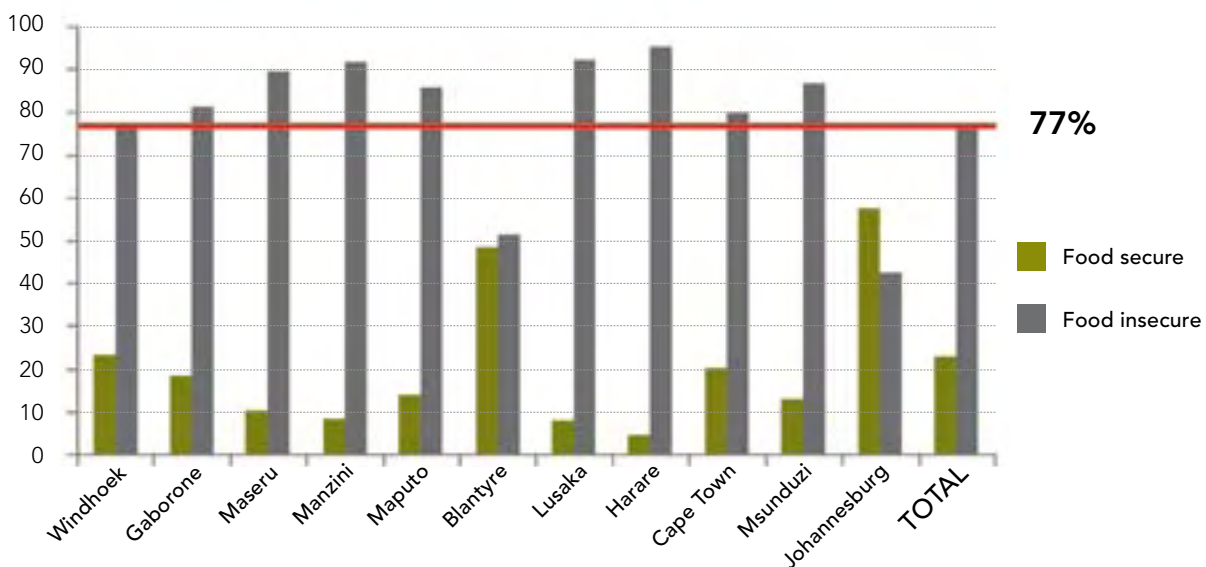
Household food security status for 11 cities

77%

Food secure

Food insecure

Fig.1: Household food security status for 11 cities. Across Southern Africa, the study confirmed that 77% of poor urban households reported conditions of food insecurity. [1]

The key findings of The Urban Food Security Baseline Survey were presented at a conference entitled Urban Food Security in Southern Africa: Strategic Policy Dimensions, held in Ekurhuleni on 10-12 June 2009, and hosted by AFSUN in partnership with the South African Cities Network (SACN) and the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa (MDP). The conference brought together key stakeholders engaged in food security issues, with the aims of understanding and planning food security in South and Southern Africa, and exploring strategies and policies to address the challenges.

Participants at the conference were briefed on the importance of the issues by various project partners. Sithole Mbanga, CEO of SACN described the context in which the partnering organisations were coordinating to address the challenges of food insecurity in Africa. Archbishop Thabo Makgoba of the Anglican church spoke of the moral imperatives of actions to guarantee food security. His remarks underscored the church's commitment to ensuring food security for the needy. George Matovu, Regional Director of MDP gave the keynote address, in which he outlined MDP's decade of work to empower local governments.

1. All charts in this section are the property of AFSUN. For more information see Urban Food Security Baseline Survey, 2008. African Food Security Urban Network, Programme in Urban Food Security, University of Cape Town.

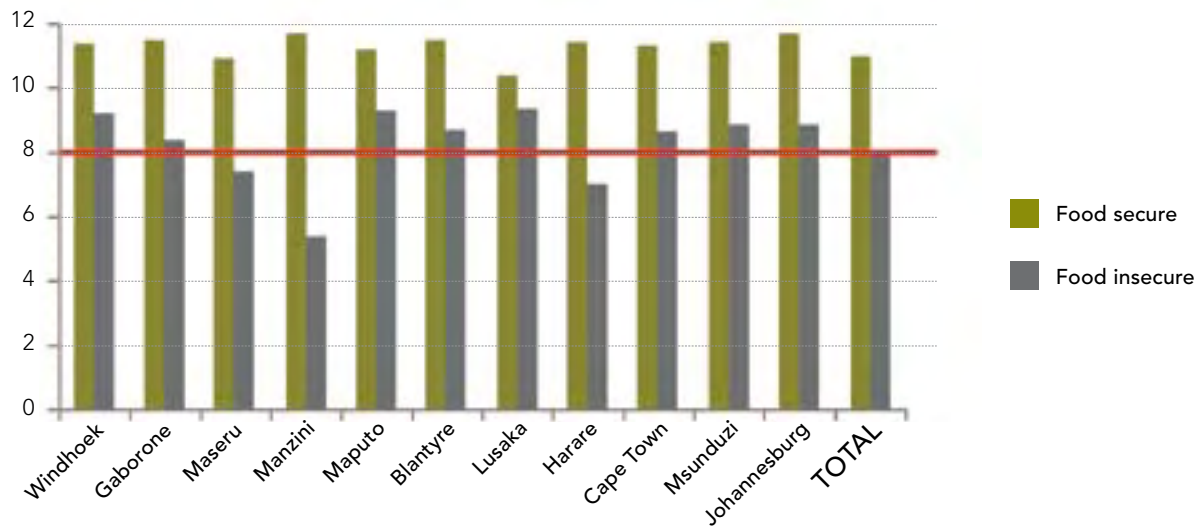# Months of adequate household food provisioning (in past year)

Fig. 2: Months of adequate household food provisioning. Of the poor urban households surveyed, 81% per cent had experienced an average of 4 months of inadequate access to food during the preceding year. The majority of households confirmed that this situation was worse or much worse than last year. (UFSBS, 2008)

The data collected in AFSUN's survey revealed gender as a key factor influencing urban household food insecurity. It showed that 35 per cent of food insecure households were headed by females, by far the largest percentage, demonstrating a correlation between food insecurity and gender. Poverty is also a contributor; according to the Lived Poverty Index, 60 per cent of food insecure households were also poor. Employment is also linked to food security; full-time employment significantly increases the likelihood of a household being food secure. When asked how these economic conditions compared to a year ago, more than two-thirds of the survey respondents admitted that conditions were 'much worse' or 'worse'. Seventy-eight per cent of respondents attributed rising food prices as the main cause for their lack of food within the preceding six-month period. The survey also revealed that the majority of these food insecure households are going without food more than once a week.
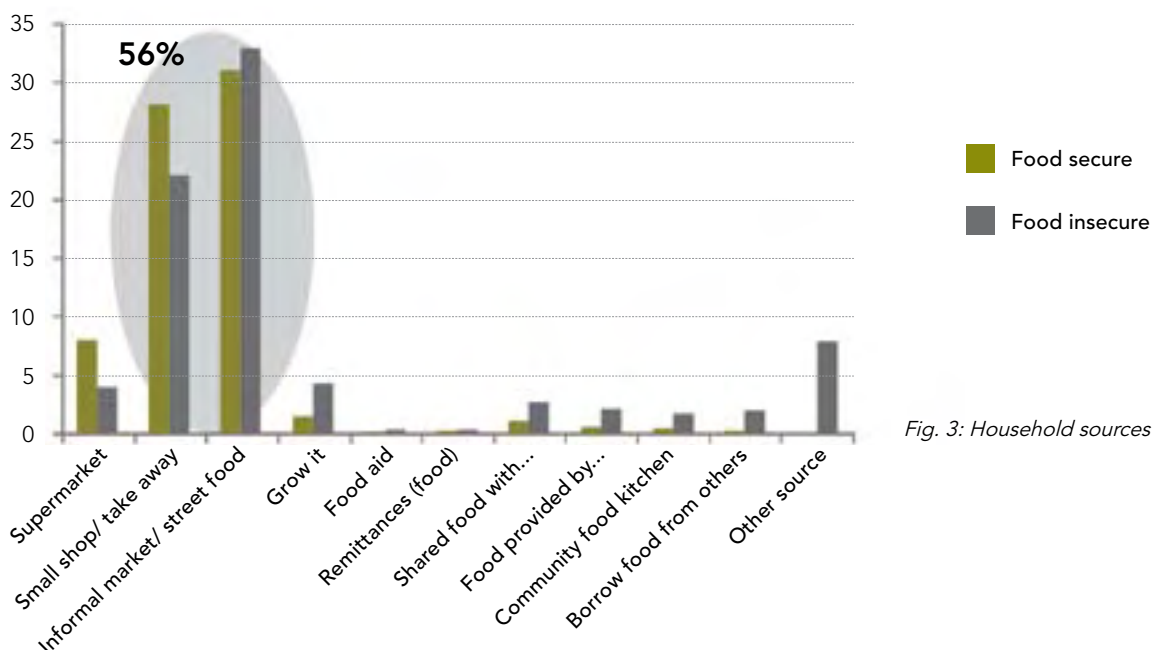
Household sources of food (%)

Fig. 3: Household sources of food.

Researchers cited January as one of the toughest months for food insecurity as people tended to spend their money on the Christmas holidays, leaving inadequate funds to purchase food in January and February

The ways in which the urban poor obtain their food formed part of the survey results, with 56 per cent of food insecure households obtaining food at least five times per week from either a small shop/take-away or informal markets/street food, and 4 per cent claiming that they grow it. Interestingly, across both food secure and insecure households, only 7 per cent of the total sample obtained food from urban agriculture. (The role of urban agriculture in poverty alleviation was robustly debated at the conference). Less than 5 per cent of food insecure households acquire food from a supermarket at least five times per week, while 28 per cent received food transfers from rural areas. Growing food, food aid, remittances, sharing a meal, community food kitchens, borrowing food, etc. are largely considered coping strategies and are disproportionately used as regular sources of food by food insecure households. This raised the questions of whether urban planning and design constraints gave people any choice about where to obtain their food, and whether cities are providing adequate numbers of fresh produce markets with affordable prices in poor neighborhoods.

Contribution of urban agriculture as an additional livelihood strategy (%)
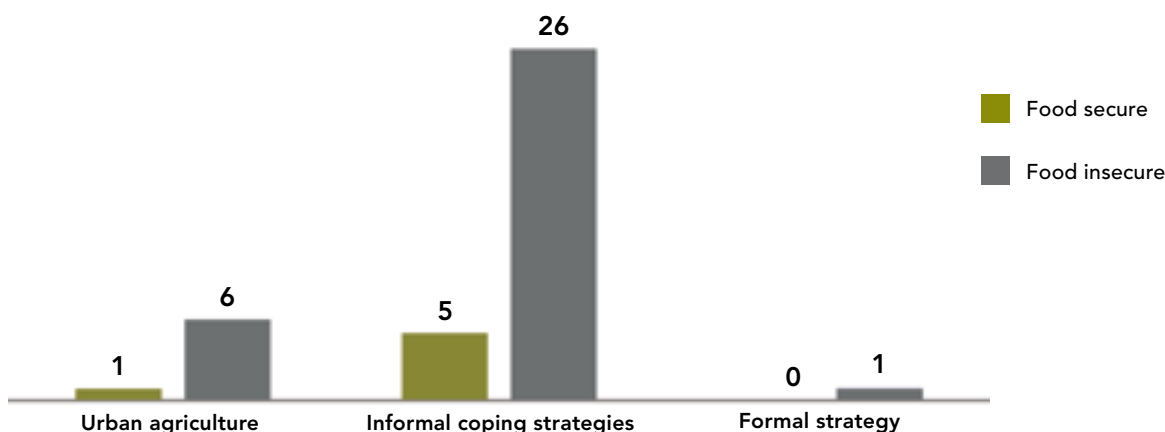

Fig. 4: Contribution of urban agriculture as an additional livelihood strategy. Across both food secure and insecure households, only 7% of the total sample obtained food from urban agriculture. (UFSBS, 2008)

Researchers at the conference presented elements of research conducted in their cities, including levels of food insecurity among poor urban households in Botswana, KwaZulu-Natal, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Gauteng, and sources of food insecurity for urban households in Malawi, Lesotho, Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Countries across the SADC region experience about four months of inadequate food supplies. The worst months are January, February, and March. Data suggests that this situation is getting worse as seasonality impacts both production and distribution. Some countries like Zimbabwe and Malawi do not produce enough food while other countries like Namibia and South Africa have poor distribution networks, limiting the availability of food. Insufficient rural farming, the availability of water and fertiliser, animal and plant diseases, and climate change were some of the reasons cited as causes for inadequate food production during these months. Countries that do not produce enough food rely on neighbouring countries to sell food to them, but individual households are often unable to purchase these food imports. In this instance, economic conditions and unemployment are the primary factors causing food insecurity.

Researchers cited January as one of the toughest months for food insecurity as people tended to spend their money on the Christmas holidays, leaving inadequate funds to purchase food in January and February.

How do these findings impact on South African cities, and what should city officials be doing?

Zola Dyasi, Project Executive in the Governance Department at eThekwini municipality said, 'Food security is a subset of poverty alleviation and we need to empower people to be able to sustain themselves rather than encourage a dependency on welfare and grants.'

Food security is largely invisible from the political platform. Other urban problems, such as unemployment and housing, take priority. Historically, cities have been built around access to food. Urbanisation took place to ensure that everyone had sufficient food, and while there are famines in rural areas, food insecurity is largely hidden in the cities. People mostly cope within their households and think strategically to meet the challenges of daily hunger. These ideas have to be transformed. The right to food must be recognised as the basis for any policy. Food insecurity is the result of market failures and therefore government intervention is needed to readjust the market. Food security must be seen as a public good, and necessary to ensure a safe, just and productive city.

Municipal officials in Belo Horizonte, Brazil were motivated by these principles. The following case study was presented at the conference to demonstrate the possibilities when food security is prioritised in a modern city.

Belo Horizonte

Belo Horizonte is a city in Brazil with a population of 2.5 million and over 5 million in the metropolitan area. In 2005, Belo Horizonte had a Gini Index of 0.61 and a high Human Deveopment Index of over 0.8. In 1993, poverty and hunger was pervasive in the city, with an infant mortality rate of 35.3. Many households were food insecure. To address these conditions, the city launched an ambitious multi-faceted programme that prioritised the needs of the hungry over housing.

A coalition government, headed by the Workers Party came to power in 1993 and elected Mayor Patrus Anaias who promptly set about addressing the challenges of food insecurity in the city. Anaias created a municipal secretariat for food policy and supply to centralise and coordinate municipal food programmes. This dedicated body made food policy a priority and launched the following programmes:

- **Subsidised food sales:** The government, in partnership with private entities opened four popular restaurants. These restaurants serve 20 000 meals per day to a variety of patrons, charging all diners the same price. Anybody can eat a discounted meal. Professor Cecelia Rocha from Ryerson University in Canada says that this

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Belo Horizonte continued

programme has been successful because people are not stigmatised as poor. Unlike food banks which have a negative stigma, popular restaurants serve everyone, including families and students as well as homeless people and retired bank clerks. Everyone sits together in a cafeteria style room, thereby reducing the stigma of hunger and building community at the same time.

- **Food and nutrition assistance:** The government ensures that every student has enough to eat by providing the School Meal Programme which serves 40 million meals to 155 000 students in more than 200 public schools. The municipal government covers all the costs of infrastructure and personnel, while the national government provides the food. The programme also supports local growers by purchasing food from local producers. This also guarantees that children are eating a healthy meal. The government, not civil society, also organises a food bank in partnership with the municipal secretariat for urban sanitation. The food bank does not serve food but rather selects, cleans, and vacuum freezes perishable foods for distribution to charitable organisations and social service agencies (not individuals) for preparation of communal meals.
- **Supply and regulation of markets:** The Abastecer/Worker's Convoy are commercial outlet shops licensed by the city and set up on city property. They operate under an agreement with the city whereby they sell between 20 and 25 items for one price (one price/kilogram for all items) set by the city at 20-50 per cent below market prices. The secretariat monitors the quality and safety of all goods and ensures that the shops serve low-income areas on weekends. The secretariat also has programmes to help rural families establish themselves in the countryside to halt the rural-urban migration. Country stores selling food, crafts, and sweets, provide growers with an income to help them remain in the rural areas.
- **Support to urban agriculture:** Urban agriculture is not the focus of the programme but it helps children understand the origins of their food and provides them with rural linkages.

These programmes have been incredibly successful at reducing hunger and poverty across the city. Professor Rocha explains, 'The case of Belo Horizonte is an example of ways in which cities can address food security challenges. In order to make it work, a number of factors came together. Politically, there was political will; a strong mayor who prioritised urban food security, and civil society working together with the government. The public was aware of the food security issues and in particular hunger, and they were ready to accept a larger role for the government in addressing it. Also, the government could rely on knowledgeable leaders to develop the programmes.'

In particular, the availability of land for farming versus the demand for housing is difficult to balance in the Southern African context

A robust debate about the possibilities for urban agriculture followed the presentation of a case study on the Siyakhana Food Garden Project (SFGP) in Johannesburg. The SFGP is an urban-agriculture initiative that showcases an integrated food garden system of food production, education, research, and community empowerment. The following key programmes were suggested to address food security:

- Increase the access of food insecure communities to land, technology, and training
- Support job creation through local food production enterprises
- Invest in environmentally sustainable technologies for small-scale producers
- Link women, youth, and gardeners to the economic mainstream
- Research the value of nutrition and medicinal plant use in management of HIV/AIDS and opportunistic infections
- Promote adequate nutrition through food-based approaches rather than through multivitamin supplementation
- Promote sustainable urban agriculture - this represents one of the most direct and enduring strategies.

Although the SFGP has many admirable attributes, its applicability towards addressing urban food security in other cities is unlikely, given the extensive resources required to ensure the success of an urban garden, as well as the political, economic, and social challenges of an urban garden. In particular, the availability of land for farming versus the demand for housing is difficult to bal-

Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

ance in the Southern African context. It is difficult for cities to reserve large pieces of land for agriculture when the demand for housing is so great.

Any available space that could possibly be used for urban agriculture will more likely be used for housing at the individual and city level. Poor households can earn more by renting the land for an informal residence and then purchasing food, than planting and harvesting on that land. Likewise, there is a mindset that agriculture and an agrarian lifestyle is backward. Urban agriculture is seen as a mark of poverty and desperation, and therefore the urban poor are not eager to engage in agriculture. The majority of the urban poor live in dense neighbourhoods and do not have land even for a small garden. As a result, urban gardens maintain a 95 per cent failure rate.

Because food availability is not a key cause of food insecurity, urban agriculture will not be a major panacea for the food insecure. It is therefore imperative to maintain and improve food distribution networks and rural-urban linkages. The need to strengthen rural-urban linkages was dominant throughout the conference, especially as participants challenged the possibilities of urban agriculture.

In order to ensure food security for all, cities must support rural agriculture and ensure that food produced in rural areas is distributed to the urban poor. By protecting a rural agrarian lifestyle, cities are slowing the rate of urbanisation and ensuring continued food production, ultimately reducing the number of food insecure people living in the city.

On the final day of the conference participants divided into groups to discuss policy decisions in greater detail. Groups were asked to explore 'What role should social security play in addressing urban food security?', 'How can livelihoods be supported to improve health and food security outcomes for vulnerable people?', 'How can gender inequalities be address to improve the food security outcomes for vulnerable households?", and 'What is the role of government (city, provincial, national) and civil society organisations in promoting food security?'

The group exploring the role of government in addressing food security devised an urban food security strategy for municipal government, which outlined the following key points:

- Capacity building and education at all levels of government, civil society and community.
- Develop mechanisms to promote communication among actors to establish synergies, provide opportunities, resolve conflicts, align various policies, programmes, and projects, and develop a common language.
- Define responsibilities and roles of all actors (including the different levels of government, civil-society organisations and the private sector). For example, intervention policies for land reform and securing land availability, and for better market functions; balancing the need for emergency social welfare and long-term social development to address poverty and food security.
- Reconceptualise and revalue food production in both urban and rural areas; such as by developing effective rural-urban (or city-region) linkages and recognising the multi-functional use of land and the potential of urban agriculture.
- Guarantee resources or financing to underpin all policies, strategies, programmes, and projects for food security; in particular, establish a budget for the mechanisms to enable communication and coordination.

It is a moral imperative for government to provide food to its people. Food security is a right based on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as a legal requirement in the 1994 South African Constitution, and it is therefore part of a government mandate to ensure that people have access to food. Currently, there is a lack of intersectional coordination and cooperation between spheres of government and civil society. Cities must develop mechanisms and institutions to facilitate dialogue, and provide funding and logistical support for the development of food policies. For any such initiatives to bear fruit, various institutions need to regulate food security to adequately empower and resource any food policies, and this requires political will.

urban renewal in townships

More than 40 per cent of South Africa's urban population live in townships, and 20 per cent live in informal settlements and low-income housing estates. Townships are usually located outside the urban core and can be formal or informal. They are generally far from places of economic activity and employment. Due to the historic social compression in racially segregated areas, old townships are socially, culturally and economically diverse. Many of them – especially larger townships – contain middle- and lower-income areas and scattered middle-income households. However, most township residents are poor and unemployment rates are very high. For many people, townships have become poverty traps.

Development trends since 1994 have tended to reinforce apartheid spatial planning and townships continue to be disadvantaged by a number of factors:
- peripheral location
- polarised city growth
- unidirectional transport flows
- poor transport connections between townships and new economic nodes
- dispersed and restricted movement
- low-density built form and overcrowding
- limited range and quality of social facilities
- limited range of economic infrastructure and services
- limited range of residential choice
- insecure or unsafe space
- lack of identity and 'sense of place'.

Urban renewal initiatives in townships are broadly categorised into for place outcomes and for people outcomes.

For place outcomes target improved neighbourhoods and residential areas, public environments, new property investments and so on. For people outcomes target the residents of an area and seek to enhance education levels, skills, ability to compete for jobs and so on.

SACN's Urban Renewal Overview (published as People and Places, 2003) presents urban renewal in three categories that are useful for planning interventions:
- *Urban centre upgrades* address inner-city areas that have experienced capital flight and decline.
- *Informal settlement upgrades* refer to large freestanding informal settlements, often located near the urban periphery.
- *Exclusion areas* suffer high levels of economic, social and political exclusion from the mainstream. There are two subcategories: areas that have been excluded by design, and areas that have been excluded by decline (e.g. Hillbrow in Johannesburg).

Improving urban management is a crucial precondition for developing South African townships

Townships mostly fall into the category of exclusion by design – a reference to apartheid spatial planning. They are generally old formal townships, and while they may often include some informal areas, they are different from large freestanding informal settlements. They often accommodate populations with strong working-class roots, but have high levels of unemployment, social frustration and alienation (which often takes the form of gangsterism and crime) and decaying infrastructure. Typically, formal housing stock in areas excluded by design is overcrowded and informal settlements often take the form of backyard shacks for rental. There are also urgent needs for access to health services, education facilities, better sanitation and improved law enforcement.

Improving urban management is a crucial precondition for developing South African townships. While the urban management deficit in these areas has deep historical roots, an array of contemporary problems also needs to be overcome if improvements are to be realised. This requires intervention at a number of levels, including the regulation and servicing of private space, and the governance, regulation, servicing and maintenance of public space.

Given resource constraints it is crucial to identify correct priorities at the outset. Urban management improvements hinge on the unlocking of resources and this requires innovation. Interventions at this level entail an amalgam of mobilising additional operating expenditure, achieving more value for money, tapping new revenue streams and establishing partnerships to expand the range of development contributors. Since urban management requires sustained effort over the long term, institutionalising such arrangements is key to success.

Government's Urban Development Framework highlights the importance of partnerships between government, the private sector and civil society. Moving away from the notion that township renewal is a challenge to be addressed by the state alone, it emphasises a broader mobilisation of resources and participants in township renewal. There are two key government programmes that have an impact on urban renewal in townships: The Urban Renewal Programme of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; and the Neighbourhood Development Programme of the National Treasury.

INK

The townships of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) are about 25km north of the Durban city centre. At the time of project inception, INK was characterised by very high rates of unemployment, poverty and crime; low levels of formal education; a lack of adequate housing and basic services; low levels of access to public services; a lack of public space and recreation opportunities; and high levels of environmental degradation and pollution.

The INK ABM/URP programme aims to integrate, coordinate and align service delivery to improve the quality of life of residents, and to enhance residents' ability to take charge of their own lives. It specifies four impact areas aligned with the URP implementation framework: integrated governance, living environment improvements, income enhancement and infrastructure investment.

The key planned physical infrastructure interventions are:
- Integrate INK into the mainstream of Durban's economic activity, notably by providing more direct links with new high-order nodes to the north of the city.
- Improve transport networks.
- Reduce the isolating effect of green buffer zones and physical barriers around INK.
- Highlight INK as a place of unique interest through the establishment of the Inanda Heritage Route.
- Establish a hierarchy of nodes within INK, linked by corridors to one another and to higher-order nodes to the north of the city.
- Retain a mix of income groups by providing a range of housing, recreational and employment opportunities, and by improving schools.
- Improve intra-INK mobility by upgrading the road network in the area.
- Make various improvements at neighbourhood/local centre level.

Five anchor projects were planned: the KwaMashu Town Centre Redevelopment Project; the P577 transport route; the Inanda Heritage Trail; the Safer Cities programme; and the Bridge City node.

Positive results include the following:
- Infrastructure and engineering services have been upgraded (R58 million).
- A planning framework and zoning and regulatory frameworks have been put in place.
- A number of important road links to other economic centres and to railway stations have been upgraded. These include the upgrading of Malandela Rd – the main access road to KwaMashu; the extension of Bhejane Rd to link KwaMashu to the Bridge City site; the upgrading of Undlondlo Rd to provide access to Princess Magogo Stadium; and the building of internal service roads and pedestrian walkways.

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INK continued

- 6ha of prime housing land is ready to be sold and developed.
- A metro police station has been built and brought into operation (R13.5 million).
- A community court has been established at Kwa-Mashu police station.
- A provincial health department 'mega-clinic' is under construction (R80 million).
- A high-grade shopping centre has been built and is trading successfully, and this has catalysed a host of economic development benefits (R75 million).
- Three municipality-led small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) projects have been planned and are under way.
- Major sport and recreation facilities have been planned and are under construction.
- A municipal regional service centre has been established.
- A solid waste recycling centre has been established.
- The National Treasury has allocated a Neighbourhood Partnership Development grant of R62 million to the project.

The Urban Renewal Programme

Government's Urban Renewal Programme (URP) aims to address infrastructure deficiencies and declining economies in areas characterised by widespread poverty and neglect. The URP is scheduled to run for 10 years, after which support for township renewal is expected to have been fully integrated into government work.

The URP targets eight urban nodes: Alexandra, Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha, Inanda, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Motherwell and Galeshewe. All these areas have common features: they were established under apartheid, they experience high rates of poverty and crime, and deteriorating engineering infrastructure. The majority of residents have formal housing stock but there is also an informal housing component. All have very little in the way of economic opportunity and public transport is poor. The resident populations in general have low education and skills levels.

The primary objective of the URP is poverty alleviation and development, and it seeks to achieve this through 'joined-up' government that combines and coordinates resources from national, provincial and local level.

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KwaMashu Town Centre

In the mid 1990s, a number of smaller local councils in the greater Durban area were amalgamated into a single metropolitan municipality, and the boundaries of the city were expanded to incorporate a number of new areas. The department responsible for economic development at the time started to look for a suitable location for a focused, municipality-led intervention in the newly incorporated areas. The political violence of the 1980s had been particularly intense in the northern areas. As a result, development in those areas had been impeded, and there was a greater level of need.

In 1998, a pre-planning assessment concluded that the greatest positive economic impact could be achieved by focusing on the development of one centre in the newly incorporated northern areas – namely the KwaMashu Town Centre. Key reasons included:

- It was already a busy transportation hub for train, bus and taxi commuters. This meant there were already large numbers of people in a highly accessible location.
- It had a large area of well-located, undeveloped land owned by the state that had been set aside for a town centre. This land had potential for future development at a time when there was strong private-sector interest in township investment opportunities.
- There were already a number of spontaneous trading activities clustered in the area, some of them formal. This meant that attempts to support and stimulate business stood a good chance of success.
- The community living around the town centre had relatively high income levels and there were many home-based businesses, from professional services to backyard trades. This suggested there would be a good foundation for commercial success.

The KwaMashu Town Centre Project (KMTC) began in 1999, with four targeted outcomes:

- To create an enabling environment for local businesses to grow, for the resident community to prosper, and to attract outside investors.
- To transform KwaMashu into a thriving centre with its own economic drive and social vitality.
- To offer residents a quality urban living, working and recreational environment.
- To link this envisaged urban centre back to the city.
- Key project objectives to achieve the targeted outcomes were: to achieve economic regeneration by creating an environment conducive to business growth; and the provision of security and social infrastructure to create a safe and secure environment for residents to live, work and play in.

Mobilising and focusing public and private-sector

The Neighbourhood Development Programme

The Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) was announced by the Minister of Finance in his 2006 budget speech. The NDPG is a conditional grant to municipalities through the Division of Revenue Act (DORA). An amount of R10bn has been allocated over a ten year period for about 100 initiatives.

The primary focus of the grant is to stimulate and accelerate investment in poor, underserved residential neighbourhoods such as townships, by leveraging private-sector investment. It is anticipated that this can be achieved by accelerating investment in community amenities by providing a combination of technical support and capital financing for municipal projects that will leverage private sector investment at scale.

The NDPG is driven by the notion that public investment and funding can be used creatively to attract private and community investment to unlock the social and economic potential within neglected townships and neighbourhoods, and that this in turn will contribute to South Africa's macro-economic performance and improve the quality of life of its citizens.

As a result of these two national government programmes, a number of township renewal projects are currently underway in SACN member cities. Sithole Mbanga, CEO of SACN says the SACN provides support to its member cities by gathering and disseminating important data to municipalities to assist them with the implementation of township renewal projects.

In places like INK and KwaMashu, the positive spin-offs from URP projects are evident not only in the physical changes such as housing, but also in areas such as service delivery, job creation and crime reduction. Mr Mbanga says the URP is meant to act as a catalyst for municipalities to initiate their own plans for township renewal projects.

In order to further its knowledge-sharing agenda and provide valuable URP support to member cities, SACN recently published the Township Renewal Sourcebook as part of the Training for Township Renewal Initiative (TTRI) – a joint project of the SACN, National Treasury and the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (formerly the Department of Provincial and Local Government).

The purpose of the TTRI is to promote and support development and renewal in South Africa's townships, where some 40 per cent of the country's urban population resides. The initiative centres on training and building local expertise to conceptualise, design and implement township development projects countrywide. The expected outcomes of the project are:

- A clear progression from the urban development strategy level of planning to the development of neighbourhood or precinct-level plans for the regeneration and restructuring of townships.

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KwaMashu Town Centre continued

investment was pivotal to establish a properly functioning property market. Changing the land tenure to freehold would not have been enough to achieve this goal, but was a necessary precondition.

Activities had a nodal focus – that is, they would be clustered around the point of highest accessibility to achieve maximum impact. The purpose was to bring residential, business, work, goods and services, transport, recreation and entertainment opportunities together in one place.

Steps were taken to ensure sustained buy-in support from politicians and community stakeholders. The project steering committee is chaired by senior local councillors. At the beginning of the project, public meetings, workshops and briefing sessions were held to discuss various options. The choices made at these events were crystallised into a commonly held vision for KwaMashu. These interactions were guided by a problem-solving approach, and were intended to achieve clarity on roles, responsibilities and the process to be followed. Sustaining buy-in is dependent on visible delivery, and being willing to accommodate the interests and concerns of stakeholders, even if they go beyond the strict boundaries of what municipalities usually do.

Some positive results of the KMTC project are:

- Infrastructure and engineering services have been upgraded (R58 million).
- A planning framework and zoning and regulatory frameworks have been put in place.
- A number of the important road links to other economic centres, and links to existing railway stations, have been upgraded.
- 6ha of prime housing land is ready to be sold and developed.
- A Metro Police station has been built and brought into operation (R13.5 million).
- A provincial health department 'mega-clinic' is under construction (R80 million).
- A high-grade shopping centre has been built and is trading successfully (R75 million).
- Three municipality-led projects have been planned and are under way.
- Major sport and recreation facilities have been planned and are under construction.
- The National Treasury has allocated a Neighbourhood Partnership Development Grant to the project (R62 million).
- A community court has been established at KwaMashu police station.
- A solid waste recycling centre has been established.

- The development of a pipeline of potential projects that are appropriate and feasible, and which can be funded by national government grants, private investors or municipalities.
- A larger pool of local project managers who can coordinate project partners, engage local communities, account to municipal councils and other funders, and project manage construction and urban management interventions.
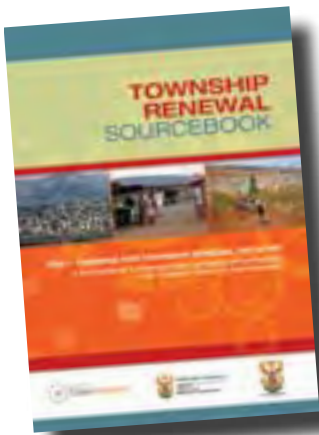
The Township Renewal Sourcebook is a strategic and practical tool for township renewal practitioners. Practitioners will develop a broad strategic grasp of the common problems confronted in township renewal in South Africa, the range of outcomes targeted to overcome them, and methods designed to get results. Based on this approach, practitioners will be able to design and apply tailored interventions appropriate for a specific context. The Sourcebook is presented in five modules:

- Module 1: Introducing the township renewal challenge, provides an overview of South Africa's urban landscape, summarises policies that promote socioeconomic development in townships, and reviews strategic outcomes.
- Module 2: Unlocking township markets, provides a framework for identifying areas of economic intervention with a high potential for success, focusing on the labour, commercial, services and residential markets.
- Module 3: Restructuring the township physical environment, examines the range of public-sector physical interventions that can be applied to support development.
- Module 4: Packaging township development projects, reviews the key elements for the success of physical interventions in townships, as well as the preconditions for mobilising private-sector investment.
- Module 5: Improving urban management in townships, looks at the regulatory, operational and maintenance factors needed to support township development.

The Sourcebook kit also contains several case studies as well as Powerpoint presentations which provide an overview of the content in each module and case study. Over time, new case studies will be added, and existing ones updated, to ensure that the material presented in the Sourcebook draws on current best practice.

Case studies that have been documented since the advent of the URP include INK, KwaMashu Town Centre and Mitchells Plain Town Centre.

Mitchells Plain Town Centre

The Mitchells Plain Town Centre Project (MPTC), which was initially conceived as a public transport interchange upgrade, began in 2003, even before the URP got under way in Cape Town. MPTC was then the busiest taxi terminal in the Western Cape, and the third-busiest nodal interchange for rail, buses and taxis in the metropolitan area. About 75 000 people moved through the interchange during the morning and evening peaks.

The MPTC team realised that public transport activity was effectively the 'anchor tenant', and that an integrated upgrade of the 70ha town centre could be achieved by leveraging from the public transport upgrade. The first works contract was signed in 2003.

The upgrading of the Mitchells Plain public transport interchange and redevelopment of the central business district has subsequently become an anchor project of the URP, bringing together investment from national, provincial and local government. The URP nodes of Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha are seen as important components of the emergence of an urban core in the Metro's southeast that is connected and integrated with the rest of the city.

What started out as a public transport interchange upgrade became a project to strategically use the investment made available by government and other sources to generate other spin-offs. In addition to creating a safe, convenient, seamless environment for public transport users, the project team sought to create a safe and pleasant environment for shoppers, to boost informal trading activity in a prime location, to provide opportunities for further retail development, and to generate opportunities for other economic development activities, such as training institutions.

Plans included a bus terminus for 25 destinations; a taxi terminus for 20 destinations; converting the existing bus terminus to a central market square; closing off an existing road and restricting it to pedestrian use to provide seamless access between the station and the town centre; building new roads to link the interchange with arterial routes; building five signalised intersections and one signalised pedestrian crossing to ease traffic congestion; building administration buildings; improving public space through landscaping; improving security through closed circuit television cameras; building a pedestrian bridge across the railway line; and reinforcing the existing pedestrian bridge.

The management partnership model developed to support urban management in the MPTC grew out of an extensive consultation process.
- A steering committee was established with representatives of taxis, informal traders, formal businesses, property owners, rail authorities, the Golden Arrow Bus Company, city officials and

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Pictures: www. capetown.gov.za

councillors. This committee was the main structure through which the entire MPTC project was coordinated.

- An informal traders' task team was established to build unity among various traders' associations and agree on such issues as the design of trader infrastructure, the positioning of bays, and future management and operations.
- A taxi task team was established with representatives from the Mitchells Plain Taxi Council to hammer out consensus on issues such as the design of taxi infrastructure and the future block management system.
- Ad hoc committees met to disseminate information about the project.
- Monthly update reports were submitted to the Mitchells Plain sub-council.

The establishment of a management and operations entity has been proposed by the MPTC project team to ensure the effective management of the MPTC, including the maintenance of public infrastructure. The benefits of the proposed entity would include:

- Maximising the benefit of the capital investment and ensuring its sustainability.
- Improved attention to management and maintenance in the city's operating budget.
- Better safety and security for shoppers, public transport users, informal traders and entrepreneurs.
- Increased turnover, trading density and rentals. This should lead to more commercial investment and the creation of permanent employment opportunities.

As of mid-2009, the MPTC project is 75% complete. This has resulted in a tremendous improvement of physical infrastructure in the town centre. Yet the most important element in overcoming urban management problems in Mitchells Plain has been the establishment of a stable representative entity, in which competing interests can resolve their differences and hold one another accountable.

Although the establishment of a community-based entity to manage and operate the town centre was not planned at the outset, it has been the most important result of the project. A stakeholder management platform has been created, which in time will enable the community to run the town centre on its own. The members of this structure understand what is required to get the project completed and to meet the needs of their constituents. Among other things, the forum has set up safety and security structures and holds weekly meetings with the police. This shows the community is steadily taking control of its own interests. The stakeholder management concept took some years to sell, but is now widely supported.

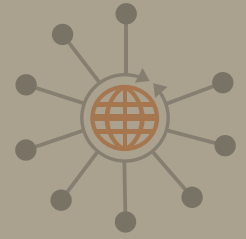# refugees – migration and management response

Population movements into, out of, and through municipalities have become perennial features of South African cities. While some rural municipalities have lost as much as 18 per cent of their populations between the 2001 census and the 2007 Statistics SA community survey (such as Bophirima in the North West), some urban and peri-urban areas have grown by as much as 28 per cent in the same period (Alfred Nzo in the Eastern Cape).

Even though they are constitutionally empowered to be a leading force for development, local authorities have often been wary of addressing migration concerns. Part of this reluctance stems from a sense that managing human mobility is exclusively a matter for national policy makers. Some municipal officials are hopeful that migration and urbanisation are temporary phenomena with populations stabilising over time. Those struggling to meet the demands of a newly expanded population may also fear that assisting new arrivals will only attract more poor and needy people. Given that the vast majority of new arrivals to South African cities are citizens – and these citizens are often far more vulnerable than international migrants and refugees – local authorities are constitutionally obliged to plan for and assist people moving into and through their cities. As the 2008 xenophobic violence demonstrated, exclusive and fragmented cities are often dangerous, putting residents' health and wealth at risk.

Local authorities may be legally and ethically obliged to address migration but few municipalities have developed empirically informed and proactive policy responses to human migration. Rather than addressing potential divisions with shared rules of economic and social engagement, various forms of exclusion – including overt and violent discrimination against non-citizens and ethnic minorities – threaten to fragment cities' ever transforming populations. Not only does this leave large sections of the population without the services they need, but they are a less healthy, less productive and less committed population. As the events of 2008 so dramatically illustrated,

exclusion based on nationality and ethnicity undermines initiatives to promote social and material investment and to build the social capital needed to create safer and more prosperous communities.

Acknowledging the need to address migration by building inclusive, safe, and prosperous cities does not necessarily mean that local officials and planners have the information or tools to do this effectively. There are a number of reasons for this – some conceptual and others institutional. However, local authorities who are dedicated to building inclusive cities can overcome the obstacles by working together with civil society, researchers, and other spheres of government.

Local governments currently know very little about the people living in their cities, but this lack of knowledge is an obstacle that is easily overcome in developing effective responses to human mobility. Where national government has the luxury of developing generalised policy frameworks, local authorities must develop more focused, more context specific and more immediate interventions. But even in South Africa's wealthier cities, few officials have the empirical basis to form nuanced and dynamic understandings of their constituencies. This is generally true regarding the urban poor and all the more so with geographically mobile people. Efforts to map 'poverty pockets'[1] and review both national and localised migration data[2] represent some of the first concerted efforts to understand South Africa's urban population dynamics. However, many of these studies are based on incomplete census data, which is particularly inaccurate regarding foreign-born populations, and are often purely descriptive.

The absence of high-quality longitudinal data on population size, composition and welfare, makes it almost impossible to evaluate the source of tensions or the success of particular policy interventions. While the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs now recognises that there is a need for improving cross-border and multi-nodal planning – including a greater consideration of population mobility – planners still struggle to understand how their cities work, how their population relates to urban institutions, and the multiple and ever evolving connections among residents and those living elsewhere. As an example, we know that money, goods and people in need of care (such as children, the elderly and ill people) continually move between rural and urban areas, but we cannot yet quantify the impact of this movement on either rural or urban service needs and economies. In this context, local authorities often form policies in response to political pressures founded on stereotypes or incomplete data. This may provide short-term fixes but bring long-term risks.

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1. Cross, et al, 2005.
2. Dorrington 2005; Bekker 2002; Kok and Collinson 2006; SACN 2006; Landau and Gindrey 2008.

Acknowledging the need to address migration by building inclusive, safe, and prosperous cities does not necessarily mean that local officials and planners have the information or tools to do this effectively

Local authorities repeatedly express frustration regarding their efforts to foster collaboration within local government departments and, more importantly, between local government and provincial and national authorities.

Indeed, the inability to effectively understand and predict urban populations poses significant risks to local governments' ability to meet their obligations and developmental objectives. Perhaps most obviously, the invisibility of large segments of the urban population can result in much greater demand for services than predicted, reducing service quality and outstripping budgetary allocations. In many instances, these are hidden costs – to public and private infrastructure, water, and other services that are not accessed individually. The degradation to land or building stock due to high-population densities – a consequence of new migrants minimising costs while maximising centrality – also has long-term cost implications for cities that collect taxes on the basis of building values.

However, higher populations do not necessarily result in aggregate costs to local government in receiving areas. Because many of South Africa's international migrants are young and healthy, they help build urban economies without making many demands on health, education or social welfare services. Although they may not invest in property or businesses (although many do), much of their consumption of food and consumer goods is in urban areas. Citizens moving between cities or, especially, from rural to urban areas are far more likely to require assistance: housing, health care, education, and other investments. We must not however, rely on myths that staying at 'home' is good for anyone: even residents of informal settlements tend to have longer life expectancies and better educated children than those in poor rural communities. Urbanisation raises challenges, but it is both inevitable and – if managed properly – a powerful force for human development.

Responding to South Africa's dynamic urban population requires rethinking resource allocation and public investment strategies. While both sending and receiving communities experience the costs and benefits of migration, these calculations have rarely figured into the distribution of national resources by the National Treasury.

Since the promulgation of the new constitution in 1996, National Treasury has distributed money to the provinces (and subsequently to municipalities) based almost exclusively on current population estimates. Such practices are problematic for at least three reasons. First, the population estimates often significantly misrepresent where people actually live. Someone may own a house

and vote in a rural community but live elsewhere for eleven months of the year. Secondly, peoples' presence in a particular locality is not necessarily a good predictor of their costs to local or provincial government. Given widespread patterns of circular migration within the country, people often work in one space but access services elsewhere. Moreover, a tendency to return to rural communities when falling sick or having children often means that cities receive the benefits of young labourers while relatively poorer municipalities bear the costs for social protection. Third, infrastructure and social service planning requires long-term investments based on predictions of population in five to fifteen years time. Without reliable forward-looking estimates, cities are unable to prepare for their population's future needs. In late September 2006, the South African Fiscal Commission convened a seminar to try to come to grips with these issues in order to better advise National Treasury on resource distribution. In 2008, National Treasury met again – with World Bank support – to discuss resource allocation. However, planning continues to be based on current rather than projected population distributions and all but ignores undocumented migrants. In a country with such high rates of mobility, this is deeply problematic.

The lack of coordination among government departments further exaggerates the partial and often ill-informed responses to human mobility. Local authorities repeatedly express frustration regarding their efforts to foster collaboration within local government departments and, more importantly, between local government and provincial and national authorities. However, due to migration's spatial dynamics, an effective response to human mobility is not something that any single governmental body or sphere can address. It requires coordination and planning that transcends the boundaries of metropolitan areas and encompasses a wider area connected by commuter flows, economic linkages and shared facilities.

At a more local level, policing strategies and conflict resolution mechanisms continue to prevent the effective inclusion of new arrivals. Throughout the country, police officers exploit poor oversight, xenophobic discourses, and immigrants' vulnerabilities to supplement their income by addressing what many incorrectly assume to be the root cause of crime. In many instances, they can bolster their legitimacy with local authorities and residents
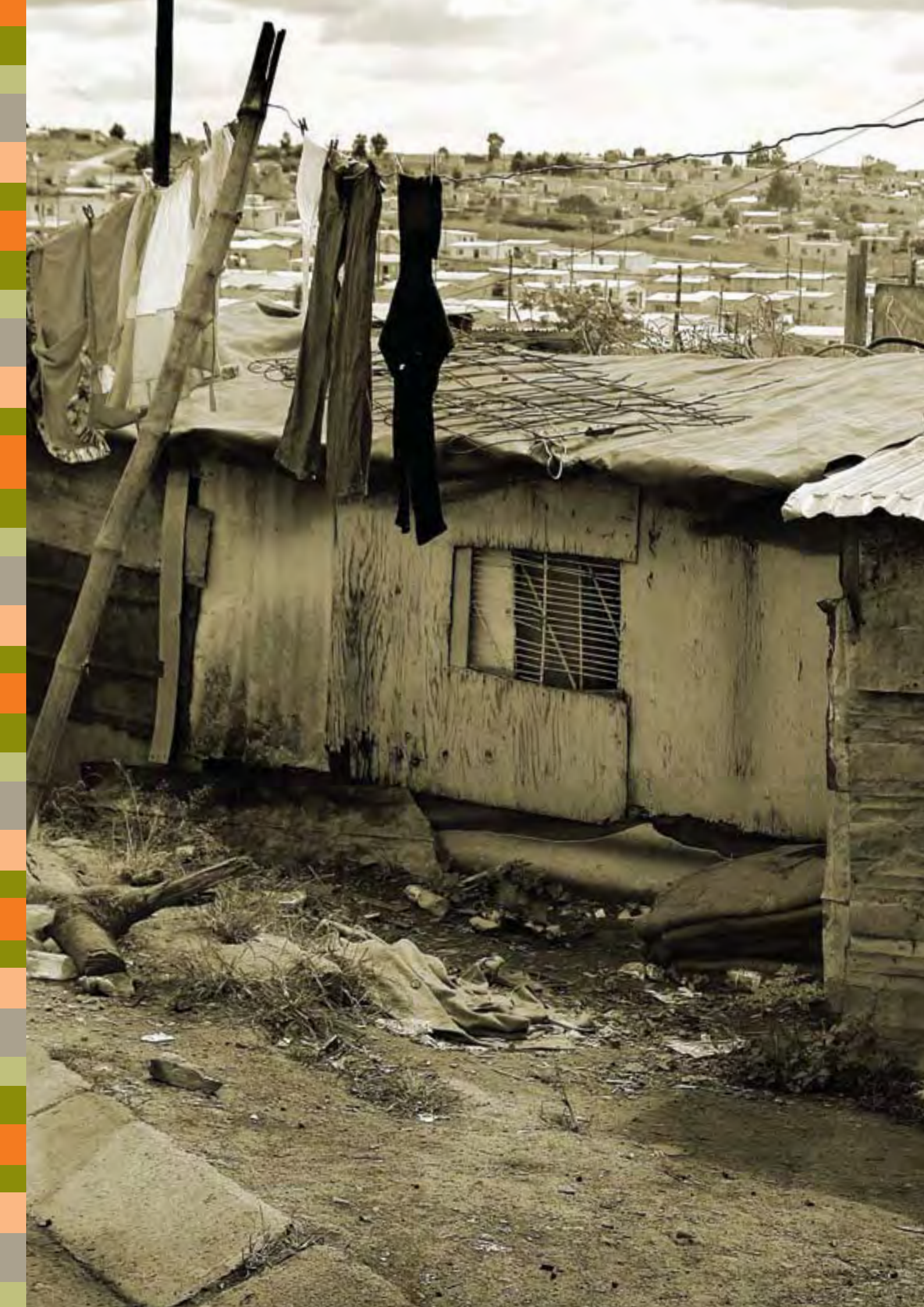
There is also a need to reconsider how law (and particularly by-law) enforcement encourages or discourages new arrivals' inclusion into urban areas

by harassing foreigners. As a result, police often refuse to recognise work permits or refugee identity cards and occasionally work with community business leaders to help rid townships of foreign-owned businesses. Even well-meaning police may feel that protecting foreigners is either too dangerous or risks alienating the South African community. The continued reliance on vigilantism and other forms of 'crime prevention' have repeatedly proven both ineffective and fractious. Despite a long history of violence against non-nationals and other minority groups, few effective steps have been taken by any of the government departments to address these conflicts. Moreover, the general ineffectiveness of such forms of regulation leads citizens to accept criminal activity and violence as part of their social landscape.

There is also a need to reconsider how law (and particularly by-law) enforcement encourages or discourages new arrivals' inclusion into urban areas. The arrest of people trading on the street – whether South African or foreign – or conducting other small business directly affects the livelihoods of those arrested and their dependents. Despite a wariness of informal markets, cities should find ways of promoting entry into trading rather than close this avenue to those who have few other options. For migrants who lack the documentation, capital, or skills to find work in the formal sector, regularly targeting this subset of the population for by-law infractions only drives trade further underground and increases the likelihood that they will turn to irregular, illegal, or dangerous economic activities.

South Africa's economic and political success hinges on accountable institutions that foster a set of overlapping goals among city residents. Discrimination based on national or community origins, like other arbitrary forms of exclusion, undermines this objective in two primary ways. First, for reasons discussed above, people who do not feel welcome in South Africa's urban society are less likely to respect the rules and institutions dedicated to governing it. This may become visible in efforts to dodge tax regulations, avoid census takers, or actively subvert regulatory agencies they feel are more likely to prey on than promote their interests. When denied the right to work or documents needed to secure housing, it may also result in increased criminal activity or other anti-social behaviour. Those who feel excluded are also unlikely to participate

Any effort to incorporate migration into long-term policy and governance processes will require better data and integration of data into planning processes

in participatory planning exercises, for example, the Integrated Development Planning process (IDP).

Such self-exclusion makes government policies all the less likely to address city residents' priorities and needs and may, in time, harm public institutions' efficacy and legitimacy (Winkler, 2006).

There are also broader issues at stake regarding the relationships between residents and local and national government. As a senior strategist for the City of Johannesburg noted "The legitimacy of the South African government is founded on overturning past patterns of discrimination and exclusion. We have a proactive responsibility to absorb the poor and promote social mobility." For him, and a few others at elite levels of local government, refugees, immigrants and migrants are simply another category of the vulnerable and poor. Indeed, this is the position taken by Johannesburg's Human Development Strategy. The ability of Johannesburg to implement such a programme is, in the words of the same official, critical to the "integrity of the city." As the Mayor of Johannesburg recently stated, "It's an issue that you can't ignore" (Reuters, 2006).

Steps forward

While citizenship and asylum laws must remain at the national level, there is a heightened need for attention to sub-national actors as they continue to assert their influence – through commission and omission – on how the country responds to human mobility. To improve their ability to respond to migration, municipal authorities also have a responsibility to work with national government to develop policy frameworks which recognise that migration and immigration are critical to South Africa's prosperity. Given the country's economic ambitions, ongoing efforts to foster regional integration, and acute skills shortages, immigration is critical to the country's international competitiveness. This is evident in the corporate sector, in all fields of knowledge production (research and development, higher education, and technological and industrial innovation) but also in small business formation and tourism. Continued formal and informal restrictions on, and mismanagement of immigration – including laws, administrative practices and widespread xenophobia – can only have a negative impact on the country's economic development. Reaping migration's positive economic benefits will mean addressing migration management as a developmental rather than a security concern.

Perhaps most importantly, local authorities must push for a financial model that supports efforts to assist current and future populations. Wherever possible, this must be done in collaboration with officials in neighbouring municipalities, other spheres of government, and regional partners. Planners and urban authorities must promote positive reforms to build inclusive local governance structures. Because much of the violence and fragmentation we have recently witnessed is rooted in exclusive forms of local politics, local authorities must find ways to promote positive leadership models and leaders committed to tolerance and the rule of law. In all cases, interventions must be wary of empowering 'unscreened' community leadership structures such as street committees and other forums. Mechanisms within the public administration and political parties should encourage efforts to build more inclusive and rights-based forms of governance. Doing so will require a broader recognition of the substantial failures of local government in addressing poor residents' needs and frustrations. Addressing these will require new and more inclusive community justice mechanisms, a more effective and responsive police service, and legal support for disenfranchised and marginalised groups.

Any effort to incorporate migration into long-term policy and governance processes will require better data and integration of data into planning processes. This will become particularly important as South Africa embraces a spatial development model. Migration may be driven by global or national policies and processes, but it must be understood within specific, highly localised contexts. While it is useful to develop aggregated trends, reactions and attitudes may be shaped by the particular racial, economic and political history of a single neighbourhood. This will require heightening capacity for statistical, institutional and social analyses. While this is critical at the national level, all spheres of government should be encouraged to collaborate and develop the capacity for data collection and analysis at all levels. In addition, mechanisms should be created to ensure that these analyses – if they eventually become available – are fed into decision-making processes. Doing otherwise will ensure policy failure, and may help realise many planners' current fears about the effects of human mobility on prosperity, security and development.

making urban land
markets work for the poor

Southern Africa's cities are being shaped by the increasing number of people who migrate to cities seeking better prospects. The way in which cities and towns are planned, and how land is made available, needs to be done in ways which make it easier and more practical for poorer people to participate in the urban economy. Location far from economic opportunities makes this participation more difficult.

The ability of governments to fulfil their responsibility to manage land in the public interest and improve the rights and quality of life of vulnerable people is being tested. They are struggling to keep up with demand and land is increasingly being informally provided in shack areas, street-side stalls, and overcrowded inner city apartments.

In 2007, 1.2 million households were living in informal settlements in South Africa. Most did not have secure tenure. At the same time, private-sector property owners and developers have been exercising their entrepreneurial skills by rapidly building and renewing formal parts of the urban areas. When the market is buoyant, they see the benefits of their investments, with gains in property values, but they remain mostly uninvolved in the financing and provision of low-income residential, retail and production space. Even where there has been encouraging economic growth, the gap between the wealthy and the poor is widening.

People – tenure and the poor

A fundamental lesson to emerge from the making markets work for the poor approach to development, is that the starting point needs to be the activities in which the poor are engaged, and that building on these ensures a greater chance of success than imposing ready-made solutions from outside. To better understand how poor people in urban areas access, hold and trade land, Urban LandMark conducted research in different types of settlements in three metropolitan areas in South Africa: Cape Town, Ekurhuleni and eThekwini.

The Urban Land Markets Study – how the poor access, hold and trade land – started from the premise that land transactions take place outside the officially recognised system of land management and property ownership.

However, little was known about how these arrangements worked. The aim was to make these alternative markets visible to allow pro-poor intervention.

The types of settlements chosen for the study were informal settlements, state-subsidised housing projects (often known as RDP housing from the Reconstruction and Development Programme), backyard shacks, an area under a traditional authority, and an area of local council housing.

The study confirmed that land markets are operating in these settlements, and that the number of transactions in informal settlements and backyard shacks was high. On average, 25 per cent of shacks were sold every five years, for between R50 and R500, and it took up to 69 days and an additional R1 351 in transport and associated costs to secure them. In RDP housing (small starter housing provided by the state that limits the resale of houses for eight years), 11 per cent of households were involved in transacting in the last five years, with six per cent of the transactions seen as sales and average house prices of between R5 750 and R17 000. The other five per cent were renting arrangements and people looking after the houses of others. Almost all of the transactions were off-register in that title deeds were not officially changing hands. However, despite these exchanges not being registered with the Land Deeds Register, state officials were often called in to witness them.

The central finding of the research was that family relations and social networks dominate land transactions in these areas. Sales were driven by issues such as birth, death, marriage, divorce, study, work opportunities and forced removals. Transactions mainly became available by word of mouth through family and friends. This socially dominated land market allows poor people to access the city cheaply and quickly, be close to employment, and acts as a safety net when households are hit by 'shocks' but need to remain in the city.

However, this socially dominated market co-exists with clear financial logic. Both state policy and financial markets are shaping these areas and informal land markets are intricately linked to formal land markets, as in how the financial value of land accessed by the poor is determined.

This interaction plays out on a number of levels. Although price is not the main determinant in a transaction, this should not be misconstrued as people acting in ways that are economically irrational. People make the judgment that paying the transaction and sale costs of
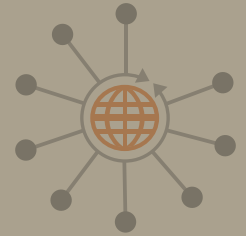
The central finding of the research was that family relations and social networks dominate transactions around land in these areas

Informal settlements perform a function the state and private sector cannot easily achieve, and they are an important part of the urban land market.

living in a shack is worthwhile, despite the risks associated with these undertakings, as they see this as strengthening their claim on formal RDP houses.

This is one example of how the state, without knowing it, encourages specific land markets among poor people. Even though the land is often marginal, it becomes the means of obtaining an officially recognised right to land in the city. Once people have accessed land informally, often through making claims on social networks, they are then later absorbed into developments determined primarily by the state. The presence of the state can be seen in, for example, shack registration processes that confer some kind of right to future development. The socially dominated market has the effect of locking people into specific locations. The result is that both the state and poor people become locked into developing marginal or peripheral land, which means that the poor are limited in being able to leverage any wealth out of the land.

Another key finding was that the differences in the benefits of living in informal settlements, RDP housing projects or backyard shacks was insignificant in terms of location and amenities. The research found that poor people do not perceive significant qualitative advantages between living in an informal or formal settlement. Public investment in land, in the form of the provision of facilities such as schools, was found to be an important lever for generating greater differentiation between different settlement types.

Informal settlements perform a function the state and private sector cannot easily achieve, and they are an important part of the urban land market. Simply removing them without providing a viable alternative would undermine the operation of the urban land market, and deny some households a 'reception area' in the city. Avenues of reform need to explore the interplay between socially dominated land markets and the effective delivery of services that would improve quality of life, such as transport, health, welfare and anti-crime programmes.

Urban LandMark has actively engaged with a number of municipalities around the findings of this research.

This included a workshop with five municipalities. All the municipalities reported that they recognise informal land markets in one way or another. This is evident in the number of audits of informal settlements being carried out. Both the City of Cape Town and the City of Johannesburg noted an increase in the number of people living in these areas. Municipalities are also involved in providing certain services to these areas. However, policy mechanisms within municipalities for dealing with informal land markets are not clearly defined.

This led Urban LandMark to develop practical proposals for municipalities to make urban land markets work better for the poor. These are aimed at:

• Recognising socially dominated land markets
• Achieving better integration between financially dominated land markets (or formal land markets) and socially dominated land markets
• Reforms that address the way in which the financially dominated land markets operate and how the poor may access them.

A third phase of this project, to be developed over the next year, focuses on support for the implementation of the proposals. This includes building greater awareness among municipal planning and housing decision-makers about these extra-legal markets, and providing technical support to municipalities to devise a strategy that responds to the dynamics of the informal housing market.

The Voices of the Poor workshops, held in 2007 and attended by community organisations and non-governmental organisations, provided insight into how poor people view land issues.

The biggest obstacle poor people say they face in getting a place to live in cities is the formal property market, which sets land prices at levels higher than they can afford. Implementation of government policy was also seen as not favouring the poor enough. Land audits to identify vacant and underused land were seen as crucial. There were also calls for greater state intervention in granting land rights to ensure that land is more affordable for all.

Although there was an implicit desire for greater access to mortgage finance, peoples' experiences had generally been negative. A typical view was, "After getting a bond it's so hard to pay it off, you end up in the informal settlement again."

Perceptions of RDP housing were damaged by corruption in the allocation and sale of these. In some settlements, councillors who bought up RDP houses were seen as part of the problem. Despite this, an underlying theme was the importance of the state housing subsidy scheme that supplies these houses. Many participants regarded the scheme as their only hope of getting formal housing and land in the city. Informal sale of RDP houses was seen as inevitable, despite the legal restriction on resale of these houses for the first eight years. One community representative said: 'People sell their houses because they are hungry and need the money. Also, those who come from the rural areas sell their houses because they have another home in the rural area to fall back on, or they want to go home to retire.'

Informal tenure arrangements, where people exchange houses and land through personal agreements were seen as flexible and worked well if there were strong community organisations to monitor and control access. However, perceptions of informal tenure were coloured by perceptions about life in informal settlements generally. It is regarded as uncertain, uncomfortable, unsanitary and unsafe. One community representative summed up how people feel about life in informal settlements: 'People don't know when they will be moved or what the conditions at the place they will be relocated to are like. There is no sanitation. There is no water. There is no electricity. People's health and safety are at risk.'

Community networking to lobby for greater access to urban land was seen as crucial. Numerous participants identified access to information as vital. Information was needed about, among other things, people's rights, vacant land, government procedures, the housing subsidy scheme, credit from banks and how to access it, and the property market.

Increased consultation with communities was also viewed as important. Many communities are resisting relocation from the areas where they live to peripheral areas far from jobs and facilities, and want to participate in any decisions affecting them. Participants repeatedly said decision-makers do not understand their real problems and issues

Governance – making institutions, policies and regulations work for the poor

Within development circles, there is increasing recognition of the importance of urban land in fighting poverty, in particular its value as an asset, not only in itself but also how it can be used in other ways to generate wealth. Combined with this is an intensifying interest in the regulatory and governance aspects of urban land management and administration, and the role of the state in making it possible for poor people to access urban land.

As a legacy of apartheid, the persistence of segregated land use patterns in South Africa's towns and cities is seen in the many new affordable housing developments being constructed on the outskirts in the least accessible and least integrated areas, where land is cheap and readily available. Underlying this is a lack of capacity within local government to manage land use and land values effectively.

Urban LandMark has been working with government departments to draft policy and create an appropriate regulatory environment. This work included the introduction of regulatory impact assessments for two interventions proposed by the Department of Human Settlements: to assess the potential impact of establishing a housing development agency and implementing an inclusionary housing policy. Through engagement with the Office of the Presidency, the making markets work for the poor approach has been incorporated in the draft National Spatial Development Perspective. This engagement has resulted in a partnership with National Treasury on the Neighbourhood Development Programme that will involve 100 township improvement projects around the country

At a provincial level, Urban LandMark assisted with research on a proposed land banking strategy for the Gauteng Department of Housing.

Urban LandMark has also provided technical assistance to the City of Johannesburg to support its informal settlement upgrading programme. This included looking at how to provide tenure to residents in the 183 informal settlements in the city. Desktop research was conducted on international best practice in Namibia, Zimbabwe, India and Brazil on aspects relating to tenure regularisation. The Urban LandMark technical assistant joined a study tour to Brazil to look at the regularisation of favelas in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. The intention is to document the experiences with upgrading in those two cities to highlight aspects relevant to Johannesburg's approach.

By combining research and working in the field, both with local authorities and with central government at a policy level, Urban LandMark is now in a better position

Urban LandMark has been working with government departments to draft policy and create an appropriate regulatory environment

to tackle the more practical aspects of making the urban land market in South Africa work for the poor. Central to this is the need for local governments to proactively manage urban land markets in order to influence trends. This does not need more research but rather an increase in direct technical assistance to municipalities as well as engagement with government at a policy level to ensure a favourable regulatory environment.

Areas that municipalities can play a part in fall into three broad themes, each providing opportunities for change.

- **Planning and land use management:** Municipalities can identify desired patterns of land use and allocate rights to use and develop urban land. Urban municipalities are acquiring valuable information technology systems such as the Geographic Information System (GIS) that enables better and quicker decisions on a range of land and land-related issues, but they need the skills and experience to use these.
- **Taxing land values:** Local governments are empowered to tax land values through property rates. By combining planning and taxing powers municipalities can ensure that rating policies return a higher proportion of the additional land value by providing public services. These additional funds could be used to improve urban infrastructure and acquire land that is better located.
- **Land acquisition and disposal:** Local governments have the power to acquire land and dispose of land that they own. However, municipal-owned land is treated legally like any other municipal asset under the Municipal Financial Management Act (MFMA), which does not acknowledge land as being different to other commodities. As a result, the way in which a municipality acquires, manages or disposes of its land is regulated in the same way, as for example, a municipal tractor. Part of the solution is to engage with National Treasury on the MFMA asset management to ensure that urban land is treated appropriately.

Lessons from these interventions must be captured in a way that can be used by other municipalities – from the perspective of what works as well as what doesn't work. In essence this means understanding what allows poor people to participate in the land market, and how to roll out the ideas that work to municipalities in the rest of South Africa, and also in the region.

Pro-poor management of peri-urban land in rapidly growing urban areas of South Africa is an increasingly important issue. Peri-urban areas are former rural localities which are directly in the path of urbanisation because of the rapid expansion of South Africa's main towns.

Metsweding district municipality comprises the north-eastern part of Gauteng and lies next to both the Tshwane and Ekurhuleni metropolitan municipalities. According to the 2001 census, Metsweding's population was 160 740 people, with 50 427 households; 107 543 people resided in Kungwini and 53 197 in Nokeng tsa Taemane.

The area is mainly rural, with a number of dispersed settlements. The three main urban centres are Bronkhorstspruit (Kungwini local municipality), Cullinan and Rayton (Nokeng tsa Taemane). Other settlements comprise either township areas established under the pre-1994 dispensation or informal settlements.

Peri-urban land is managed most directly by district and local municipalities, and these local governments often have capacity constraints which limit their ability to deal effectively with land management in order to make it easier for poor people to access to land.

By focusing on Metsweding, Urban LandMark hopes to identify problems and devise solutions that can be duplicated in other areas. Metsweding, together with its two constituent local municipalities, Kungwini and Nokeng tsa Taemane, has been identified as an area that has a high level of development potential, but with possible capacity constraints.

The study on peri-urban land management assessment and strategy in Metsweding district municipality confirmed that capacity constraints are hampering local governments in implementing effective urban/peri-urban land use management, and therefore tackle development for the poor.

For example, none of the municipalities had a proper IDP Manager when the study was initially done. People did not always understand the municipal functions properly. The study devised a number of interventions or strategies to deal with the most important of these capacity constraints, taking into consideration the budget constraints of municipalities. These include:

- Creating temporary capacity to help eradicate land-use application backlogs
- Filling vacant positions to create permanent capacity
- Implementing a spatial information management system
- Implementing a land-use application management system
- Improving land-use management processes and granting delegated authority to the city planning division to approve land-use applications in certain instances
- Launching a professional mentoring and training programme, possibly in conjunction with a tertiary planning school.

Markets – making institutions, policies and regulations work for the poor

There are two broad debates around the functioning of urban land markets. In the development discourse, markets have failed and government intervention is needed to redistribute basic goods such as housing, water and essential services. Government is a central player in mitigating poverty and its social consequences. In this paradigm, the market is 'bad' and government is 'good'.

Then there is the discourse in which the market is seen to be working well. Its self-regulating logic ensures that urban land use and values are optimally located to the 'best and highest use'. Government intervention is perceived as distorting, resulting in the sub-optimal allocation of land use and values. In this paradigm, government is 'bad' and the market is 'good'.

Both positions are limited. There is a need to recognise the limits of supply-side government interventions. These offer a social net but cannot, in and of themselves, solve the problems of poverty and inequality. State regulations and land management practice do place limits on the market system but government interventions can also have ripple effects and unintended consequences on the market. This can undermine places where the market works well.

The market also has its limitations. It is important to acknowledge that the concept of a free market is a myth. There are market imperfections and failures. The playing fields, especially in South Africa, are uneven. Unequal access to capital and information translated into unequal access to land. Fifteen years after democracy, our cities and towns have spatial patterns similar to those created during the apartheid years.

To better understand the dynamics of the urban land economy, and the underlying workings of the financial logic governing it, Urban LandMark commissioned two complementary reports which look at the market from two vantage points. *The dynamics of the formal urban land market in South Africa*, by Genesis Analytics, describes and analyses the macro environment within which development takes place. *Moving beyond policy frameworks, the voices of municipalities and developers in South Africa's urban land market*, by the University of Pretoria, details the actual practice and the context within which urban development takes place.

The South African government has responded to domination of the urban land market by the private sector and the (possibly linked) exclusion of poorer communities, as well as the lack of spatial transformation over the previous 12 years, by attempting to influence the market in a number of ways:

- Appealing for social and class integration
- Developing urban strategies such as the National Spatial Development Perspective
- Establishing state funds to buy private-sector land for housing
- Lobbying within government for state departments and state-owned enterprises to make their own land holdings available at below market prices (which has met with mixed response, where some less valuable land has been released)
- Introducing inclusionary housing policy and possible legislation to encourage the private sector to build mixed-residential developments
- Supporting voluntary agreements to encourage commercial banks to offer mortgages on smaller properties (through a Financial Sector Services Charter), and a Property Charter to transform the larger property concerns
- Providing tax incentives for inner city developments
- Amending property rates formulas to extract greater value from wealthier land users
- Establishing a National Housing Development Agency which will, among other functions, buy land for housing.

These interventions range from political appeals to tax incentives to direct land acquisition.

Some are characterised by the tendency to directly buy land on the market, or otherwise to somehow channel market forces or cajole market players into being more philanthropic.

Most effective are those which harness market forces and use sophisticated tools to manage land and land values through planning, regulations, taxing and state investment, and prudent use of state land holdings.

Most importantly, where the state is directly involved or where the private sector is being pressured, no-one is sure what poor communities and households will do once the few gain access to these land and property windfalls, or what the market will do if large tracts of land are redistributed this way. In this context, high-density land use by the poor to protect against market evictions is essential.

This research will help Urban LandMark to understand how to mitigate the negative consequences of the market for poor people as well as how to harness its strengths to improve the poor's access to well-located, tradable land. The challenge for the next year will be to identify ways of intervening in the market without hampering what it does well. The Genesis report provides some policy recommendations that would incentivise the market to provide for lower-income population groups, particularly the working poor, for example mortgage tax relief.

There is also a need to create a greater awareness of the powerful tools that government has for broader economic transformation of our cities, such as the urban development zones and urban renewal grants. Improving the efficiency of property ratings and using this to reinvest in areas where poor people live and where infrastructure needs upgrading, is also crucial.

Over the past year Urban LandMark has explored links with the South African Property Owners Association. It is encouraging that the private sector supports some of these interventions, such as the enhancement of the Property Charter to go beyond transforming only company ownership, but to become actively involved in a more equitable distribution of land ownership.

There may be ways to design appropriate land use into town planning schemes, land management practices, legal and regulatory systems, and urban interventions such as informal settlement upgrading initiatives, which allow traditionally more vulnerable communities to defend their place in the city against what economists would say was the inevitability of the market.

Economists talk about land being allocated to its best use with price, conditioned by demand and supply, being the key determinant. While this assertion is anathema to land activists campaigning for a better place for the poor in our cities, there is some truth in the observation that the market optimally allocates land to the agent or sector which can extract the greatest value from using that space – and sometimes for not using it.

The question is how to reconcile the invisible hand of the market with the rights of poor and vulnerable people to use urban space. Land is not like other commodities. The state has a legitimate role in planning and managing land in the public interest. This does not mean full state control and the possible risk of patronage. The state needs to improve its understanding of market dynamics. State intervention cannot counter market logic and people allocated such land, or the use of it, can be vulnerable. Unless they use the land in ways which increase its value, the vision of equitable and integrated cities will remain unrealised.

Place – more efficient cities and sustainable settlements

Where you live can improve your chances of escaping poverty. Urbanisation is a reflection of rural poverty. The hope of a better life draws people to urban areas where they will be closer to amenities and work. South

Africa's cities and towns, however, have perpetuated the divisions of apartheid, with the poor mainly living on the outskirts, dislocated from jobs and opportunities.

After 15 years of democracy our urban areas are still mainly segregated, now economically rather than racially, and new formal and informal housing is not integrated into the urban fabric. Areas where there is private sector investment and where jobs are created through industry, commerce or residential development (often in gated communities), are located on the opposite pole of the city from where poor people remain concentrated. Unequal growth in property values confirms this pattern.

This 'ghettoisation' of the poor in these areas means that the basket of support, or the 'social wage' funded by the state is spatially targeted in economically non-viable areas. In addition, the productivity of people is affected by travel times to work and lack of direct access to markets. The strain of trying to invest in two poles of the city is visible.

The reality is that land near economic opportunities is usually the most expensive land. Therefore, the market tends to work against providing such land to low-income earners, unless the government intervenes, or the poor themselves adopt strategies such as land invasions to access well-located land. And although municipal investment and national policies consciously elevate the needs of poorer people and parts of the city which have historically been under-developed, urban infrastructure investment is most often drawn towards developing the wealthier sides of the city.

The lack of access by poor people to urban land, and

There have been a number of cases where the poor have succeeded in gaining access to well-located land either through their own initiatives, private developers and lobbies, or through government action, often at local level. To understand how this was possible, Urban LandMark documented ten relevant cases.

The ten case studies in *Case studies on integration*, by Felicity Kitchin and Wendy Ovens, were selected from different cities across the country. Together they represent a fascinating snapshot of different types of integration of the poor into the city – some residential, some economic and some mixed use. Each case considers the key drivers of these initiatives, the nature of the land deals involved, and the scale of investments and benefits to both the poor and any others. In particular, they look at whether increased access to well-located urban land has resulted in increased social and economic inclusion.

Although events described in the case studies are an encouraging feature of our urban landscape, the study notes that some of them came about during a particular time in South Africa's history – the early days of transition when there was less regulation, and probably would not happen as easily now.

In Durban, the Mansell Road Night Market was established in 1998 on land in the central business district leased from the railways. Since the 1980s women had been occupying land informally to sell

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South African
CitiesNetwork

Integration can have a spatial component, an institutional component, an economic component and a social component

integrating poorer communities into cities, is a central policy issue in South Africa and other developing countries. Conducting research and engaging in this debate on both a policy and practical level has been a central platform of Urban Landmark's work over the past four years.

This has included research on the patterns of South African cities in terms of land use, ownership, local value, race and class, and working to develop alternatives that would be more sustainable and equitable, and achieve greater inclusion of the poor. Urban LandMark documented ten case studies on urban integration, and investigated urban land management in metropolitan areas and towns struggling to overcome the spatial legacy of apartheid.

It is important also to define what is meant by inclusion in the democratic era. Integration does not necessarily mean only racial integration. Integration can have a spatial component, an institutional component, an economic component and a social component. An intervention that successfully leads to integration is one which facilitates increased access of the poor to work opportunities, improved residential opportunities, improved access to social facilities and, ideally, an increased sense that they are part of the city, rather than marginalised from it.

State and private sector planners and urban managers are flummoxed by the failure of apparently sound and well intentioned spatial planning processes and designs to reverse unequal spatial patterns. This is seen in the widening income gaps between the rich and the poor. It is the result of land values and limited state funding to acquire land for the use of poorer people. However, the lack of integration of the poor into urban areas in South Africa is not solely a function of the market (or its immutable logic) or that the poor (or the state acting on their behalf) are not able to put the land to good use. There is also a lack of market supply of land in the right quantities, in the right places and with the right designated uses.

A key question for coming years is how to help poor people become integrated into cities by increasing their bidding power and consolidating their place in urban areas.

This is an extract of the Urban Landmark review 2007/2008, provided by Urban LandMark.
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goods to bus passengers and traders who were coming to Durban from rural areas. Multi-purpose accommodation, which allowed the women to sleep and trade from the same premises, was then built, along with a bus station.

Other projects in Durban are the formalising of street traders, – in which parking bays and loading zones were converted into trader stalls, and the renewal of Warwick Junction. The research also looked at the illegal conversion of commercial space into what are called 'residential workhouses' - buildings in which tenants are allowed to overcrowd.

The Amalinda Cooperative housing project, about 5km from the centre of East London, is an example of the municipality making land available for housing the poor. Also in East London is the social housing project Belgravia Valley, which is about 2km from the CBD and 1km from the main hospital in the city.

The Better Building Programme in Johannesburg involved identifying buildings and upgrading them into rental stock. Rondebosch Mansion was the second building acquired by the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) under the Better Building Programme. It was dilapidated, had been vandalised and its services had been cut off when the JHC bought it. It has now been renovated and is rented out to tenants. Other Johannesburg case studies are the regeneration of the fashion district in the CBD and the Faraday Station development, which has improved the lives of many traders who used to peddle their goods under the M2 highway.

Three examples of extra-legal land deals were selected: Folweni, 30km south-west of Durban's centre; Zevenfontein, 40km north of central Johannesburg next to Dainfern (a wealthy area); and Ethembelethu in Mogale City. These highlight some of the difficulties the poor face in their efforts to find well-located land and the informal mechanisms they use to overcome the problems they face in the formal system. The study details how the growing gap between formal and informal practices contributes to continuing inequality.

the state of land use management in south africa

Land use management in South Africa has changed, but the changes do not always support pro-poor development. Some changes, in effect if not intention, work against the poor. Identifying and overcoming the discriminatory aspects of land use management that remain in place from the apartheid and colonial eras, is imperative. The Constitution necessitates reforms that will comply with its commitments to basic needs, non-discrimination and social, economic and environmental rights.

Government has made many interventions to address the legacy of colonial and apartheid planning, to institute a more integrated approach to land development, to heal the spatial wounds of segregation, and to provide for speedier and more efficient administrative procedures. However, the proliferation of new policies and laws has created problems of its own (concepts are unclear, laws function in parallel or opposition to each other) and many of the concepts and implementation mechanisms of apartheid planning and development remain in place. Much of what happens on the ground is indicative of a system that is not able to address the competing needs and goals of poor households and the organising principles of government.

The current legislative framework for land use management results in complex and unclear governance arrangements. There is an extraordinary range of laws that significantly affect land use and development processes in South Africa, including laws about permission to develop land, laws about the environment and transport, and provincial laws.

Although considerable work has gone into policy development in the form of green papers and white papers, this

has not translated into a coherent legislative framework. Uncoordinated legislative activity threatens to deepen the current complexity and duplication, and entrench uncertainty as a feature of this area of South African law.

The national legal and policy framework has not only been unclear, but has also changed over the years since 1994. At first there was simply the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) to provide national guidance. This was followed by the green paper to white paper process within the then Department of Land Affairs, in the course of which the Municipal Systems Act was enacted, and the Land Use Management Bill (LUMB) was drafted.

The Land Use Management Bill proposes dramatic changes to the planning and development legislative framework. It proposes a uniform, national set of procedures and rules to regulate land use and development, in line with one of the main thrusts of the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management. It also proposes that the Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, by virtue of his overarching constitutional mandate over land use and development, must be able, in specified circumstances, to intervene in certain land use and development decisions to ensure that national law and policy objectives are upheld.

For a number of reasons, the LUMB is taking a long time to finalise, including the inherent difficulty of regulating a process in which so many government bodies, in all spheres, currently play important roles, and uncertainty about the status of the policy framework guiding the bill.

The LUMB is likely to have a significant impact on land use and development practice, and provides a vital opportunity for fundamental and much needed law reform. But, as it stands, it is not an appropriate response to the regulatory problems in the land use management system, nor does it make the best of the opportunity for fundamental law reform.

The relationship between this proposed national law and provincial land use management laws dating from the apartheid era is unclear. None of the apartheid legislation, which undermines new planning and development objectives, can be repealed by national legislation such as the LUMB. Definitions and criteria for conflicts between the national law and the provincial laws are broad and unclear.

Amidst all the uncertainty, provincial governments have made efforts to write their own land use and development laws. Provinces are acutely aware of the need to rationalise and modernise their legal frameworks, but have been hampered by various factors, including: uncertainty and

Amidst all the uncertainty, provincial governments have made efforts to write their own land use and development laws.

confusion about the intentions of national government; lack of resources (financial and human) to tackle the complex processes; and uncertainty about the type of new laws that they need to compile.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that provincial governments are not necessarily opposed to the LUMB's chief principle – that there is a single national law. However, they are seriously concerned about whether the technical details currently covered in provincial laws will be adequately covered by the LUMB. Given the resources committed by certain provinces to their own law making processes, it is not unlikely that there will be opposition to the LUMB from those quarters.

A number of municipalities, regardless of the difficulties experienced by the provincial governments, and faced by an often extraordinarily complex set of inherited regulations, have opted to create their own solutions to their problems. In most cases, however, they have had to concentrate on rationalising the different regulatory frameworks into one system rather than on devising fundamentally new approaches to managing land use and development. Such fundamental changes directly affect land owners' and occupiers' property, economic and environmental rights. Municipalities are understandably cautious without the backing of national or provincial laws.

National government and provincial governments are driven by different and conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, causing conflict between the laws of the two spheres. It also creates high levels of government, investor and community uncertainty, as well as inefficient public spending, expensive and often unnecessary litigation, incoherent implementation and a weak response to the spatial legacy of apartheid. Resolving these conflicts requires lengthy and unpredictable court processes at a time when urgent action is demanded.

What might a land use management system look like that considers the needs of poor communities as well as the ends of a developmental state? Key recommendations are outlined below.

- **One flexible system:** A flexible unitary system would provide for basic minimum and maximum practices in line with national policy, but allow for local specificity in application. Policies that contribute to spatial dysfunction must be changed or disposed of. A coherent system, founded on a common understanding of land use management and its intentions must be put in place. Heritage, planning and environmental functions should be integrated in the system.

The bulk of urban land in South African cities is formal, which means that, ultimately, the state controls it: from registered, privately owned land in former white municipalities, to public land owned by the state, including traditional land

- **Streamlined and cooperative government:** All land use planning must be integrated so that land use management can include transport, communications and infrastructure at a strategic level. This may be a matter of getting the existing IDP and RSDF systems to work more efficiently and to be concerned with greater technical details. Improve national understanding of local conditions: deploy key national decision makers to municipalities to work alongside officials for a period of time; develop better mechanisms for national officials to meet local officials, councillors and residents to hear their concerns and develop ways to address them.

- **Educate consumers:** Consumers sometimes transact land informally simply because they do not know what is required in the formal market. Consumer education provided on a national scale can educate home owners and potential home owners on how the market operates, what their rights and responsibilities are, and what processes and procedures are involved in acquiring land and a house. Consumers should also be encouraged to invest in their homes, which can be used as collateral for improved housing. Support should be given to individuals and households who are being introduced into formal systems for the first time.

- **Build government capacity:** Capacity building should take place at all levels of government so that officials can engage effectively with the technicalities of land use management, negotiate constructively with the private sector to extract planning gains, and understand the complexities of communities.

- **Develop participatory processes:** Participatory processes allow all land users and owners to directly influence land use management systems and how they are implemented. Government decisions must be transparent and debated before they are finalised and implemented.

- **Build municipal knowledge:** Municipalities must be made aware of the importance of long-term strategic planning and the future financial and environmental impact of development decisions made now. They should also be supported to understand their roles and responsibilities and to implement and monitor their policies effectively.

- **Establish a sound relationship between land use management and local government revenue:** Land use management provides the key fiscal basis of local government and is essential to ensuring that municipalities are able to sustainably redistribute resources to the poor through subsidies and tariffs. Land use management systems contribute to the financial sustainability of municipalities, in both direct and indirect ways. Effective land use management systems can reduce operational costs. The payment of rates by property owners provides a direct source of revenue to the cities. Selling off land or rights to develop and occupy public land are other revenue generating options, but caution must inform such decisions. Simply regarding public land as an investment asset can have detrimental long-term implications and can run counter to operating in the public interest.

- **Share knowledge and experience:** Current land use management experience across the cities not only includes major areas of innovation that could be productively shared, but might also highlight local specificity.

- **Monitor:** Neutral parties should monitor the impact of land use management to ensure that policies and programmes are meeting the goals of citizens and the authorities.

The bulk of urban land in South African cities is formal, which means that, ultimately, the state controls it: from registered, privately owned land in former white municipalities, to public land owned by the state, including traditional land. With the required political will and institutional reform, the state can play a pivotal role, particularly local government, in ensuring universal access to urban land and rights for the poor.

This article is extracted from the State of Land Use Management Report that will be published by SACN and Urban Landmark.

sustainable, compact
human settlements

The Development Action Group recently published a resource book that reports on the state of housing development in South Africa and makes key recommendations for the creation of sustainable human settlements through medium-density housing. The following is an extract from the resource book.
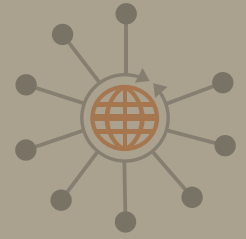
A major challenge for a developing country like South Africa is to facilitate the redistribution of wealth in order to narrow the huge economic differences between rich and poor. Human settlement projects provide various opportunities to contribute to the economic and social empowerment of civil society and to bring about physical and social integration. Sustainable housing promotes the safety and dignity of residents and results in more vibrant human settlements which meet human and environmental needs.

Breaking New Ground, government's sustainable human settlement plan, promotes densification and integration as key objectives to 'integrate previously excluded groups into the city and the benefits it offers, and to ensure the development of integrated, functional and environmentally

sustainable human settlements, towns and cities'. A move towards low-rise, medium-density housing that makes efficient use of land and resources is necessary. With a commitment to meeting and understanding the needs of end users, planning and design will open up possibilities of accessibility, affordability, integration, efficiency, safety, privacy and community development.

Housing delivery in South Africa has been characterised by low density, sprawling settlements. This form of urban development is irreconcilable with the notion of sustainability and it has high social, economic and environmental costs, which are often hidden and are borne by the poor. The cost of providing adequate infrastructure, roads and services has become unaffordable and unsustainable for government. The time and financial implications are severe

Housing delivery in South Africa has been characterised by low density, sprawling settlements

for the large number of people located on the periphery of urban areas. These are most often vulnerable groups such as the poor and women, who must travel long distances to access urban opportunities and employment.

Growing concerns about the rapid formation of informal settlements, overcrowding in backyards and existing housing, segregation entrenched by suburbanisation, and the inaccessibility of well-located land for the poor in general, reinforces the need for more compact and dense settlements. The struggle for access to land for the urban poor is a critical issue in post-apartheid South Africa. The operation of land and property markets excludes the poor and exacerbates existing inequalities, and is in contravention of legislation that protects the right of the poor to adequate housing.

Meaningful change is required in the form and function of urban environments. Government needs to intervene in the land and property markets to ensure that they work for the poor and increase the provision of higher-density housing in strategic locations.

A multi-sectoral, holistic approach to development is required to improve the social, economic and physical conditions of poor households and to further the agenda of sustainable development. Creating an environment that serves the widest possible range of household and community needs requires an integrated, multi-sectoral approach, and cooperation between a range of non-government role players, the private sector and government departments.

The availability of sufficient resources to provide a wide range of social and economic programmes, including the delivery of housing, infrastructure and facilities to address community needs, are vital components of the integrated approach. Housing policy should be expanded and the subsidy increased in all medium-density housing environments to make provision for social objectives such as recreation, social amenities and the needs of children and youth. Cooperation between the Department of Human Settlements and other government departments is crucial in this regard.

The provision of higher-density housing should form part of a mixed-use environment that encompasses a range of housing types and associated densities and tenure, as well as a variety of urban opportunities and activities. Housing is not only about the provision of a house, but also includes security of tenure for both rental and ownership housing.

Innovative use of different housing typologies opens up new ways of increasing densities in the form of infill housing in urban areas

Innovative use of different housing typologies opens up new ways of increasing densities in the form of infill housing in urban areas. A range of housing types and tenure will encourage social equity, as people of different income levels can interact in an environment that provides equal opportunities. It will also allow residents to move up or down the housing ladder at different stages of their lives without having to relocate.

Location is often more important than housing quality as it directly impacts on the accessibility of urban opportunities, and underpins social networks and livelihood strategies critical for survival. Land for housing should be located close to transport, employment and other urban opportunities and should be within urban activity nodes or corridors. It should be within 10 minutes walk (i.e. 500m) of an existing effective public transport route. Primary schools should be no more than 15 minutes walk away and high schools, clinics and libraries should be no more than 30 minutes walk away. Land for housing should not be part of the open space system.

The development of medium-density housing on well-located land brings about maximum use of existing services and infrastructure, and provides opportunities for residential growth within urban areas. Well-located

housing should be promoted through densification, promoting higher densities in existing built urban areas, and restricting the outward expansion of urban areas, thus forcing new development inwards.

Unemployment and the often low levels of income among residents of government-subsidised higher-density housing necessitate the promotion of economic development to strengthen livelihoods as part of the planning and implementation of such developments. A livelihoods approach is based on understanding the way people make their living and recognises that there are differences within and between households in a given community. The approach enables implementing agents, together with the community, to design processes that take into consideration these differences in order for households to cope with risk and uncertainty. It recognises that households and livelihoods are constantly changing in response to shocks, stresses and seasonality.

Sustainable and integrated settlements cannot be achieved without the active participation and cooperation of all role players in the urban arena; it is especially reliant on community participation and effective and efficient cooperation between all spheres of government.

To ensure sustainability, government and its partners

Unemployment and the often low levels of income among residents of government-subsidised higher density housing necessitate the promotion of economic development to strengthen livelihoods as part of the planning and implementation of such developments.

should have a strategy to engage in a meaningful way with community needs and dynamics. Participation requires time and resources. The provision of sufficient financial and human resources for meaningful and sustained community participation and capacity development should become part of government's engagement strategy and subsidised housing delivery mechanism. This needs to be developed together with the formation of appropriate platforms to engage at the local level. This includes a people-intensive engagement with communities in the planning and incremental phases of implementation (before, during and after), as well as intensive information sharing, education, capacity building and social capital formation.

Social and human capital formation is at the root of sustainable communities – without investment in people, investment in places and spaces is bound to be futile. Economic and environmental sustainability are underpinned by institutional, political and social sustainability factors, particularly strong and dependable, democratically elected leadership. This has proven to be a critical element of overall sustainability.
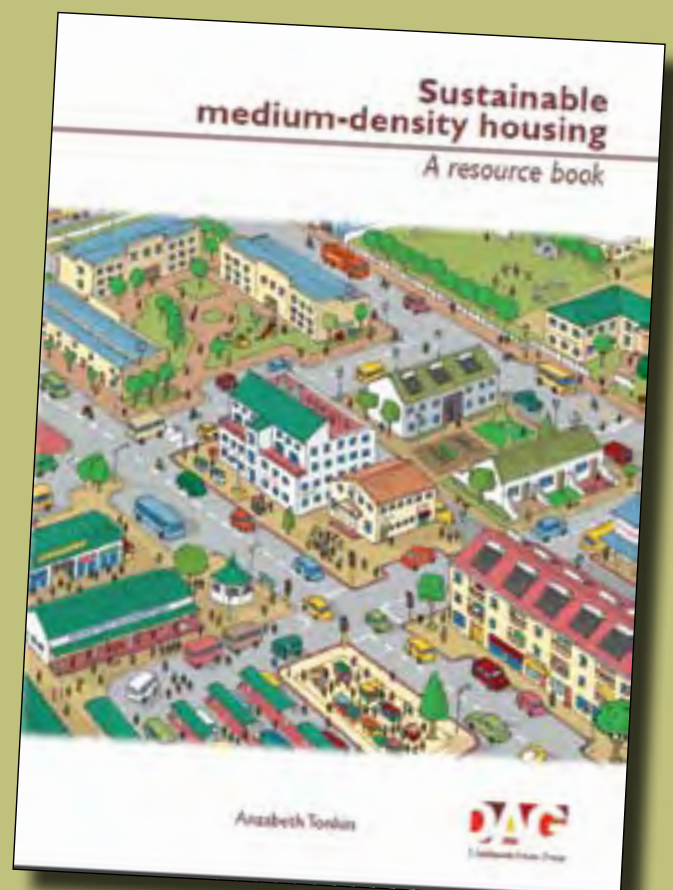
inclusive cities indicators

South African Cities Network (SACN) defines an inclusive city as one that provides all its citizens with decent public services, protects citizens' rights and freedom, and fosters the economic, social and environmental wellbeing of its citizens. It strives to produce a beneficial framework for inclusive economic growth and improves the quality of urban living. Environmental protection and integrated built environments help to achieve a cohesive urban space that functions effectively. An inclusive city aids the social cohesion of its communities and celebrates their diversity.

Key aspects of inclusion are access to education, enrolment, unemployment (especially of youth), and participation in the informal sector (especially of women). Also important are participatory governance approaches, and citizens' participation in the governing of cities.

Inclusion is linked not only to services and participation, but also, to a certain extent, to quality of life. Most large municipalities conduct some form of Quality of Life Household Survey. While this includes some basic statistics, such as household employment status, household income assistance, and ownership of the dwelling, in most cases it is related to perceptions and levels of satisfaction.

Indicators of inclusivity in South African cities can include measures of basic service provision and indigent support – provision of free services to the indigent; rates

Key aspects of inclusion are access to education, enrolment, unemployment (especially of youth), and participation in the informal sector (especially of women)

exemptions for low value properties; the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which has the potential to make cities more inclusive by employing people who have difficulties finding jobs and providing training; the number of police stations in cities, and average area per police station; the proportion of operational spend on public safety and levels of public violence.

In 2009 SACN commissioned a review of its inclusive city indicators. The following table proposes a range of possible indicators to measure and compare inclusion across cities in South Africa. It includes a rationale explaining why each indicator could be useful and defines exactly what is meant by the indicator. In compiling the table, possible data sources and their reliability have been borne in mind, in order to try to ensure that these proposed indicators could be measured in South Africa using existing data sources, or information that could be collected relatively easily.

Proposed indicators

INDICATOR	RATIONALE	DEFINITION OF INDICATOR
ACCESS TO URBAN SERVICES		
HOUSING	Equitable access to adequate housing is one of the most critical problems facing South Africa and it is essential that every sphere of government is involved in and provides housing opportunities for its population. This indicator illustrates the level of provision of housing for the poor. It measures the number of housing opportunities created by the city's housing department, and should therefore include opportunities created through social housing, hostel upgrades, construction of RDP housing, and informal settlement upgrade.	Total number of housing opportunities created by the city.
	This indicator addresses sustainability, affordability, safety, quality of housing and services. The provision of safe, well located housing is an important contributor to the overall quality of life. Lack of such housing can lead to a variety of problems for both the individual and the city as a whole including health, safety, and social problems. It is therefore important to aim to reduce the number of people living in inadequate housing. An informal settlement is regarded as any free standing shack but excluding backyard shacks, workhouses, temporary shelters and/or residential units found in office blocks or industrial buildings. This may include formalised and non-formalised areas.	The number of units in informal settlements in the city.
	Economic growth and rapid urbanisation are accompanied by increasing housing and land costs that exclude low-income groups from many areas of the city. Discrimination in the rental housing market against people with certain ethnic backgrounds, genders or lifestyles, or the location of social housing units can contribute to the polarisation of the urban social fabric. Informal housing arrangements that are characterised by insecure tenure, unsafe and/or unhealthy living conditions can be found in various forms and locations in growing cities. Most of these settlements are located at the urban fringes and leave the residents with little or no formal employment opportunities. The provision of adequate public housing or an upgrade/formalisation of their shelter/land can dramatically better living conditions and enable the integration of previously excluded residents.	Percentage informal settlements. GCI: • Percentage of city populations living in slums • Area size of informal settlements as percentage of city area.
WATER	The number and percentage of households with access to basic water services demonstrates the city's success in providing access to services for all of its citizens. It is a constitutional obligation to provide citizens with basic services such as water. Access to water, or the lack of it, impacts severely on people's health and overall quality of life. Provision of water includes the initial installation and ongoing maintenance.	Number and percentage of households with access to basic water. GCI: • Percentage of city population with potable water supply service.
SANITATION	Lack of proper waste removal has serious implications for environmental sustainability, as waste and pollution have negative health impacts and compromises the environmental quality of neighbourhoods. Key policy strategies emphasise numerical, time-bound targets and tend to ignore questions of quality. The number and percentage of households with access to basic sanitation services demonstrates the city's success in providing access to services for all of its citizens. It is a constitutional obligation to provide citizens with basic services such as sanitation. Access to adequate sanitation, or the lack of it, impacts severely on people's health and overall quality of life. Provision of sanitation includes the initial installation and ongoing maintenance.	Number and percentage of households with access to basic sanitation.
ELECTRICITY	An absence of electricity often means that residents are forced to use wood and paraffin for cooking and heating. This causes localised outdoor air pollution and indoor air pollution with its associated health risks. The number and percentage of households with access to basic electricity services demonstrates the city's success in providing all of its citizens with access to services. Provision of electricity to households improves their overall quality of life, with postitive effects for their education and health.	Number and percentage of households with access to basic electricity services (LOS2). GCI: • Percentage of city population with authorised electrical service.

INDICATOR	RATIONALE	DEFINITION OF INDICATOR
REFUSE REMOVAL		GCI: • Percentage of city population with regular solid waste collection. • Percentage of the city's solid waste that is disposed of in an incinerator or burned openly. • Percentage of the city's solid waste that is disposed of in an open dump. • Percentage of the city's solid waste that is recycled. • Percentage of the city's solid waste that is disposed of in a sanitary landfill. • Percentage of the city's solid waste that is disposed by other means.
TELEPHONE/ INTERNET	Access to phones and IT are ways of increasing knowledge, and ability to participate in urban life.	GCI: • Number of internet connections per 100 000 people. • Number of telephones (landlines and cellphones) per 100 000 people. • Number of landline telephone connections in the city. • Number of cellphone connections in the city.

PROTECTION OF RIGHTS AND PARTICIPATION

INDICATOR	RATIONALE	DEFINITION OF INDICATOR
VOTER REGISTRATION/ PARTICIPATION	Citizen participation in local government is an important part of democracy and self-determination, as well a base from which government is better able to monitor citizen needs, maintain a watchful eye over operations, and represent the wishes of citizens. This indicator measures the degree of interest and involvement of the public in local government. Low participation in representative democracy may be balanced by higher levels of participatory democracy.	Percentage of adult (male and female) population, who voted in the last municipal election. Percentage voter turnout for local government elections (i.e. % of registered voters who voted). GCI: • Voter participation (as a percentage of eligible voters).
SAFETY AND SECURITY	Crime has social and economic consequences and leads to increased costs for businesses, households and the city, and reduced investment. It can contribute to a decline in neighbourhoods with long-term impacts on quality of life. Producing an indicator of crime levels can have a positive impact on people's perceptions of, or fear of crime (as long as it is, in fact, decreasing over time).	This indicator indicates actual levels of crime overall. The specific subcategories indicate specific types of crime which have a major impact on perceptions of safety, and investor confidence. • Common robbery • Robbery aggravating • Assault GBH • Common assault • Theft of motor vehicles • Theft out of motor vehicles • Rape • Attempted rape • Murder • Burglary residential GCI: • Number of homicides per 100 000 people. • Number of sworn police officers per 100 000 people. • Violent crime rate per 100 000 people.
	Incidences of unrest/violence can be seen as indicators of dissatisfaction/inequality	

INDICATOR	RATIONALE	DEFINITION OF INDICATOR
INEQUALITY		
EDUCATION	As a measure of the effectiveness of the primary education system, literacy is often seen as a proxy measure of social progress and economic achievement. By measuring the difference between male and female literacy, the level of gender equality in human settlements can also be evaluated. Adult literacy is a significant indicator of the meaningfulness of public participation and therefore an important indicator of governance. The capacity to understand and communicate local issues is vital to influence the outcome of decision-making processes (UN-HABITAT). Education is one of the most important aspects of human development. Eliminating gender disparity at all levels of education will help to increase the status and capabilities of women. By measuring equality of educational opportunity in terms of school enrolment, this indicator addresses the issue of gender equality in human settlements development.	Literacy rates - male and female. Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education indicates adequate access to education services and shows equity levels. GCI: • Percentage of children completing primary and secondary education: survival rate. • Percentage of students completing primary education. • Percentage of students completing secondary education. • Percentage of school aged children enrolled in school (by gender). • Percentage of male children enrolled in schools. • Percentage of female children enrolled in schools. • Student/teacher ratio. • Number of libraries per 100 000 people (under discussion).
HEALTH	This indicator provides an overall indication of economic growth, access to health and education. It relates directly to the fourth Millenium Development Goal (MDG) - 'Reduce child mortality' - which measures infant mortality. The survival of an infant is closely linked to the provision of primary healthcare services but also to other factors such as poverty, malnutrition, a decline in breast-feeding, maternal education, water quality and inadequate sanitation and or health facilities. Hence, this indicator reflects not only the healthcare conditions but also the social, economic and environmental conditions in which an infant lives. It is sensitive, especially in the medium term, to changes in policies and programmes to reduce child and infant illness, improve nutrition and strengthen health systems.	Under-five mortality – probability of dying at or before the age of five, number of deaths per 1 000 live births
HEALTH	This indicator provides an overall assessment of quality, accessibility and equity of a city's healthcare system, and of overall levels of development of society. It is a Millennium Development Goal to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. These diseases, which are amongst the world's worst killers, all have their greatest impact on poor countries and its people. Disease and poverty interact in a manner which has a devastating impact on individuals and households. In addition, the economic burden of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS equally affects families and communities. Estimates suggest that when the prevalence of HIV/AIDS reaches 8%, the cost in economic growth is estimated to be approximately 1% per annum. It is well documented that prevention and treatment programmes save lives, assist economic development and contribute toward poverty reduction. Without treatment, the average survival rate from time of infection is approximately nine years. Therefore the active and effective management of HIV and AIDS requires an understanding of the prevalence rate.	The prevalence of HIV is regarded as the percentage of people who are infected with HIV. HIV prevalence: percentage of women aged 15–49 whose blood samples test positive for HIV relative to all pregnant women in that age group whose blood is tested (UN-HABITAT).
WEALTH GAPS	The Gini coefficient indicates the wealth gap, and is a key means of measuring whether or not economic growth is shared and benefits all. It is a widely used summary measure of inequality of income distribution within a country. The coefficient can take values from 0 to 100% where a value of zero would indicate that each household had an equal share of income (i.e. perfect equality), while higher values indicate greater inequality with 1 or 100% implying absolute inequality, with a single household earning a region's entire income.	This can be measured at the level of individual income or household income – in South African cities it is recommended that household income be used.

INDICATOR	RATIONALE	DEFINITION OF INDICATOR
	The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) measures the impact of growth (or lack thereof) on people rather than on the economy. The index's primary assumption is that economic growth/development does not necessarily equate to human development or increased well-being. The HDI is a summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth. Knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-third weight). A decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita (PPP US$). This indicator is inclusive and internationally recognised as it combines life expectancy, adult literacy rate, combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio, and GDP per capita. It focuses on wider aspects of development than just per capita income and so is an important indicator when monitoring the development of a city's population.	The Human Development Indicator (HDI) is a composite index of economic and social wellbeing based on life expectancy, educational attainment and a decent standard of living. The index is measured on a scale of 0 to 1, with 0 being the lowest level of development and 1 the highest level.
UNEMPLOYMENT	Employment indicators, including population to employment ratio and working poverty, are useful to track the achievement of full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people, which is a target of MDG1. The availability of employment opportunities is heavily influenced by the general state of the economy as growing economies provide opportunities for skilled and unskilled labour. Cities have little influence on the broader macro economic environment. To some extent, public investment geared towards creating employment and skill-development opportunities can have a short- to mid-term effect. In the long run, the city, together with other spheres of government needs to provide the right business environment that fosters economic growth and the creation of new employment opportunities. Urban economies are integral to the process of economic transformation and development. They are the prerequisite for the creation of a diversified economic base capable of generating employment opportunities. Stimulating productive employment opportunities are also part of the general goal of social development. Employment should generate sufficient income to achieve an adequate standard of living for all people - men and women (Habitat Agenda). In industrialised countries, unemployment rates are the best-known labour market measures and probably the most familiar indicators to express the health of the economy and the success of government economic policy (UN-HABITAT).	Percentage unemployed: male and female. Population to employment ratio is the percentage of the country's working age population that is employed. It indicates the ability of the economy to create employment.
	Two definitions of unemployment are currently used in South Africa: Based on the Statistics South Africa official definition, labour force is defined as 'the sum of employed and unemployed persons'. Unemployment is defined as 'persons aged 15–65 who did not have a job or business in the seven days prior to the survey interview but had looked for work or taken steps to start a business in the four weeks prior to the interview and were able to take up work within two weeks of the interview'. The unemployment rate is therefore regarded as 'The number of unemployed persons expressed as a percentage of the labour force.' Although this indicator excludes discouraged job seekers, it allows for international comparison and is a reflection of economic growth. Unemployment not only reflects negatively on economic growth but also has significant social impacts. The expanded definition of the unemployed includes those who might be termed 'discouraged job seekers'. This includes those who indicate that they are unemployed but have not taken active steps to find work in the four weeks prior to the interview, perhaps because they did not feel they had any chance of obtaining work, or because the costs of travelling from home to an area where work might be available are prohibitive, or because of an absence of transport from home to an area where work might be available.	The indicator calculation would be as follows: **b = a/c x 100:** b = % unemployed a = total unemployed c = total labour force
	This indicator links to economic growth and the extent to which this is shared through job creation. Given the high level of unemployment in South Africa, it is critical that successful creation of job opportunities is highlighted by cities.	Number of Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) jobs created by the city.
SOCIAL GRANTS/ INDIGENCY		Percentage of population receiving government financial assistance. Number of applications received and processed for a) child grants, b) pensions and c) disability grants p.a.

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