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The South African economy has experienced steady growth for the last decade, especially the urban economy. At the same time, rapid urbanisation has put pressure on already scarce resources and brought together diverse groups of people with sometimes contradictory needs and expectations of city life.

African cities are marked by high levels of inequality, inadequate infrastructure development and maintenance, and a stubborn mismatch between skills and job opportunities. The challenge for urban management in this context is how to ensure that the socio-economic opportunities and good quality of life enjoyed by a few is shared equitably by all those who live in our cities.

The SACN's inclusive cities theme aims to address the challenge of South Africa's segregated and dispersed cities. Exploring a range of perspectives on how urban citizens access opportunities and the extent to which poor residents can share equitably in the socio-economic benefits of city life is one way to develop a common understanding of strategies to promote inclusivity.

Defining the inclusive city in South Africa is a good place to start.

This, the first edition of the SACN's Inclusive Cities Annual, brings together reports on knowledge-sharing initiatives undertaken during 2007/08 and opinion pieces by leading inclusive cities thinkers. This work was done in collaboration with partners such as the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Urban Landmark, City of Johannesburg, Human Sciences Research Council, and Wits University; and the Departments of Public Works (DPW) and of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG). The SACN is very grateful for the support provided by all of these partners.

This collection of articles highlights inclusion and exclusion issues within cities, with a view to answering the question of how we can effectively harness economic growth towards a better life for all who live and work in our cities. The range of perspectives in the collection of articles provides a multi-faceted definition of elements of the inclusive city. Case study material gathered from local and international sources gives detail to the definition. A concluding set of inclusive city indicators is intended to aid professionals, city officials and policy makers to measure citizens’ quality of life and contribute to the discussion about how to make our cities more inclusive.

Seana Nkhahle
National Programmes Manager: South African Cities Network
PROLOGUE

Xenophobia crisis in South Africa

South Africa’s political transformation and economic growth has encouraged large influxes of migrants from other African countries in recent years. In May 2008, a series of xenophobic attacks quickly unfolded into a national crisis claiming over 50 lives, displacing thousands, and challenging national policy responses.

It is hoped that this report will enrich the debate around creating inclusive cities, in the face of increasing diversity and growth of urban areas on the African continent.

Xenophobic violence grips Johannesburg

18 May 2008 11:15, Mail & Guardian

Hundreds of frightened foreigners fled to the sanctity of the Jeppe police station in central Johannesburg on Sunday morning following a night of deadly xenophobic violence that claimed at least five lives and left about 50 people injured.

The atmosphere at the police station was tense, with helicopters circling overhead and large numbers of heavily armed police officers decked out in riot gear. City residents looked on from nearby rooftops as groups of refugees, many of them women and children, continued to arrive.

Smashed and vandalised vehicles had been brought into the police station’s courtyard. Taxis were pulling up close to the station, playing loud music. Their passengers jumped out and waggled their behinds at those seeking safety, causing them to step back in fear.

Station commander Director Danie Louw said: “It [the violence in the area] started this morning when a large number of foreign nationals started coming to the police station to seek assistance. Women and children have been held in a separate shelter, but about 300 men are being kept in the back [an area behind the station.]”

Much of the unrest had originated from Denver, George Goch and Wolhuter hostels, he said.

Police had earlier come under fire from a large crowd and retaliated by shooting rubber bullets. One person was arrested for being in possession of an unlicensed machine gun, and a further seven were detained for looting.

At the Jeppe station, a Mail & Guardian reporter overheard a police officer speaking into his radio: “Chief, they are running a war here.”

The South African Red Cross Society – which this week launched an emergency appeal for R1-million in support of victims of xenophobic attacks – was on the scene, as were representatives of the city council who refused to speak to the media.
WAVE OF HATE
A brief look at how the xenophobia crisis unfolded

Malawian national Mohammed Namgoma (23), who lives in Jeppestown not far from the police station, told the M&G that a mob had arrived at his residence on Saturday, armed with knives and other weapons.

“They broke into the house with stones. The stones were coming through the window. There were burglar bars near the top of the ceiling, so I pulled myself up so the stones would not hit me. I hung there for three hours,” he said, showing his blackened hands.

“They didn’t hurt me but other people’s heads are broken,” he said. “They stole my phone, blankets and money and they said the amakwerekwere [foreigners] must go home.”

Namgoma then went to the shop of his Ethiopian employer on the corner of Bree and Von Wieligh streets, where a mob later arrived and started Stoning the store, causing him to flee once more. “It’s better to go home than to die,” he said.

Fleeing the mob
Nomsa Sibanda, of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe, has been employed in South Africa by a cleaning company since 1991.

She told the M&G that she had returned home on Sunday morning to the Radium Hotel in Jeppestown after working a night shift when she and other residents, among them Malawians, were warned that a mob was heading there. The hotel could hear whistling and cheering from nearby hostels.

“We heard they wanted to chase us away and steal our things,” she said. “We ran to get to town. A guy felt so much pity for us running like that, he picked us up and gave us a lift to Fordsburg.”

Sibanda then went to the Jeppe police station to request an escort back to her home so she could collect her belongings. “Everything I own that is valuable is in that house,” she said.

She also said that not only foreigners were being targeted. “It’s Zulus doing this and doing it to their own people,” she said, adding that Pedi, Shangaans and other South Africans were being targeted. “It’s Zulus coming here to take it away,” she said. “What should we do? We don’t have any place to run to.”

Article and timeline courtesy Mail & Guardian Online (www.mg.co.za).
DEFINING THE INCLUSIVE CITY
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 well-being 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.

An inclusive city can be defined as:

- A city in which all its citizens have access to basic services.
- A city where people have access to employment opportunities and can engage in productive livelihoods.
- A city that recognises people's cultural rights and provides facilities and public spaces for people to express these rights.
- A city where people can find creative expression in arts and heritage activities.
- A city where people can showcase their talents and sporting abilities, and take part in community activities.
- A city that recognises the human capital of all its people and strives to actively enhance this through appropriate programmes.
- A city where people have political freedom and political expression.
- A city that is both socially and spatially cohesive, where people from every race, ethnicity, nationality and socio-economic background are made to feel welcome.
- A city that cherishes and promotes human rights.
- A city that is proactive in meeting development challenges, and plans ahead to accommodate future challenges.

(Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza, City of Johannesburg Mayoral Committee, at the Inclusive African Cities Conference 2007)
African cities are marked by high levels of inequality, low levels of infrastructure development, slow service delivery and declining job opportunities. Rapid urbanisation is putting pressure on already scarce resources and bringing diverse groups of people together, making it difficult to manage differing interests and expectations.

The Inclusive African Cities Conference was held with a view to deepening understanding of rapidly urbanising African cities and providing a basis for developing locally appropriate tools for making African cities more inclusive. Inclusion and exclusion were explored through three broad themes:

- Access to urban resources and infrastructure – material inclusion and exclusion.
- Constructing urban citizenship(s) in everyday lives.
- Emerging experiences of inclusion in African cities and what they teach us about cities.

The conference emphasised moving beyond dialogue to address implementation by provincial and local government departments, city managers and municipalities. Many presentations were drawn from around Africa to help supplement current development models that often overlook the broader realities of cities across the continent. From the conference material, the organisers set out to develop concrete criteria and common indicators for inclusive cities. What follows are articles assembled from selected conference papers and discussions. Criteria and indicators are expounded later in this report.
The Inclusive African Cities Conference was held on 6 and 7 March 2007 at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The event was jointly hosted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Human Sciences Research Council, the South African Cities Network, the University of the Witwatersrand, the City of Johannesburg and Urban Land Mark. The 158 delegates included city officials, city councillors, development specialists, academics and representatives from non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Many people migrate to cities to take advantage of the range of services they offer, but these are often difficult for the urban poor to access. The poor are usually confined to the periphery of the city and so, are inadequately connected to opportunities and services.

The economically productive activity of the poor is often overlooked, while existing policy models weakly adapt to and integrate the circuits and linkages of the informal sector. People inhabit diverse physical, political and cultural spaces, and often face confrontation, conflict, fear and avoidance. Certain groups become excluded – from those lacking access to or voices in state mechanisms – to marginalised women and migrants.

According to Councillor Mayathula-Khoza (City of Johannesburg Mayoral Committee) it is not the sole responsibility of any city government department to make a city inclusive - it is the responsibility of all social actors and citizens, with local government (as the most accessible institutional sphere of government) being the key driver. Without inclusive development, cities will remain socially and socio-economically fragmented.

Inclusion and exclusion in post-apartheid South Africa

While South Africa’s nine biggest cities occupy about two per cent of the country’s land area, they are responsible for about 70% of the gross value-add (a measure almost equivalent to gross domestic profit). Cities make up almost all of South Africa’s productivity, yet over a quarter of their residents live below the minimum standards.

The South African government has committed itself to finalising a comprehensive and integrated anti-poverty strategy, as well as fostering national unity, value systems and identity. About 2 000 former municipalities have merged into 284 and these new structures have a legislated obligation to implement development plans that integrate the lives of their citizens.

The City of Johannesburg, for example, has begun implementing a human development strategy to fight poverty and inequality, and build social cohesion. The strategy has three main pillars:

- Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households in their efforts to access social safety nets.
- Championing the rights of those economically marginalised by gender, generational and spatial inequality.
- Building prospects for social inclusion of marginalised groups through fostering social relationships and productive partnerships.

To facilitate the aims of the human development strategy, the city has recently established a help desk for migrants and refugees, and is initiating a campaign to address xenophobia. Mayathula-Khoza says that it is necessary to recognise the strength and opportunity in diversity and to use it to build more inclusive cities. Migrants’ new forms of artistic and cultural expression can also be tapped to promote the cohesiveness and vibrancy of the city.

Rapid urbanisation places huge demands on land, water, housing, transport, employment, healthcare and environmental resources. There are also demands for services and non-renewable resources. Other challenges are poverty, HIV and Aids, and the breakdown of the traditional family. If not addressed, these challenges seriously weaken social cohesion.

The South African Cities Report 2006 notes that South African cities have replicated apartheid urban design in...
that growth is away from the city centre. Townhouse development has increased markedly and, although this is a form of densification, it has mostly taken the form of sprawl and social polarisation.

Houses are not being built close to places of work and play, so the poor cannot interact with the central areas of the city. The development of inner city housing is a small ‘pocket’ of change in this pattern. In response to the slow pace of change, the report identifies three critical areas:

• Availability of land to bring people closer to the city.
• The ability to deliver housing.
• Mobility of citizens in accessing socio-economic opportunities.

The report reveals that, in comparison to the period 2001 to 2004, the rate of urbanisation in major cities has been slower than anticipated, with major cities shedding some of their population to secondary areas. Richards Bay, for example, is growing faster than Durban because it is more accessible and because poor people move to places of economic growth.

Sithole Mbanga (South African Cities Network) cautions that the strength of cities is built on the backs of rural migrants, which poses the challenge of urbanising people needing access to economic and social space. City growth currently benefits only certain people while the rest - and the most - remain trapped in poverty. A key challenge is to ensure that poor people are able to access this affluence. Buffalo City (East London) has had no economic growth in the last 15 years and while many people have moved there, they cannot be accommodated by the city’s economy.

**Voice and participation in the post-colonial city**

Various ‘speaking disabilities’ prevent inhabitants of the post-colonial city from participating, according to Steven Friedman (Institute for Democracy in South Africa). He outlines these ‘disabilities’ as follows:

• Voices are muzzled: Africans are not supposed to speak in the city because they are considered migrants.
• Language is a restriction: due to language barriers, it is possible to live on the margins of an African city without having a voice in the city. For example, the dominant languages of Cape Town are English and Afrikaans, while most residents of Khayelitsha speak only isiXhosa.
• Voices are muted: people’s capacity to organise and access public officials and power-holders is compromised when they don’t know common phrases or institutional-speak.
• Voices are stalled: people feel excluded or discouraged to speak up unless the city is a space where they feel at home and where they can speak and be heard.

To move beyond the colonial city, these voices need to be freed and an incremental process developed whereby ‘voiceless’ people can influence the progress of cities. This requires a process of free political engagement and negotiation, which means more than sitting around a table. It requires engagement in an open process where the clash of ideas provides enrichment and a deepening of democracy in the city. Discussions with local people become the prime method for finding out how to change the city.

**The post-colonial contradiction**

Colonial cities can never be overcome. This is the argument presented by Makhuku Mampuru (United Cities and Local Governments of Africa) who maintains that the colonial city centre remains the exclusive preserve of the former colonial descendants while the outermost reaches of the city are the least affluent, most populous, poor and African.

Mampuru highlights a contradiction in African urbanisation whereby poor people are attracted to the city because they believe they will find a better life there, yet the African post-colonial city is poor. Most of the urban poor are self-employed in the informal sector and do not benefit from the wage earnings of formal employment.

This poses three challenges: how to develop the ‘African’ part, how to retain the development of the colonial centre, and how to help the city compete globally. African cities competing on a global scale has resulted in regional blocks developing, sometimes at the expense of other blocks.

“Building an inclusive city is an ongoing process, not an end in itself.”

Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza
City of Johannesburg Mayoral Committee
Friedman outlines three approaches for expanding voices in the city:

1. The Community Approach
Much participatory and governance literature stresses the need to include communities in decision-making. This approach recognises that if voices are to be heard, people must be perceived as a collection of individuals who can come together and speak. However, this approach ignores extreme differences between people, such as gender and social class. Often the sexes do not share an idea of what is needed. This approach also ignores the highly unequal power relations in communities, the dominators and the dominated. It silences those who do not present themselves as spokespersons of the community.

2. The Civil Society Approach
This approach encourages different sectors of society that oppose government to come forward and present their different voices. But it assumes that voice is available whenever it is needed - that people can be accessed whenever needed. Only those who have the resources to access civil society structures are likely to have a voice. This approach also has a prescriptive way of hearing voices and forums tend to muzzle people as not everyone can access them. The approach assumes that a group of people in a room can reach consensus in a limited amount of time.

3. The Active Citizenship Approach
Many residents of cities are not citizens with voting rights (Malawi is one of only four countries in the world that allow non-citizens to vote). Every resident of the city has a right to speak and it is the duty of local government to ensure that all who want to speak will be heard. It is important to not prescribe the conditions under which people are heard, and to allow people to speak in their chosen manner.
The organic and networked city

The prevailing ‘overarching map’ idea of city design overlooks the fact that people are part of multiple networks that cannot be steered in particular ways that designers think are appropriate. According to Abdou Maliq Simone (University of London), even when urban planners have clear plans, they seldom work because they don’t capture the essential nature in which people organise themselves through their networks in a city. Defining the relationships between people, places and spaces is crucial to finding out exactly how urbanisation deploys itself.

Feeling out of place is often necessary useful, according to Simone. Much emphasis on notions of belonging and emplacement often condemns people into a particular role or place, giving them a very limited horizon of what they think they can and cannot do. Evident within many African cities is the way urban Africans use the mentality of being out of place to their advantage.

To ensure inclusion, Simone believes the following must be taken into account:

- The ambivalence of density: while this can create fear, avoidance and anxiety, the mingling of different people with different identities also offers dynamism. People can ignore each other in highly dense areas and hide behind this ambivalence. There are always ‘in-between’ spaces and platforms for ‘doing something else’ and, while this may make certain urban residents feel out of place, it is sometimes necessary and can be used to the advantage of those seeking to operate outside of formal social arrangements or regulations.
- There is a clear engineering of constraints in most cities: this takes the form of encampments or being ‘frozen’ in particular territories. This enables an interweaving and an intentional ambiguity. If people speak in a language that is misunderstood, they can avoid confinement.
- Street economies have affectations, routines, ways of paying attention and figuring out a complex environment. These are often the only resources that people have and they force people to interact and talk to each other. This is a way for people to make a contribution in the built environment - by re-making that which is not fixed. An issue here is whether such actors feel they can contribute and whether such skills and activities are recognised and included.
- Cities have significant amounts of space, infrastructure and services that are under-utilised. It is worth paying attention to how these spaces are appropriated and used - not by real estate developers, but by locals, in the form of cellphone battery booths, used car sales, etc.. These activities illustrate economic actors pursuing deals and trades, and the tactics used to connect expertise to the multiple activities and identities of others.
- The notion of ‘intersecting economies’ can be used to analyse elaborate and highly productive middle-sector economics. This takes cognisance of the many different degrees of licit and illicit, illegal and legal activities, and the people who move across these networks.
- ‘Speculation from below’: this acknowledges the speculative activities of people on the street instead of concentrating only on the actions of the wealthy. Attention should be paid to the high incidence of lateral

Effective versus free markets

State and market-based land markets are not accessible to the poor, but poor people still access and transfer land in a variety of ways that are unregistered and unsanctioned by the state. Lauren Royston maintains that informality is an expression of both market and state failure. She cautions against ignoring the actions of the poor in accessing land as this undermines their actions.

The formal sector caters for private actors, while the state fails to allocate land for the poor. There are many alternative ways in which poor people trade in land but these are often extra-legal and cannot be drawn into the formal sector. Royston proposes a new model based on a continuum of informality and including: registered owners, unregistered owners on a legally subdivided plot, the owner of a house on an informally sub-divided plot, the tenant of a small backyard with formal written agreements, tenants without formal agreements, and tenants of shacks without written agreements.

Complex and the diverse rules characterise land transfer and management. There is a need to recognise the variety of ways in which the poor access land. Solutions to integration can be gained by enhancing the existing institutions used by the poor and creating effective markets rather than free markets.
movement between low-skilled jobs. This is an indication that people are not just trying to earn more money, but are establishing themselves in different networks. Employment in these networks is often precarious so people often have to move, but many move of their own volition as a way of speculating.

- Economically it is better for the rich and poor to share the same space. Intervention is needed when people become too far apart and when they are in conflict. Strategies can look at how to use incentives to modulate these situations.

**Inclusionary access to land: The Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia**

The Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia is a rural community-based savings scheme that has empowered very poor people (women in particular), both politically and economically. The success of the savings scheme has provided the members with leverage to obtain government funding and they have linked up with trans-national organisations doing similar things. It is an impressive model of a public-private partnership that has influenced law reform in Namibia.

The scheme began in an impoverished area in the Caprivi where community members started building houses for themselves and for pensioners who previously lived in shacks. They designed savings schemes that involve women collecting small amounts of money, anything from five cents to N$5 (R5), depending on what the household can offer. This money is then pooled to buy land and build houses.

Meetings between members provide a forum to share information about savings, provide emergency and income-generation loans, and discuss development priorities. Membership of, and
active participation in the group are the only requirements to access a loan. The Federation now boasts 390 savings schemes involving 15,000 households and has N$4 million saved, all from community-based schemes. The 3,100 federation members have secured land, of which 1,174 have also accessed loans for improved services and infrastructure, while 1,200 members have taken loans for housing development and improvements. As a result of the scheme’s success, the government contributed a further N$1 million to the Federation’s funds and municipalities now recognise its activities, allocating land and demarcating plots for the scheme.

The importance of this success story lies in its relationship with the state and its initiation of pro-poor policies that the government now uses as a model.

**White Caps and grabbers: accessing land in Lagos**

In Lagos, access to land is vested in a dominant class, which includes the country’s rulers who gained the land through patrilineal inheritance based on ‘who was there first’. Customary ownership exists alongside a private ownership system, often leading to confusion, which is exploited by spurious land vendors who sometimes employ violent means. A range of illegal activities at every level of society and government leads to vigilantism and, in extreme cases, extortion. Lagos illustrates what happens when there is no formalisation of property systems and when regulations are not enforced.

One thousand people enter Lagos daily and it is the fastest growing city in Africa. The city suffers from many of the problems related to rapid urbanisation: lack of water, traffic jams, air pollution and landfill, crime, and lack of accommodation. Those who desire permanent residences either come into contact with the White Cap Chiefs, who are the heads of the land-owning families of Lagos, or are exposed to the chaotic market behaviour of the land speculators and land grabbers.

White Cap Chiefs own land on the basis of Yoruba tradition which entitles ownership to those who first arrive on land. This tradition was afforded legal protection under colonial rule as far back as 1862 and today rulers do not control land access but powerful landed aristocrats do. A Land Use Decree of 1978 transferred control of municipal land to state governors but opposition from White Cap Chiefs resulted in the government allowing them to own landed property. This has resulted in the continuous sale of land.

The ever-growing demand for land has resulted in land speculation and land grabbing. When leases expire, the land becomes available for sale. There are also strict rules on leases, which are often exploited in the fine print. Other rules are also manipulated by land grabbers, for example, if land is not developed within a specified period after it is purchased the vendor may re-sell it for a higher price. The vendors, which are often the White Caps, recruit youth from the large pool of unemployed to act as land grabbers, and police are often bribed to turn a blind eye.

Access to land is generally determined by the level of integration of individuals into urban Lagos, and most people
reside on the fringes of the city. Only those with high incomes who can afford to buy old houses and demolish or renovate them, are able to successfully integrate into the city.

**Making urban land markets work for the poor**

Investment in and additions to township houses show that poor people use land very productively and exercise high consumption patterns despite falling outside the official classifications of productive activity. The contribution of the poor to the economy is undervalued or not recognised and, as a result, the government does not apportion land to the poor. It is questionable whether markets can work for the poor, as markets are competitive and result in the poor being apportioned smaller units far away from the city centre. Strategies for including the poor need to recognise their contribution to economic growth.

Colin Marx (Isandla Institute) maintains that in order to make urban land markets work for the poor it is necessary to re-conceptualise the economy. The task is to ‘re-place’ markets in a different context from the prevailing ones, which assume that economic growth will inevitably increase the standard of living of the poor. Since the demand for land is understood to be driven by the demand for economic activities, it is important to recognise poor people’s economic activities, or they will not be allocated land under this model. Since the activities of poor people are perceived as small and survivalist, they are not seen as suitable for buying productive land. It is assumed the poor consume whatever they earn and will not use allocated land productively. As a result, poor people are denied access to well-located land near to industry and commerce.

Marx proposes reconceptualising the economy by looking at the ways in which markets are performed and how they are more diverse and less coherent than most assume. If policymakers include the ways in which poor people are economically active and shift their current view of how urban land markets are bound to processes of economic growth, it becomes possible to imagine and justify a transformative agenda through which markets can be made to work for the poor.
Cosmopolitanism versus homogeneity

African cities are both cosmopolitan and homogeneous. A cosmopolitan city as one that hosts races, cultures, and social practices from different parts of the world. Homogeneity refers to, among other things, identical practices of marriage, religion and the extended family.

A cosmopolitan city may also be a global city - one that is open to sharing, borrowing, assimilation, competition and migration of cultures. This implies improvement in labour mobility and the reduction of political and geographical frontiers. Cosmopolitanism can work as a buffer against racism and encourage cultural freedom, but it can also be exclusive, consisting of cosmopolitan aliens practising mutually exclusive cultures.

Laury Lawrence Ocen (Lango College, Uganda) believes that African cities ought to use their cosmopolitan advantage to galvanise global engagement in the promotion of non-racial, sexist, ethnic, political and religious social progress. He argues that cosmopolitanism that is democratically global, socially universal, and economically liberal and multilateral would be very constructive for Africa.

Citizenship embodies the notion of rights and obligations in terms of access to basic services, housing, land and participation. Citizenship is assumed to be inclusive but this is not necessarily true. Many people do not have a voice in cities and many people are residents but not citizens of a country. Furthermore, formal relationships and the right to vote may be insignificant for many people, whose attempts at inclusion go beyond merely being recognised and included by the state.

Pep Subiros says there is a deep contradiction between citizenship and urbanisation. Many African cities undermine the notion of citizenship, but citizenship is essential for the creation of sustainable future cities. It enables participation in a political structure, making people co-responsible for the future of the social framework. Access to basic services like water and health requires the ability to participate and have a voice. Citizenship implies the existence of a public ground for negotiating these rights and the civic realm implies certain shared standards and rights. Contemporary urban development is based on the opposition of differences and ‘islands’ of common space.

Some state that the starting point is one of belonging, rather than citizenship. There is a distinction between space and power which operates at three levels: the rights of the citizen as conferred by the state, economic functioning, and ordinary, everyday interactions.

Urban history illustrates that unofficial governments are often the real governments, and this is the context in which citizenship is enacted. But unofficial governments are vulnerable to violence and they are outside of the public control. In the past people have proposed folding them into the official government, but when the latter doesn’t have the orientation to do this, there is a need for melding tools, like social movements.

Subiros points out that it is difficult to find clear answers in the fluid reality of ‘factual’ versus ‘unofficial’ governments. It is important to find examples of hybrid situations to encompass this complexity. One example is from Brazil, where participatory budgeting has been co-opted by institutions but remains a hybrid situation. There is confrontation and cooperation, but the aim is to find a settled negotiation.

Another example is the ambiguous status of migration in Europe. In several countries the migration rules are tough but the economy nevertheless relies on migration. Although there are oppressive laws at state level, cities accept migrants as residents and give them access to health services. Some see this as a way of making migrants more vulnerable as they become more visible, yet every few years migrants are legalised and permitted to stay.

People also design their own mechanisms for inclusion and it is worth identifying when and where these exist. Although it is possible to try to identify the symptoms of social inclusion, how is it possible to know when this ideal is present? asks Belinda Bozzoli (University of the Witwatersrand).

“Who is the gatekeeper of citizenship? What sort of inclusion are people after? One cannot assume it is territory.”

Pep Subiros

CONSTRUCTING URBAN CITIZENSHIP IN EVERYDAY LIVES
FROM INCLUSIVITY TO EXCLUSIVITY: DOUALA

Over several centuries, Douala in Cameroon developed as an ethnically inclusive city until the 1990s when party politics divided the many communities of the city into separate ethnic groupings. ESD Fomin (University of Yaounde) believes political party affiliations based on ethnic groupings have led to the breakdown of relaxed relations in the city.

The city began in 1640 as an exclusive Douala fishermen settlement. In the 17th and 18th centuries, with a growing ivory and slave trade, fishermen became middlemen for European traders and created a monopoly for themselves. The trade in slaves required setting up quarters and creating settlements for different slave groupings. After the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, these neighbourhoods grew but remained a cohesive unit. The taking of slave concubines by the Douala kings also diluted the exclusive Douala system.

Another factor that encouraged inclusivity in the city was a need to combine strengths against the intrusion of European traders. According to Fomin, the need for all Cameroonians in Douala to put up a united fight against exploitation by European traders compromised the exclusive attitude in Douala and quickened the inclusive development of the city.
In 1884, German colonial administration over the city encouraged more immigration into the city, making it more cosmopolitan and inclusive. The Germans were defeated and ousted after WW1, only to be replaced by the French. Cameroon gained independence from France in 1960 and the first president ruled from 1966 to 1990, offering no threat to Douala’s inclusive, harmonious nature. Douala was a wonderfully inclusive city where different cultural entities could interact and speak to each other, says Fomin.

In 1990, multi-party pluralism came about and a new ethnic consciousness was born, dividing the city along ethnic and cultural lines. The situation in the city has not escalated beyond minor confrontations but Fomin is concerned that present political practices are undemocratic and a threat to the inclusive nature of Douala. He encourages governments in Africa to help ensure that multi-party politics is not rooted in ethnicity.

**A tale of two precincts**

Constitution Hill precinct was designed to reclaim a former apartheid institution and convert it into a place that is representative of the new South Africa. However, no-one from Hillbrow goes there, so despite its good intentions it is failing to share itself with the broader population of the city. On the other hand, the Newtown precinct has a statue of Brenda Fassie, South Africa’s late pop diva, with an empty stool next to it. This is an interactive artwork that invites people to sit next to the Fassie statue. Although it is not a government project, it helps promote inclusivity.
Citizens or consumers: identities in contemporary Soweto

Consumerism leads to stereotyping and negates other, subtle influences on individuals. Consumption plays a role in the construction of identities but it does not determine a citizen. Detlev Krige (Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research) states that market researchers and branding consultancies conveniently and narrowly brand young black men and women as consumers. This creates homogenised stereotypes that remain largely unchallenged.

Active citizens have been replaced by passive consumers who no longer participate in and build forms of active democratic citizenship. This stereotyping does not take into account dreams, friendships or everyday experiences like racism and alienation in the workplace. There is a range of complexities involved in consumption and by classifying black men and women as consumers, inclusion and exclusion is created.

Consumption patterns often reflect a need to ‘belong’. People choose to shop in Sandton instead of Soweto - finding a sense of belonging in a space outside of the township and proudly telling friends about their shopping trip. There is an immense feeling of lack and shame attached to the township space. However, the construction of new shopping malls in Soweto may lead to emerging new patterns of behaviour and could bring a new sense of belonging to the township.

There are reports of people who moved out of Soweto as they became upwardly mobile but are now moving back into the township, suggesting that people are no longer associating Soweto with violence, impoverishment and underdevelopment - even if only on a symbolic level.

Krige’s study of a stokvel (an informal and rotating group savings scheme) reveals the struggles faced by a group of six men: increased costs in setting up a home and getting married, the increased demands for money by women, and the pressure from other men in re-defining standards of being successful in Soweto. These men are under pres-
There is no inclusive agenda for children who are victims of the Sierra Leone war. After the demobilisation period, schools were reluctant to take back the former war soldiers, especially young girls with children. Some were sent back to school and some were apprenticed with traders and given tools, but there were no jobs for them so they sold the tools and became street children. Now there is a debate in parliament about the rights of children but a government dominated by traditional rulers does not prioritise progressive ideas about child-rearing.
sure to prove their masculinity by means of consumption. Women, on the other hand, are seen as being materialistic. The conclusion is that men, in their traditional roles as heads of households - the providers and the unquestioned authority in the home – are being challenged by their access to money. The established forms of masculinity are being questioned.

This presents a concern about the consequences of labelling an entire generation of young people exclusively as consumers. There is a need to be critical of stereotypical labelling and search for alternatives to the hegemonic stereotypes that markets create.

Towards inclusive slum upgrade: Nairobi, Kenya

The population of Nairobi is 3-million people. Slum dwellers make up 60% of this and yet occupy only 5.8% of all land used. Urbanisation and informal settlements are neglected by authorities, who allocate resources in favour of the middle class. Slums are mostly located on state-owned land and they lack basic services. Residents are offered Temporary Occupation Licences by the provincial administration but they have no security of tenure.

Many civil society organisations have sprung up in response to the state’s withdrawal from urban service provision. More recently, slum dwellers have organised themselves into federations and groups to counter the problems of state exclusion and low living standards. These federations are engaged in community-driven initiatives to upgrade slums and squatter settlements, to develop new low-income housing, to provide infrastructure and services, and to support members in developing stable livelihoods. They have also opted to work with government to show how city redevelopment can avoid evictions and minimise relocations.

The foundations for these federations are thousands of savings groups formed or managed by the urban poor. They offer emergency funds and a way to accumulate money for housing development. Some of their activities extend to large-scale programmes that service hundreds of thousands of people. They also facilitate social cohesion.

Many of the groups have influenced government policy-making to become more pro-poor, encouraging cooperation between city councils, structure/house owners, tenants, landlords and city authorities. A model for upgrading of slums has emerged, influencing government to issue title deeds for land that is sub-divided into small plots. In the past, upgrading commenced with the forced removal of people but now authorities are compelled to begin with an enumeration of residents.

The federations have managed to strike a balance between working with government and avoiding co-option, although some have struggled with invisibility - forcing their presence on government and donor organisations in order to be recognised. Their primary successes have been making the needs of the poor visible and their voices heard (women in particular) and demonstrating a way of working with government.

Paradox among the poor: Antananarivo, Madagascar

A study of the citizens of Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar, shows that most of the population supports democratic principles and rejects authoritarianism. Yet
they remain politically passive, do not participate much in public affairs, do not mobilise around issues, and reject political protest. Moreover, surveys of informal settlements reveal that many residents resist democratic values.

The conclusion drawn is that living in poor neighbourhoods affects the political opinions of its inhabitants and, the more socially excluded people are, the more they distrust democracy. This distrust of democracy is based on four aspects: anti-democratic values, doubts about the effectiveness of democracies in general, criticism of how democracy is run in Madagascar, and personal disappointment.

The most significant variations are: women are more distrustful than men; trust increases with religious practice; the experience of insecurity alters trust; the poorer the person the less trust they have in democracy; and being homeless at least once or being unemployed for six months or more also fosters a distrust in democracy.

Those who have been victims of discrimination based on where they live, feel relegated and neglected. These experiences of exclusion and relegation fuel “egalitarian resentment” and resentment for democracy, according to researcher François Roubaud and Jean-Michel Wachsberger (DIAL).

The capital’s poor, including 93% of those who have been homeless, often participate in neighbourhood associations (youth groups, collective paddy field farming, neighbourhood watches, sports groups, etc.) but this does not make these individuals more civic minded, the study shows. Instead, it fosters sectarianism, ethnic identification and greater distrust of democracy.
**Changing Identities: Mozambican Migrants in Johannesburg**

For Mozambican migrants to Johannesburg, the journey to the city has long been a rite of passage into manhood, whereby young men migrate to make money and then marry and build a house in their home country. Today, many find employment using a 30-day visa, and some even describe the journey as an adventure, although most seek to end migratory existence before the age of 30. There are also cross-border traders and those who settle in South Africa by obtaining documents through amnesty or illegal means.

These migrants are often reluctant to divulge their Mozambican identity due to experiences of xenophobia. This is compounded by an absence of political organisation and the weakness of social links between Mozambicans. The domination they experience gives rise to heightened individualism, which has an effect on the extent of their assimilation, and on their notions of ethnicity and nationality.

Research by Dominique Vidal (French Institute of South Africa) has established that there are no enclaves, little solidarity, and, although there is mutual support when migrants first arrive, this does not develop into a Mozambican community. Instead, the immigrants make a concerted effort to blend in; they adopt South African dress, vernacular, and even forgo Portuguese in favour of English or Zulu.

City life promotes a ‘de-traditionalisation’ and decrease in ethnic and familial solidarity. This emphasis on integration is due to initial experiences of hostility and distrust, and many embrace a phase of anonymity in the face of this. This is followed by the construction of a new Mozambican persona - the ‘good guy’, the trusted colleague, the good neighbour - in a bid to position themselves as ‘superior’ and to compensate for their uprooted position.

In contrast, these migrants depict South Africans as ‘lazy, rude, criminals’, according to the study. Mozambican values are idealised and presented as being in stark opposition to the violence, corruption, and hypocrisy of South Africans. They also extol what they believe is a Mozambican quality: a tolerance and respect for all human beings that goes beyond ethnic lines or nationality. Ironically this is similar to **ubuntu**.

In their hawking and street life activities, Mozambican migrants develop networks to monitor belongings and police movements. This fosters a sense of belonging, albeit fragile. Their children become socialised as South Africans, adopting township identity if they grow up in a township, and English culture if they grow up in suburbs.
EMERGING EXPERIENCES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION IN AFRICAN CITIES

The line between exclusion and inclusion is not always clear and it is not always possible to know when an inclusive city has been realised. The notion of inclusivity is also not a static one - new inclusivities and new exclusivities are emerging all the time.

Key actors include national government, which has a role to play in the developmental state and via decentralisation of its functions. Similarly, local government, as the sphere of government closest to the people, has a critical role to play in the provision of services and infrastructure. Social movements/civil society has a role to play in representing local communities, widening the democratic space and collaborating with the state/local government to address development needs.

AIDS ORPHANS STRUGGLE FOR HOUSING: KWAZULU-NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA

A study of Aids orphans in the peri-urban area of Malangen, KwaZulu-Natal shows the orphans face enormous problems regarding housing. They are largely excluded from feeling part of their communities and often live in very poor conditions, usually being taken in by extended families who are struggling to make ends meet.

An Aids orphan is a child who has lost one or both parents to the Aids epidemic. Aids orphans usually become the responsibility of the community and, in particular, the extended family. Even within the extended family, the orphans often experience extreme poverty and exclusion. Although they have access to child support grants, orphans don’t always have the documentation required to access the grants.

In a study researched by Catherine Ndinda (National Homebuilders Registration Council), 85% of the household heads were unemployed and most households relied on pension grants. Household sizes were between two and 11 people, with 90% of households having six members. Grandmothers cared for 72% of orphans and aunts for 19.5%, while uncles cared for a small proportion.

Upgrade and displacement

In Johannesburg, migrants and immigrants find accommodation in a variety of forms: shared rooms in hostels, rooms in existing flats in the inner city, residential, office and industrial buildings converted either legally or illegally into rooms with shared facilities, rooms in transitional and communal housing projects developed by NGOs and charity organisations, private houses converted into rooming establishments, former domestic rooms in the suburbs, backyard rooms and shacks in townships, shacks in squatter settlements, and temporary ‘rooms’ constructed daily by people living on the streets.

According to Lone Poulsen (University of the Witwatersrand), the city faces a dilemma in housing improvement. Many of the alternative forms of accommodation could be made more acceptable with small improvements, thus improving the quality of living for tenants. But with improvements come increased rents, which lead to the displacement of the poorest.

Private or publicly funded improvements to rented accommodation automatically exclude the large lower rungs of society who cannot afford to pay more for the upgraded accommodation.

A quarter of South Africans do not have permanent tenure
Income levels ranged between zero and R2 500. Most households lived in mud houses that leaked, had broken windows and doors, cracked walls, mould and poor ventilation. The poor state of the houses contributed to the poor health of the orphans, with 70% of respondents saying the children’s health was poor.

In South Africa there are an estimated 1.1 million children who fall in this category. The Medical Research Council estimates that by 2015 the country will have around 5.7 million AIDS orphans.

Ownership versus rental in Johannesburg

Sarah Charlton (University of the Witwatersrand) argues that South Africa’s focus on home ownership has had the effect of downplaying the critical importance of cheap rental accommodation for the very poor, and the role of the private sector in providing this.

In South Africa, the key elements of the national housing programme are: freehold ownership, a plot of land, a basic house and a minimum level of services. Houses built under the programme are far away from urban centres that offer jobs and opportunities. This has contributed to perpetuating the marginalisation of the poor and has not helped them integrate with others in urban areas.

In response, an inclusionary housing strategy to incorporate the very poor, has been considered. The City of Johannesburg’s 2006 Growth and Development Strategy is premised on the principle of the proactive absorption of the poor. The strategy introduces the concept of a ‘property ladder’ - a key
The challenge is to engage in the organic evolution of cities without encouraging lawlessness, because organic evolution will happen anyway.

element of the ‘ladder of urban prosperity’. The City anticipates that households will move up this ladder as financial circumstances change over time.

In 2004, over one fifth of Johannesburg’s population of 3.2 million lived in informal dwellings, and over half of households had incomes below R1 600 a month. If a household spends no more than 25% of its income on accommodation, more than half of Johannesburg’s households can afford a maximum of only R400 per month. It is clear that there is not sufficient accommodation at low enough levels for this sector of the population. Charlton believes the scale and extent of the need for cheap, well-located rental accommodation is not fully acknowledged and this crisis is in danger of being downplayed by the focus on the property ladder.

A number of affordable models are being tested at the Alexandra Renewal Project. A cluster of 40 rooms for rent, organised around a central courtyard with a shared ablution facility, is being piloted as an alternative to shack dwelling. Rentals of between R350 and R700 are being considered.

Access to cheap rental accommodation within the city is an imperative and the ideal of providing every person with their own house needs to be reconsidered, according to Charlton. Inclusion should firstly give everyone acceptable, affordable accommodation in the city, encompassing different typologies and choices for different interests and affordability levels. Johannesburg’s strategy of assisting the poor to move out of poverty could include access to cheap rental accommodation, among other measures, as a way to help people move up the property ladder.

Contested city spaces: the informal sector in Nairobi

Informal traders in Nairobi are a major contributor to employment and city revenue, but the sector has traditionally found itself excluded from the city’s planning. A new act and new alliances are making a difference to their representation within the city structures and their inclusion in the formal economy.

In Kenya, the informal sector makes up 90% of new employment. The average income in the sector is 65.3% higher than the statutory minimum wage in Nairobi and Mombasa. However, this sector is without secure property rights, finance and public services and has struggled to effectively articulate its interests, including rights to trading and manufacturing spaces.

In response, there is a move towards creating a positive legal and regulatory environment for the sector by reviewing the labour laws, relaxing business restrictions, broadening access to finance and passing the Micro and Small Enterprises (MSE) Act.

Some of the Act’s reforms include: help with organising secure premises, recognising the MSE associations and giving them a pivotal role in formulating, implementing and monitoring policy that affects them. The traders’ national alliance, Kenasvit, now speaks to government on their behalf and the traders have access to policymakers, planners and administrators.

For the traders, being organised has allowed them to reclaim their right to space within the city. Professor Winnie Mitullah (University of Nairobi) argues that the ability of the street vendors and informal traders to interact collectively has improved their claim on street trading spaces, and determined their survival and inclusion in urban governance.

Including women: practical and strategic issues

In South Africa, attempts by local government to include women are partial and uneven, according to researchers Alison Todes and Pearl Sithole (Human Sciences Research Council). While women are included in local politics, Integrated Development Plan (IDP) processes and local projects more than before, this isn’t necessarily changing pre-existing gender relations nor addressing deeper gender issues at local levels. At the root of the problem is the
belief that a quota system will automatically lead to placement of women’s issues on strategic agendas.

Research conducted in eThekwini Municipality in the city of Durban (3-million people), the Hibiscus Coast (194,000 people) and the rural municipality of Msinga, examined the following issues: the representation of women as councillors and officials, the establishment of special structures such as gender desks, the extent to which the participatory process of the IDP gives voice to women, the extent to which the incorporation of gender in IDPs reflects women’s interests, needs and rights, and the extent to which projects take account of national policy guidelines on gender equity.

Conclusions show that gender is not given a priority in the three municipalities and it is mainly interpreted as improving levels of employment equity. At the time of the research (2005), women outnumbered men in all three of the cases, yet complained of resistance (from men) to their concerns. This suggests that inclusiveness is no guarantee that gender issues are given attention.

The rural component of the research reveals that although women’s participation is customarily denied in male-dominated decision-making structures, the role of the wives of traditional leaders is similar to that of women councillors and receptive to the needs of women. But municipalities tend not to support them and issues are pursued in a reactive and isolated manner.
“Inclusivity is a moving target”
Belinda Bozzi, University of the Witwatersrand

Within the IDP processes, women are compromised by their passive approach to meetings, where they become observers only and raise mainly domestic issues. Women also disguise their behaviour so as not to seem threatening. IDP participatory processes have become diluted and in all of the municipalities studied, attention to gender was limited and sporadic. Women’s strategic needs for gender equity, empowerment, personal safety and protection against abuse, equal opportunity, access to employment and social development are not the focus of IDPs.

Within projects the focus is on women’s practical needs (feeding families, educating children) more than their strategic interests (challenging stereotypes, providing space for self assertion). Infrastructure projects attend to women’s practical needs but show few women in leadership roles, while local economic development projects focus on traditional activities like farming, sewing and informal trading, with minimal returns for women.

The presence of national guidelines has, however, meant that women benefit at a project level - they are involved in committees as workers and beneficiaries. Women are being included in local politics, IDP processes and local projects more than before and, in the context of conservative cultural norms, giving expression to their needs marks significant progress for women.

INTEGRATING INFORMAL TRANSPORT NETWORKS IN DOUALA, CAMEROON

A study of informal transport networks in Douala, Cameroon, reveals innovative responses by unemployed and marginalised youth to economic crisis and liberalisation in the city. Instead of engaging in petty crime, men between the ages of 15 and 35 have responded to an ineffective transport sector by starting taxi businesses using motorbikes (bend skin) to transport people and handcarts (pousse-pousse) to transport goods and merchandise.

The taxis are providing a rare avenue for gainful employment and have significantly reduced urban poverty. These businesses can be started from personal savings or informal banking systems (rotational credit associations) and anybody who is able to acquire a handcart or motorbike can start working immediately after learning to drive, (although few bendskin have licences).

The disadvantages are long work hours and traffic pollution, while older handcart pushers suffer from backaches, rheumatism and even hernias. As a
result, most drivers consider this a transitional phase of employment.

The **bendskineurs** and **pousseurs** are organised into small, tightly knit groups that offer solidarity, a social network and a safety net in difficult times. The public has an ambivalent attitude to them. People appreciate the convenience of their services but don’t approve of their reckless and irresponsible road behaviour - drivers are aggressive and ignore the rules of the road. Police exploit this situation to extort bribes rather than enforce the law, according to Christopher Sama Molem (University of Buea).

**Bendskin** drivers claim that tax collectors also exploit them by demanding insurance documents or driver’s licences. In response to harassment by officials, **bendskineurs** and **pousseurs** have displayed a remarkable ability for organising informally at several levels to protect their own interests. Usually based on ethnic and friendship bonds, the groups organise collectively to contest police harassment, via protest, revolt, and bringing traffic to a standstill by blocking intersections.

Frequent unrest has led to attempts to restructure these informal operators and organise them into a professional association to regulate their activities. Municipal managers (who also own fleets of **bendskins**) held several meetings with them in 2003 resulting in a partnership convention with a newly created professional association called **Groupement des associations et syndicats de mototaxis** (Grasmoto).

The drivers agreed to resolve problems through peaceful negotiation as well as to register with the local administration, however, most are suspicious of such initiatives and continue to organise themselves informally. This innovative informal market continues to face the challenges of recognition and integration into the formal structures of the city.
Children as Participating Citizens

Janet Prest Talbot (Children’s Rights Centre) argues that, from a young age, children should be encouraged to make an active contribution to decisions that affect their lives, so that citizenship can be nurtured. Talbot maintains that citizenship does not automatically start once a child reaches adulthood, and supports the active inclusion of children in determining their experience in the city and influencing decisions that affect their lives.

Children’s participation helps them develop social skills and better perform responsibilities. Participation facilitates the flow of child perspectives into social decision-making, improves communication and negotiation skills, builds self-esteem and confidence. Participation in significant affairs of life gives children a sense of meaning and enables more mature, respectful relationships to develop between adults and children across generations.

Studies of three child citizenship projects help illustrate these points. First, a local children’s organisation was encouraged to reflect on and analyse their communities’ needs by way of a photo-documentary project that documented unemployment and then motivated the children to approach the ward councillor for help. Second is a national South African project that educates children on how to monitor local municipal budgets in their community, after which they advocate for allocations. Third, the Children’s Institute worked with partner organisations from different provinces to identify 12 children vulnerable in the context of HIV and Aids. The children formed a group called Dikwankweta.
– the Heroes – and participated in workshops informing them about the Children’s Bill and getting their opinions and recommendations on its contents.

Talbot evaluated the quality of child participation in these projects and concludes that: children’s participation should be sought at all levels of life and not just in the public domain; once the design process is over it is critical that the children carry on doing participatory work; the capacity of children to participate and take action needs to be built through sharing of information, teaching of skills, interaction of children with other children and adults. Finally, it is important to evaluate the impact of such initiatives.

**Participation from community hall to city hall**

In the policy-making process, claims of participation can be abused and used to include and exclude at the same time, so that only certain kinds of voices are encouraged. This is the predominant method of formal and state-led participation, according to Richard Ballard (University of KwaZulu-Natal). He argues that the language of participation has become the rhetoric of post-apartheid government, with various agendas operating under the guise of participation. ‘Nominal’ or ‘invited’ participation is insubstantial and doesn’t enable dialogue and discussion of policies. Meetings with poor constituencies are held and the information collected is collated and aggregated, and it may be incorporated into strategic planning documents. Nominal participation can also be used to demobilise and de-legitimise groups who oppose government. Alternatively, ‘substantial’ participation is premised on the idea that people affected by a decision must have had an opportunity to influence the outcomes.

Effective participation requires that authorities involve people beyond a grassroots level and allow them to influence major decisions by discussing the advantages and disadvantages of different policy options. This enables people to
have a say in the development and final approval of a municipal budget.

Research shows that, in some cities, IDP meetings were not open to everyone and those organisations that do have representatives reflect only a fraction of the population of the ward. Even where the representation is fair, it is possible that certain political positions on local government policy are not captured, as civil society does not represent all needs and interests.

Meetings are often organised at short notice so that people have insufficient time to prepare, compromising the effective mandating of positions. Participation involving technical input to the planning process is different to the meaningful transfer of decision making power (popular budgeting in Porto Alegre is a successful example).

If government is not willing to expose its policies to rigorous debate and the challenge of opponents, whether from social movements or elsewhere, then the participation it claims is ineffective.

**Urbanisation, Informality and Infrastructure Provision in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania**

Over 70% of the urban population of Tanzania live in increasingly crowded informal areas that lack basic facilities like piped water and electricity. Residents have no legal property rights and face uncertain security of tenure.

Government attempts at intervention have failed to prevent excessive urbanisation, leading to intolerable levels of densification, with detrimental effects on public health, accessibility, livelihoods, the environment and future infrastructure provision. The public sector has failed to reign in urban sprawl, to plan and survey land, and to compensate existing landowners. Building and urban development standards are set unrealistically high.

Two urban forms have emerged: one densely packed, spatially unorganised, with limited or no infrastructure, occupied by the marginalised urban poor, and another less dense, spatially structured, with basic infrastructure services, occupied by the wealthy.

In the latter case, land use planning, zoning, surveying and provision of trunk infrastructure precede building construction. In the former, land is bought, built and occupied, with servicing and surveying possibly following. This serves to lower entry barriers to the poor by making land cheaply and readily available. Informal grass-roots actors and local community leaders play a role in sanctioning land allocation, which has helped improve security of tenure. But as densities increase, grassroots institutions become less effective, environmental degradation increases and the capital investments of the poor are threatened.

Attempts at publicly-funded low-cost housing programmes during the 1970s and 1980s failed to deliver for low-income households and the government has since embarked on various policy reforms and programmes, with mixed results.

**The 20 000 Plots Project**

Conceived in 2002 by the Ministry of Lands and Human Settlement Development, the project aims to curb the growth of informal settlements by selling off surveyed plots of different sizes to a range of income groups, with special consideration given to women and
the disabled. The initial target of 20 000 plots was quickly exceeded and by November 2005, some 30 655 plots had been surveyed and allocated.

The project has succeeded in reducing demand for surveyed plots, but its success is a matter of dispute. The plots are relatively expensive (the cheapest is equivalent to a year’s salary for a low-income public employee) and must be paid in full within a single month. The plots are relatively far from the city centre and public transport is poor. No basic water and electricity services are supplied and those who have installed these at their own expense have paid high prices. Despite the initial emphasis on prioritising women, only 19% of purchasers have been women.

The Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programme (CIUP)

This was initiated in 2004 to improve infrastructure in 19 low-income settlements (later reduced to 14), including roads, water supply, electricity, solid waste management, drainage, sanitation and community facilities. So far, work has only begun in two settlements.

Challenges facing the programme include the prohibitive cost of installing infrastructure post-facto, often requiring demolitions. There are disputes over payments required from householders (set at 5% of costs). The small scale of the projects and their symptomatic rather than causal relation to informal settlements, means that the projects are unlikely to significantly alter the polarised social-spatial landscape of the city.

Formalisation of Properties and Businesses for Poverty Alleviation

This is a Norwegian-funded project inspired by the theories of Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto. With 60% of urban properties existing outside the law, the project aims to formalise ownership of land and businesses, freeing up the ‘dead capital’ held by the poor in informal settlements.

The project aims to identify properties, including all assets upon them, and confer legal rights by issuing licences that can be used to access credit facilities. By December 2005, some 217 407 properties were registered but only 12 451 licences issued. Property owners are reluctant to mortgage licences for fear of losing their properties should they fail to meet bank conditions. And financial institutions are reluctant to accept that the two-year licences meet their prerequisites for loans. They also maintain that the modest size of the loans make them prohibitively costly to administer.

According to Wilbard Kombé and John Lupala (University College of Lands and Architectural Studies), government intervention has proved too slow, too small-scale and too reactive to address the problem. A better method would be to empower the informal communities to take responsibility for the ways land is divided.

Grassroots organisation moves more swiftly than the public sector and there is general community acceptance of informal property rights. The state needs to provide the appropriate policy environment, including user-friendly guidelines, for community leaders to administer subdivision and enforce development control. Unless the potential of the poor is deployed to fill the capacity deficits of the public sector, it will be difficult to mitigate the social-spatial inequalities of Tanzania’s informal settlements.

“How does a portion of land perform, and for whom does it perform?”
Colin Marx (Isandla Institute)
WASTE MANAGEMENT SERVICES: CREATING NEW FORMS OF EXCLUSION

Post-apartheid policy has prioritised basic service needs but municipalities struggle to generate sufficient revenue to roll out equitable services for all. They have been obliged to adopt a range of alternative strategies, in an attempt to make service provision more affordable for the previously marginalised. Melanie Sampson (University of York) critically examined some of these strategies.

Municipal Community Partnerships (MCPs)
The Msunduzi municipality pioneered MCPs in the form of a three-way partnership between the municipality, the Built Environment Support Group (BESG), and the community structure. Aims included: community participation to reach areas that had no previous service delivery, creation of jobs and cost reduction of conventional delivery. However, the projects reveal a number of issues:

- They are not registered with the relevant labour bargaining council and operate outside the labour regulations.
- They can generate only one job per 100 households if annual costs per worker are kept below R14 000. In practice, this results in the creation of a second tier to the labour market.
- They operate only in the poorest areas while wealthier areas continue to be serviced by higher-paid, unionised labour.

Neither the community structures nor the workers appear to have been empowered. There is no capacity-building and BESG acts as a de facto project manager and employer.
Municipalities struggle to generate sufficient revenue to roll out equitable services for all

Black Empowerment Public-private Partnerships (PPPs)
Low levels of capital investment are required to enter the waste management sector, making it an ideal vehicle for black business. But in most cases, PPPs have not graduated beyond small, township-based services. The projects have typically taken the form of contracts between local black entrepreneurs, the council and a white-owned waste management company that trains the entrepreneurs, helps them secure financing and monitors performance.

Once again, workers fall outside the standard labour framework and are paid well below the rates set by the Road Freight Bargaining Council. There is also little compliance with labour regulations concerning protective clothing, sick leave and UIF deductions. Municipalities make little effort to monitor and evaluate the PPPs, resulting in sub-standard service and, ironically, resulting in apartheid-era inequalities of service to black areas.

Public Works Programmes (PWPs)
A public works programme in the Sol Plaatje (Kimberley) township of Galeshewe focussed on the upgrade of roads and storm water drains, and the sweeping of streets. The programme employed 681 people (60% female), cost R13-million and lasted 18 months. Wages were low (ranging from R31 to R65 per day) but they helped households with no income to pay for necessities.

An initial problem with the scheme was that the town council made use of the PWP workers as a reserve of casual labour, at no cost to the municipality. More serious problems came after the project ended, when the workers were plunged back into unemployment. Those who had bought household items on credit faced having them repossessed.

The Zivuseni Poverty Alleviation Project was established by the Gauteng provincial government in 2002 to employ people for three months at a time, with the aim of providing work and skills development. About 258 people were hired in each three month period, all from households with no income, and mostly women. They worked alongside municipal workers at the Pikitup waste management depot in Soweto.

After three months of employment, the workers were again unemployed, with no improvement in their job-finding prospects. Relatively few received skills upgrading and most resented doing the same job as the municipal workers, yet for much lower wages.

Volunteer campaigns
In 2002, the ANC declared the ‘year of the volunteer’ and called upon the poor who could not pay for services, to minimise service delivery costs by volunteering free labour. In Johannesburg, hundreds of women, organised by local ward councillors, volunteered to clean their areas, working five days a week, unpaid, without food or equipment.

Most lived in the poorest areas, such as Orange Farm, and were motivated in part by keeping the area clean for children to play, and in part by the belief that their work would eventually be noted and they would receive paid employment. Some have continued to volunteer for years. Once again, the programme highlights inequalities: in wealthier areas, the council can keep streets clean without the help of volunteering residents.

Waste management is highly labour intensive. The various municipal schemes described above succeeded in lowering the costs of labour but they failed in their key aims of providing long-term jobs, skills upgrade and inclusion. Initiatives to extend services to previously under-serviced areas therefore created new categories of ‘non-workers’ and new hierarchies of exclusion, perpetuating old inequalities in a different form.
Hidden spaces and livelihoods in Benrose

Benrose is located in the southeast of Johannesburg’s inner city and home to a ‘hidden population’ of some 30 000 migrants living in a range of informal housing. This includes abandoned factories, illegally-occupied flats, shacks, and run-down single-sex hostels dating from the apartheid era. Marginalised from urban life, these people live an entirely separate existence within a closed social structure, struggling to survive within a sometimes violent and always insecure space.

Benrose has six single-sex hostels, five of them abandoned by their previous management structures and left to decay. The hostels consist of barrack-style communal rooms surrounding closed compounds. The bulk of residents are young men under 35 from rural KwaZulu-Natal, 60% of whom are unemployed. They arrived with the expectation of soon finding work and moving out, but at least a quarter have lived in the hostels for between five and 10 years.

During apartheid, women were banned from the premises, which were controlled by a management-appointed induna. A non-elected induna still runs the hostel and collects rent, assisted by ‘junior indunas’ who enforce his will, using violence or expulsion at times. The hostels continue to be strictly men-only.

Spaza shops, taverns, barbers, shoe repairers and maskandi music sellers have established themselves within the hostels. With most residents unemployed, time is spent listening to music, playing cards and gambling, drinking and smoking dagga. Crime such as drug dealing, gun-running and car theft is reported to provide a livelihood for some, and petty crime in the hostels is common. Police seldom interfere.

Alongside the men-only hostels, informal settlements have sprung up, housing mainly women and children. Empty plots once occupied by warehouses are now covered in shacks. Shacks are also erected inside abandoned factories. Homes or flats controlled by slumlords have been subdivided.

A 2004 survey conducted by the Reproductive Health and HIV Research Unit, found HIV prevalence rates of 56% among women and 37% among men. The majority (69% of men, 61% of women) are from rural areas and would prefer to live in their home communities. Seventy-six percent of the women surveyed, and 56% of the men, were unemployed, although as many as 20% of the men had been in Johannesburg for more than 11 years.

Unemployment, insecurity and dependence on one another have led to a lack of integration with the city and feelings of isolation. Benrose residents have no sense of ‘belonging’ to the city and many have never travelled to the city centre, which they fear. Residents have little access to welfare services and those who have attempted to locate services like clinics report being turned away and told to “go home” to the rural areas.

In 2006, a participatory photographic project was run in partnership with the Market Photo Workshop in Newtown and 20 Benrose residents participated in a two-week photographic course, setting out to document their daily lives. The results revealed many hidden activities, such as the collection of water from storm drains, salvaging of wood, illegal electricity connections, and residents’ voluntary work to maintain their community.
In sub-Saharan Africa, HIV prevalence in the urban population is 1.7 times higher than in rural areas.
HIV, AIDS and urban development

On average, in sub-Saharan Africa, HIV prevalence in the urban population is 1.7 times higher than in rural areas, with poverty and weak health systems exacerbating the problem.

The ABC approach of behaviour change (abstain, be faithful, condomise), counselling and testing as a means of reducing risky sexual behaviour have shown limited effect in slowing down the epidemic. Access to medicine – in particular the prevention of Mother to Child therapy and antiretroviral therapy techniques – has not always proved to be effective either. Both approaches rely on access to nutritious food, accessible water and sanitation, condoms and hygienic living conditions, which are seldom available in poor urban settlements.

The spread of HIV is complicated by opportunistic infections like TB, parasites (such as helminths), bilharzia and malaria - all of which decrease the effectiveness of treatment, as the patient’s immune system is already seriously compromised. A range of urban development factors influence the spread and risk of HIV infection. These include: overcrowding, poor access to water and sanitation services, compromised environmental health, competition over land and access to urban development resources.

According to Cecile Ambert, there is a dilemma in HIV prevention and urban development resources. Local governments are torn between putting resources into HIV prevention while also contributing to development. This often results in superficial interventions, like an add-on HIV programme, with loosely-defined HIV awareness and education activities. Housing, water, sanitation, and public health interventions can help prevent the spread of HIV, yet South Africa’s government is spending less than 1% of the national budget on water supply and sanitation infrastructure.

Integrating HIV and Aids management with city development entails mobilising those affected by HIV and Aids, in the planning, implementation and monitoring of urban development. Priorities are: access to safe, reliable and affordable water and sanitation, hygiene promotion, effective solid waste management and stormwater drainage, provision of street lighting and the electrification of clinics and dispensaries, flexible and affordable land management, managing the pressures of Aids mortality on urban cemeteries, and managing the implications of HIV and Aids in the local government workplace.

South Africa’s government is spending less than 1% of the national budget on water supply and sanitation infrastructure.
Multiculturalism, as a theoretical concept and a policy directive, has been in the spotlight for more than a decade and it continues to attract attention.

The Intercultural Cities Conference took place at this year’s ‘European Capital of Culture’ - Liverpool - and hosted international speakers ranging from policymakers and practitioners, to academics and journalists.

These included Ilda Curti (political head of integration in Torino), Keith Khan (Head of Culture for the London 2012 Olympic Games), Richard Brecknock (an authority on intercultural urban design), Charles Landry (a leading advisor on urban regeneration), Ash Amin (a renowned economic geographer), Leenie Sandercock (an authority on cultural diversity and urban planning), Saskia Sassen (a globalisation guru), Gregg Zachary (a New York Times reporter) and Ranjit Sondhi (CBE) who concluded proceedings with an impassioned plea to transcend multicultural debates by embracing intercultural practices. The event provided an opportunity to explore fresh ideas about the age of urban migration and examine how people of different cultures might live together.

A ‘right to the city’ World Charter was first developed at the World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001. The Charter states that ‘the city is a culturally rich and diversified space that belongs to all the inhabitants’. It entails two main rights: residents’ rights to appropriate urban space, and their right to participate in the production and meaning of urban space (that is, the right to a voice). These dual components are echoed in a recent position paper formulated by South Africa’s national Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), which aims to “set the stage for defining how arts, culture and heritage can and should be restored, in a deliberate way, to its rightful role in the development of sustainable human settlements” (DAC). This official standpoint
has two significant consequences for local policymakers and practitioners. The first is that housing, planning and heritage institutions require democratisation. The second is that participatory techniques need to explore and protect the tangible and intangible embodiments of different values and different ways of living, in cities across South Africa.

Internationally, policymakers and practitioners are accommodating diversity in planning, design and heritage practices, with examples like Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) and the Universal Design Movement’s (UDM) principles. In South Africa, planning legislation is facilitating various forms of consultation in public decision-making processes through Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). However, speakers at the Intercultural Cities Conference argue that the ‘right to the city for all’ is not yet conventional wisdom. Large-scale international migration is creating highly diverse cities, but urban professions remain silent about the challenges this new cultural diversity is having on local economies, community cohesion, education and healthcare services.

For Amin, Curti, Khan, Sandercock, Sassen and Zachary, the irreversible reality of multi-ethnic cities presents us with a number of difficult questions. The first relates to a state’s political philosophy: what kind of citizenship rights and urban governance practices might best accommodate diverse populations? The second relates to social life: how can we live together, with all of our differences, without resorting to xenophobia or violence? Municipalities need to ask what urban policies and practices best reflect and accommodate cultural diversity in shared spaces? “Answers to the first question of political philosophy shape possible answers to social life and policy questions” (Sandercock). If the political philosophy of a particular state is assimilation, then mainstream planning practices are under no obligation to ensure that built environments reflect the cultural diversity of cities. If the political philosophy is republicanism, in which there is no place for cultural difference in the public sphere, then all must conform to a dominant culture. By contrast, national and local governments in Australia and Canada are transcending assimilation and republican ideologies by actively espousing a political philosophy of multiculturalism.

The Constitution of South Africa recognises cultural pluralism more comprehensively than countries where multiculturalism is official policy. But local policymakers do not seem to be grappling with the political philosophy issue, despite the DAC’s position paper and the implementation of anti-xenophobia programmes via IDPs, for example. Equally significant, is the gap between pluralist rhetoric at the level of the nation state and what happens on the ground, in urban policy and urban life. The unconstitutional treatment of asylum seekers during a recent police raid on the Central Methodist Church in downtown Johannesburg, and the unresolved ‘taxi war’ on miniskirt-wearing commuters, are two of the countless examples of cultural intolerance. Ongoing acts of racism continue to erode our post-apartheid ‘rainbow nation’ aspirations.

While various municipalities in Australia and Canada adopt pragmatic multicultural strategies, findings presented at the Liverpool conference suggest that most municipalities fail to identify and abandon discriminatory practices in the provision of diverse services and
facilities. Policy responses aimed at specific ethno-cultural groups are based on clientist politics and a simplistic understanding of culture as static, unchanging and mono-vocal, rather than dynamic, evolving and poly-vocal.

Consequent policy responses are, at best, confused and simplistic, and, at worst, paternalistic and demeaning. Responses also neglect the challenge of building new communities across boundaries of cultural difference. We need to ask: do we want to create multicultural cities in which each ethno-cultural group huddles in its own neighbourhood using its own specially-designed services and spaces, and where interaction with different groups is discouraged? Or do we want to build new hybrid cities for all, in which no single culture is dominant, and where each culture learns from and contributes to other cultures, thereby creating something entirely new?

If the latter is the desired vision, then conference presenters suggest facilitating policy responses that reflect a shift from a multicultural philosophy to an intercultural one. “In the multicultural city we acknowledge, and ideally celebrate, our different cultures. In the intercultural city we move one step beyond by overtly focusing on what we can do together as diverse cultures in shared space. The latter may lead to greater well being and prosperity for all” (Landry). “Policymakers and practitioners need to become culturally literate” (Brecknock), which entails creating something entirely new, where “hybridity, disjunction, hotchpotch and intermingling collectively elic- it a metaphor for the intercultural city. This is the great possibility that migration gives the world: change by fusion, change by conjoining” (Sandercock).

Tanja Winkler, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand
The Collingwood Neighbourhood House was established by the municipality in 1985, at a time when migration patterns to Vancouver were changing from European source countries to Asian and African source countries.

Collingwood is one of Vancouver’s most ethnically diverse and economically stressed neighbourhoods, where only 30% of current residents know English as a first language. Neighbourhood House is different to traditional community centres in that residents, with financial support from the City of Vancouver, run numerous community outreach programmes based on local needs. It provides family and childcare services, but also community development programmes.

Neighbourhood House was the first institution in Vancouver to develop an intercultural mission, namely: ‘to create a space for all’, where residents from diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds could build new communities across boundaries of cultural difference. In 2002 its community programmes reached 30 000 residents and, since then, this figure has risen to 60 000 annual users of programmes. Among its successful projects are English language, youth buddy, and recreational programmes, as well as a leadership training institute that targets under-represented communities. Everything from the physical design of the House to the composition of its management board reflects the cultural diversity of Collingwood. The entrance to the House is a community-designed and carved gateway that symbolises the equality of all cultures, and local residents, including children, are ‘commissioned’ to produce the artwork on display inside the House.

But the institution’s real purpose is to strengthen the Collingwood community so that public projects reflect residents’ multiple cultures. For example, a group of residents led by an environmental artist began a local movement to reclaim a vandalised and underutilised park: Slocan Park. The movement solicited the necessary funding from the City of Vancouver’s Parks Board for the proposed regeneration project and, with the help of a landscape architect, approximately 6 000 residents, over a period of three years, rehabilitated Slocan Park. Its design represents a truly hybrid outcome, including Aboriginal carvings, meditation spaces for Tai Chi and African drumming activities, gathering spaces designed by Collingwood’s youth, a dedicated community vegetable garden, resident-created murals, and a tot-lot for children. Residents worked together, had fun together and celebrated together, engaging in old rituals and creating new ones.

The larger lesson to be drawn from Slocan Park is an understanding of the process through which strangers become neighbours by transcending ethnic and other differences. However, initiatives like the Slocan Park project don’t automatically become sites of social inclusion. They need organisational and discursive strategies that are designed to build voice, to foster a sense of common benefit, to develop confidence among disempowered groups, and to arbitrate when disputes arise, which has been the role of the Collingwood Neighbourhood House. Perhaps the secret to successfully designing with diversity is knowing how to design a participatory process that includes as many people as possible, collectively finding solutions and uncovering their own resources while building friendships.

This is innovative and transformative work in the building of a more inclusive and pluralist society, “where difference matters and is respected, but doesn’t matter as much as finding a common ground” (Leonie Sandercock, University of British Columbia.)
Lewisham is one of London’s 32 municipal boroughs and has always had a history of embracing new communities. Here, established Irish and Caribbean communities have recently been joined by Vietnamese and African communities.

The municipality’s Social Inclusion Strategy aims to “ensure that the barriers that prevent residents from participating in social, cultural, community and economic activities are removed”. While this strategy is conceived as a social policy to address inequality and exclusion, “it may also resonate with intercultural planning and design principles”, according to urban designer, Richard Brecknock. An intercultural response will, however, require addressing three critical challenges. First, local planners and designers need to heighten their cultural knowledge base. Second, planning and design proposals need to be reviewed through an intercultural lens, and third, professional mindsets need to be broadened.

CHALLENGE ONE: GAINING KNOWLEDGE

One of the most important challenges for the local authority is to gain deeper, broader and richer knowledge of Lewisham’s diverse cultures. This entails going beyond traditional community consultation processes by embracing a four step approach proposed by Brecknock.

Step 1: Facilitate listening and learning circles with different cultural groups so that participants may express how their cultural lives are played out in the built environment. However, prior to any community discussions it is important to establish, with community advisors, culturally appropriate ways in which questions should be presented. Indicative discussion with different community groups might evolve around talking about:

- The size and composition of average families and what their physical space requirements are.
- The appropriateness of current and proposed housing layouts.
- Rituals and needs associated with cultural, religious and/or family celebrations, and how such celebrations might inform the design of private and public spaces.
- Daily routines that take place outside of the home, including shopping, working, worshipping and socialising patterns.
- Cultural, gender or generational sensitivities associated with public life.
- Appropriateness of local parks in meeting the needs of diverse residents.
- Streets and public places that feel safe and welcoming.

Step 2: Establish inter-disciplinary workshops with professional designers, planners, community advisors and other relevant service providers to discuss lessons learned from Step 1. The key purpose of this step is to expand the professional team’s thinking and knowledge about residents’ diverse needs and aspirations, and to establish conflicts that may arise.

Step 3: Facilitate workshops with key municipal officials responsible for new developments or regeneration projects, to consider all the issues raised during Steps 1 and 2, and to assess the implications of these issues for the planning, design, maintenance and management of proposed projects. During this step, existing regulations and bylaws need to be considered and opportunities for new and innovative approaches within existing regulatory frameworks should be explored. Existing regulatory frameworks may need to be amended to accommodate innovative approaches based on findings from Steps 1 and 2.

Step 4: Facilitate report-back sessions with community groups to establish how their issues might be considered in future planning and design implementations. If there are sound reasons that prevent changes to existing planning approaches, these also need to be debated. This step should include refining outcomes though ongoing learning loops based on pre-planning knowledge and post implementation evaluations. Project evaluations should entail working with diverse community groups to ensure that completed projects meet their aims and objectives.
Challenge 2: Reviewing Planning and Design Proposals Through an Intercultural Lens

A lack of public meeting spaces and public seating in Lewisham means that there is nowhere for residents to gather, rest or experience a chance encounter. A number of ‘people nodes’ need to be created by providing gathering spaces and seating clusters in front of the market square and the public library. The provision of seating should be based on careful consideration of residents’ needs, especially the needs of the elderly and the youth.

‘Listening and learning circles’ with Lewisham’s youth reveal a need to provide safe ‘jamming spaces’ where they may gather and interact in close proximity to street life activities. The public library is identified by residents as an important civic institution where cultural exchanges take place but the public space in front of the library is currently deserted and its frontage onto this space is uninviting. Transparent, safe and welcoming entries to civic buildings need to ‘send a message’ that these places are exciting community spaces to be used by everyone. Designers need to understand the cultural nuances associated with passing through a threshold into civic buildings and, from an intercultural perspective, the entry to a civic building is perhaps its most critical design element.

The municipality also needs to ensure that regeneration projects and new developments refrain from destroying the diverse, rich and vibrant, but fragile cultural life along Lewisham’s High Street. Proposed developments need to reflect the existing ‘fine grain’ of the built form while supporting diverse retail activities. Another opportunity exists to redesign the public space between the Council Chambers and surrounding buildings by reclaiming this space from traffic so that it may become a major civic node for public events, exhibitions and celebrations.

Challenge 3: Broadening Professional Thinking

This challenge involves embracing a ‘cultural literacy’ approach to planning and urban design practices by learning how to attribute cultural meanings to development proposals without resorting to simplistic, paternalistic or demeaning outcomes. A culturally literate planner or designer will have the skills to create public spaces and new developments that simultaneously draw inspiration from local cultures while being responsive to and supportive of diverse needs and aspirations. To this end, planners and designers need to listen to, learn from, and design with diverse community groups, who are purveyors of local knowledge. By facilitating a collaborative process of listening to, learning from, and designing with residents, unique architectural and public realm solutions may be developed to provide an open and equitable city for all.

Most municipalities fail to identify and abandon discriminatory practices in the provision of diverse services and facilities.
Developing inclusive South African cities

South African municipalities are increasingly recognising spatial factors of planning around land, infrastructure, and service delivery. While nothing reshapes the social landscape as rapidly as moving people, debates around migration and development remain largely the preserve of national policy makers.

Rather than mainstream migration as a key factor in urban development, many local officials across South Africa continue to shy away from it. This is a mistake, as the effects of both domestic and international migration are most obvious at the local level, particularly in urban centres (as events in Johannesburg and Cape Town in May 2008 so violently illustrate). Moreover, only through local stakeholder action, especially that of local government, can human mobility generate positive developmental outcomes.

While some officials within local government have seen urban growth and diversification as a positive sign of transformation, it is evident that many of our leaders and citizens feel overwhelmed and possibly threatened by migration, especially migration south from the rest of the continent. Metropolitan authorities (Metros) have a responsibility to respond to growing communities of domestic and international migrants. The Constitution requires government to protect the lives and rights of all South African residents and, according to the Local Government White Paper of 1998, municipalities must work with groups in the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives. More pragmatically, excluding new arrivals from safe accommodation, jobs, and social services undermines everyone’s economic and physical security.

Most of South Africa’s Metros are now accepting that new arrivals are part of their city’s population. Part of the shift in policy comes from the slow recognition that cities can do little to alter regional migration dynamics. Those wishing to incorporate new, often poor and vulnerable populations, still face considerable challenges in determining how to do so.

This article outlines some of the problems of exclusion related to inadequate understanding of migration patterns and the rights of migrants. It also highlights a series of specific challenges in mainstreaming migration into local government planning. The data used is intended to be illustrative and does not represent the experience of all migrants in South Africa (impossible given how little we know about movements within and into the country). The data comes largely from smaller research projects including 2003 and 2006 surveys, in Central Johannesburg, of both foreign and South African residents, and an ongoing national service access survey of foreign migrants at Refugee Reception Offices and non-governmental service provider organisations.
The continued exclusion of migrant populations is evidenced across a range of critical indicators: health, education, and physical security. The consequences, discussed in more detail below, include economic losses, threats to security and health, low degrees of social capital and less liveable cities. The exclusion of migrants from public services also highlights more general institutional weaknesses in service provision, which are of concern for all urban residents. Such weaknesses include police corruption, inadequate understanding of public health effects in health care institutions, and insufficient focus on child rights in educational institutions.

**Markets and financial services**

Ready access to informal and formal markets for exchanging goods and services is critical to successful urban economies. Non-nationals are often systematically excluded from employment and income-generating opportunities in both formal and informal mechanisms. Many foreign citizens without the right to work, but with the skills and willingness to do so, accept positions where they are paid below the minimum wage or work in inhumane conditions. As recently confirmed by the Johannesburg Labour Courts, basic labour standards and rights apply even to undocumented workers yet, in practice, there are few avenues for exploited foreign workers to claim these rights. Even those with the right to work report being turned away by employers who do not recognise their papers or their professional qualifications. Without funds to have their qualifications recognised by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), these workers have little choice but to seek other ways to generate income.

Patterns of exclusion are also evident in private sector industries where poor foreigners are typically unable to access even the most rudimentary banking services. Although not strictly a local government concern, the effects are that migrant populations are unable to access credit and are unable to safely deposit their income, making them targets for police corruption and crime.

**Social services**

A cocktail of inadequate documentation, ignorance, and outright discrimination prevents many non-nationals, who are legally in South Africa, from accessing critical social services. Despite legal provisions guaranteeing access to educational services, many migrants face severe obstacles. Extremely high percentages of children of documented asylum seekers (38%) and children of documented refugees (35%) are not attending school. Apart from the contravention of a basic right, this has long-term consequences for migrant families’ ability to integrate socially in South Africa.

A similar pattern of exclusion is reflected in access to health service. The inability or unwillingness of many hospital staff members to distinguish between different classes of migrants (coupled with xenophobia) often means that migrants, including refugees, are denied access to basic and emergency health services or are charged inappropriate fees. Recent research on migrant access to anti-retroviral treatment in Johannesburg, for example, shows that public hospitals and clinics are creating a two-tier health system by not providing access to ART and instead referring foreign patients to NGOs for treatment. Such action ignores an explicit directive by the Department of Health. Parallel health systems are against the institutional interests of accessible health provision for all in South Africa, and the wider patterns of exclusion pose public health dangers for city residents in general.

Nothing reshapes the social landscape as rapidly as moving people.
INVESTIGATIONS, DETENTION, AND ARRESTS

Throughout the country, police officers are exploiting immigrants’ vulnerabilities to supplement their income. Although legally mandated to respect non-nationals’ rights, police often refuse to recognise work permits or refugee identity cards. Survey respondents report having their identity papers confiscated or destroyed in order to justify an arrest. Non-South Africans living or working in Johannesburg also report being stopped by the police far more frequently than South Africans, despite generally having lived in the city for a shorter period. This is not part of ongoing immigration regulation or law enforcement. A recent Mail & Guardian article quotes police who openly admit seeing immigrants as ATMs and report going to ‘that bank’ whenever they are short of cash. While recently urbanised South Africans are not targeted as frequently, they too suffer from these actions. Apart from being wrongfully arrested, they suffer from a police force distracted by the profits to be made off non-citizens.

VIGILANTISM, VIOLENCE, AND (NON-)POLICING

Over the past year, the perceived threats posed by migrants - to values, jobs and security - are used to justify extraordinary and often illegal responses by both police and citizens. Despite state agents deporting almost 250 000 people in 2007, many South Africans are not content to leave the regulation of migration in government hands. Tensions and incidents of anti-foreigner violence have increased dramatically in South Africa. In addition to daily harassment, non-nationals have been killed, beaten, had their homes and goods stolen or burnt, and been unable to return to their places of residence. While the country’s political leadership has condemned the killings, there are few conflict resolution and prevention mechanisms in place to prevent the violence. In many instances, the national and metropolitan police are complicit in the attacks rather than helping to prevent them. The national organisations charged with preventing such violence, most notably the Human Rights Commission and the Department of Justice, have taken only preliminary steps to do so. It is not only migrants’ lives and livelihoods that are at stake, but also government’s ability to promote long-term social and economic investment in communities. Every violent attack puts these goals at risk. Without a strong response from local government, the violence is likely to continue unabated. A case in point is this year’s ‘contagious’ violence that began in Alexandra informal settlement and within days spread to Diepsloot and the East Rand, and then to Cape Town.

Tensions and incidents of anti-foreigner violence have increased dramatically in South Africa
Cities are struggling to find ways to engage with migrant populations

MAINESTREAMING MIGRATION

Although there are clear benefits from planning for both foreign and South African mobile populations, there are acute challenges too. These include, among others, lack of knowledge, fragmented government responses and the challenge of facilitating political participation among all urban residents. Only by recognising and addressing these challenges can we hope to develop more inclusive cities.

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE

National governments have the relative luxury of developing generalised policy frameworks, while local governments and service providers must channel resources to those in need, and translate broad objectives into socially-embedded initiatives. One of the primary challenges Metros face, in responding to migration, relates to how little they know about the people living in the cities.

Recent efforts to map ‘poverty pockets’ and review both national and localised migration data represent some of the first concerted efforts to understand the dynamics of South Africa’s urban systems. However, many of these studies are based on incomplete census data (particularly for foreign-born populations) and are often purely descriptive. While the Department of Provincial and Local Government now recognises a need for improving cross-border and multi-nodal planning, including greater consideration of population mobility, planners remain effectively unable to understand the “functional economic geography of the city and its region [and] how the different components relate to each other” (SACN 2006).

The inability to effectively understand and predict movements poses significant risks to local governments’ ability to meet its obligations and developmental objectives. 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 of building stock, due to extremely high-population densities, is a consequence of new migrants minimising costs while maximising centrality, and has long-term cost implications for cities that collect taxes on the bases of building values.

LACK OF COORDINATION

While local government must lead the response to migration and urbanisation, its effectiveness depends on support from other government agencies. Little has been done to ensure that relevant local, provincial, and national departments work together to develop appropriate developmental responses. This is most obvious in budget allocations. Since the promulgation of the new constitution in 1996, the Treasury has distributed money to the Provinces (and subsequently to the Metros) based almost exclusively on population estimates. Such practices are problematic for at least three reasons. Firstly, population estimates often significantly misrepresent where people actually live. A person may own a house and vote in a rural community but live elsewhere for eleven months of the year. Secondly, a person’s presence in a particular locality is not necessarily a good predictor of cost to local or provincial government. Thirdly, population registers often include citizens only, leaving local governments ignorant when addressing international migrant issues in their cities.

The lack of coordination among government departments further exaggerates the partial and often ill-informed responses to human mobility. Local government officials repeatedly express frustration with their efforts to foster collaboration within local government departments and between the two governmental tiers. Such breakdowns are visible in a variety of potentially critical areas. The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has been either reluctant or unable to share population data with city planners. Data includes the number of foreigners legally entering the country, registered moves, deaths and births. The most probable cause is a lack of capacity within the DHA, although there is often a sense of proprietary rights to data that prevents the free sharing of information. However, lack of capacity does not explain the Department’s reluctance to inform local government officials when they plan to open new refugee reception offices, change regulations, or engage in other activities that directly affect the functions of local government and other service providers.

FORUMS FOR PARTICIPATION

Efforts to build unified communities require a means for groups to interact, develop shared understanding and
respect, and plan for their collective future. People’s orientation towards sites other than those in which they live, greatly hinders such efforts, making it almost impossible to incorporate migrants into participatory planning processes. In Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, advocacy organisations have struggled to mobilise recognised refugees to claim their statutory rights to services. When they do organise, it is usually to provide for immediate needs and not for sustained and collaborative planning.

While there are more opportunities for domestic migrants to participate, many migrants remain invested in their communities of origin in ways that preclude systematic participation in local, urban politics. As with international migrants, they frequently see their time in the cities as temporary (even though it may be decades) and actively resist material and political commitments in their communities of residence.

When viewed from the objective of building inclusive cities, this sense of isolation and transience is deeply problematic as it limits immigrants’ interest in investing in the cities where they live. People preparing for onward journeys do not dedicate themselves to acquiring fixed assets and may maximise immediate profits at the expense of long-term planning. For these and other reasons, cities are struggling to find ways to engage with migrant populations, to evaluate their needs and enlist their support for collective endeavours.

**Localising migration policy responses**

While citizenship and asylum laws must remain national, there is a heightened need for sub-national actors to include migration as a key component of their spatial planning. Cities and provinces need to recognise that they can, and should be encouraged, to actively advocate for an immigration regime that helps legalise, rather than marginalise, their residents.

There is also a need to build research and monitoring mechanisms to help understand how people are moving: where from, where they are settling, and how long they are likely to stay. More specifically, we need to understand the sources of exclusion and violence that prevent migrants from participating fully in social, economic, and political life in cities.

Loren B. Landau and Tara Polzer, Forced Migration and Studies Programme, University of Witwatersrand
Mid-term report

In 2003, the South African government launched an Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) aimed at drawing significant numbers of the unemployed into productive work, transferring skills and increasing the capacity of the marginalised to earn an income.

The EPWP is a strategic intervention designed to make a significant contribution to reducing unemployment and providing livelihoods for the poor, women, youth and people with disabilities. The EPWP is also considered a viable mechanism to bridge the gap between the first and the second economies of the country.

This nationwide programme involves government intervention in the infrastructure, economic, social, environmental and cultural sectors. In order to implement the EPWP, all public sector institutions are required to prepare EPWP plans and demonstrate how they will increase the participation of the unemployed and the marginalised in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

The following is extracted from a summary report (dated March 2007) of findings of the implementation of the EPWP in the nine cities that are part of the South African Cities Network. The report highlights logistical challenges and summarises lessons, problems and constraints.
INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS AND COORDINATION SUPPORT

Programme Management Units
At the time of reporting, eight of the nine SACN member cities had established EPWP Programme Management Units. Tshwane municipality was the only municipality without a Programme Management Unit (PMU) in place. Of the eight municipalities with a PMU, Ekurhuleni was the only municipality without a functional PMU structure. Mangaung municipality had indicated that it is in the process of reviewing its PMU structure in the wake of the departure of one of its key staff and the final structure had not yet been finalised.

Ethekwini and Nelson Mandela municipalities appeared to be well-positioned in terms of their institutional structures since all the necessary organisational structures are in place.

Steering committees
All the cities, except Tshwane and Mangaung, had established EPWP Steering Committees. Of the established Steering Committees, only those of Nelson Mandela, Johannesburg and eThekwini were reported to be functional, while those of Ekurhuleni, Msunduzi, Buffalo City and Cape Town were reported to be dysfunctional.

Political champions
Feedback from the municipalities confirmed that only four member cities had appointed political champions, namely: Tshwane, eThekwini, Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela.

EPWP Learnerships
The enabling environment to help cities achieve their job creation, training and placement targets across the four sectors of the EPWP have been well-developed by the national Department of Public Works EPWP Unit. The EPWP Unit, together with other key stakeholders such as the Business Trust and the Construction Education Training Authority (CETA) are in a position to mobilise any additional programme management capacity required to augment the existing municipal capacity to implement the EPWP. Training supported by the Department of Labour, however, remains problematic.

Tender documentation
One of the conditions of allocation of infrastructure budgets for the municipalities is that they adhere to the labour-intensive construction methods in terms of the EPWP guidelines for low-volume roads, sidewalks, storm-water drainage and trenching for electricity projects.

At the reporting date, only Ekurhuleni had realigned its procurement documentation to incorporate the EPWP requirements, although it had not yet utilised the realigned documentation. Johannesburg had not yet realigned its tender documentation to meet the EPWP requirements. All the other seven member cities have since reported that they have realigned their tender documentation and incorporated the EPWP requirements.
The EPWP is considered a viable mechanism to bridge the gap between the first and the second economies.

Medium-term Capital Works Budgets

Basis of municipal capital works budgets

A study was conducted to assess the readiness of member cities to implement the EPWP. The study included a review of the proposed capital works budgets for the 2004/05 financial year, to help identify works that could be readily carried out through labour-intensive means. The budgeting process of municipalities was informed by Integrated Development Plans. These are strategic planning instruments that guide and inform all planning for infrastructure investment in the municipalities.

The readiness assessment study revealed that the eight member cities of the SACN had a combined budget of approximately R8.479 billion for the 2004/2005 financial year (Table 1). The sources of funding for the municipalities included the national allocations as per the Division of Revenue Act (DORA) and the municipal budgets (from rates and taxes).

2005/06 Financial Year

A budget of R973 million was allocated for EPWP projects for 2005/06 for the member cities. This was approximately 10% of the total infrastructure budget for the same financial year. Of the EPWP budget, approximately 70% was allocated for the infrastructure sector, 24% for the environmental and cultural sector, and 5% for the social sector. There was no allocation for the economic sector. Approximately 49% of the budget had been spent at the end of the 2005/06 financial year.

2006/07 Financial Year

A budget of R477 million was allocated for EPWP projects for the 2006/07 financial year. Of this, approximately 70% was for the infrastructure sector, 24% for the environmental and cultural sector, and 6% for the social sector. No budget was allocated for the economic sector. The available data reflects a 125% potential overspending by the various member cities of the SACN.

Table 1: Summary of budget commitments for SACN member cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>2004/05 MIG Allocations</th>
<th>2004/05 Capital Works Budget</th>
<th>2005/06 Capital Works Budget</th>
<th>2006/07 Capital Works Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eThekwini Metro</td>
<td>R0.220 bn (R220 000 000)</td>
<td>R2.2792 bn</td>
<td>R2.4249 bn</td>
<td>R2.3672 bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Mandela Metro</td>
<td>R0.063 bn (R63 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.566 bn (R566 164 320)</td>
<td>R0.883 bn (R883 562 480)</td>
<td>R0.829 bn (R829 239 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekurhuleni Metro</td>
<td>R0.189 bn (R189 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.213 bn (R213 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.222 bn (R220 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.235 bn (R230 000 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Cape Town</td>
<td>R0141 bn (R141 000 000)</td>
<td>R4.2 bn</td>
<td>R4.25 bn</td>
<td>R4.3 bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Msunduzi Municipality</td>
<td>R0.036 bn (R36 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.042 bn (R42 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.047 bn</td>
<td>R0.049 bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo City Municipality</td>
<td>R0. 069 bn (R69 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.382 bn (R382 657 093)</td>
<td>R0.346 bn (R346 023 712)</td>
<td>R0.319 bn (R319 112 853)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangaung Municipality</td>
<td>R0.060 bn (R60 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.074 bn (R70 000 000)</td>
<td>R0.075 bn</td>
<td>R0.078 bn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Tshwane</td>
<td>R0148 bn (R148 000 000)</td>
<td>R1.224 bn (R1 224 407 000)</td>
<td>R1.3 bn (R1 300 749 153)</td>
<td>R1.369 bn (R1 369 243 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Johannesburg</td>
<td>R0.212 bn (R212 000 000)</td>
<td>R0</td>
<td>R0</td>
<td>R0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>R1.138 bn (R1 138 000 000)</td>
<td>R8.479 bn</td>
<td>R9.546 bn</td>
<td>R9.541 bn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3: Budget and expenditure trends for 2005/06

Figure 4: Budget and expenditure trends for 2006/07
Readiness assessment targets
The readiness assessment study, released during August 2004, confirmed that the SACN member cities were in a position to create approximately 107 670 jobs during the first year of EPWP implementation. If the MIG budget had been included in the municipal budgets, the job creation potential could have increased by 7% to 115 000 jobs, for the first year of implementation (2004/05).

Projects implemented from 2004/05 to 2006/07
Over the period, the municipalities managed to implement a total of 203 projects. Of these, six (3%) were economic, 82 (40%) infrastructural, 115 (57%) environmental and cultural. No social sector projects were implemented.

There was a 258% increase in the number of EPWP projects from 2004/05 to 2005/06, and a decline of 63% from 2005/06 to 2006/07. Since the 2006/07 figures are based on the second quarter reports, it is expected that these figures could change once the third and the fourth quarter figures are submitted (see Table 3).

Number of jobs created
A total of 1 195 projects were implemented from 2004/05 to 2006/07 and a total of 69 421 jobs were created. For
2004/05, 11 056 (16% of the total to date) jobs were created and the figure increased to 43 141 (62% of the total to date) for 2005/06. There was an increase of 260% between the 2004/05 and 2005/06 reporting periods. The 2006/07 figures are based on the second quarter reports only and are expected to change once the third and the fourth quarter reports are submitted (see Table 4).

The majority of jobs are attributed to the infrastructure sector, followed by the environmental and cultural, and social sectors. The economic sector shows poor results compared with the other sectors.

Demographic dimension of job creation
Of the total 11 056 jobs created during the 2004/05 financial year, a total of 3 735 (33.8%) were for women, 2 133 (19.3%) for youth and 187 (1.7%) for people with disabilities (see Table 5). These targets are lower than the national targets suggested in the code of good practice for special public works programmes as published by the Department of Labour.

A review of the job opportunities for youth in the 2004/05 to 2006/07 financial years, reveals a year-on-year increase in the number of jobs created. The youth figures for the 2006/07 financial year are for the first two quarters only.

Table 3: EPWP projects implemented for the SACN EPWP Reference Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>2004/05</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>2006/07</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>213</td>
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<tr>
<td>Environmental &amp; Cultural</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>444</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>1 195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Job creation data for the SACN EPWP Reference Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>2004/05</th>
<th>2005/06</th>
<th>2006/07</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>3 404</td>
<td>23 062</td>
<td>7 474</td>
<td>33 940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>2 509</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>2 509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>4 407</td>
<td>2 394</td>
<td>6 801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental &amp; Cultural</td>
<td>5 143</td>
<td>15 672</td>
<td>5 356</td>
<td>26 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 056</td>
<td>43 141</td>
<td>15 224</td>
<td>69 421</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Demographic job creation data for the SACN EPWP Reference Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial year</th>
<th>Youth</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>People with disabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004/05</td>
<td>(2 133) 19.30%</td>
<td>3 735 (33.78%)</td>
<td>187 (1.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/06</td>
<td>(16 769) 40.75%</td>
<td>17 295 (42.03%)</td>
<td>202 (0.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006/07</td>
<td>(5 663) 37.20%</td>
<td>8 236 (54.10%)</td>
<td>85 (0.56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24 565</td>
<td>29 266</td>
<td>474</td>
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</table>
Under the EPWP, target groups are required to undergo either accredited or non-accredited training. Table 6 summarises the training and orientation sessions for member cities of the SACN.

**Presentations to municipal politicians**
In addition to the training, formal workshops and presentations were made to the political office bearers (councillors and mayoral committee members) for the purpose of raising awareness and soliciting political buy-in and support for the EPWP. The workshops were conducted by the EPWP Unit of the national Department of Public Works and the Programme Management Units of the municipalities (where such units were in place).

**Training and orientation of steering committees**
Only Johannesburg and eThekwini had orientated their EPWP Steering Committees. Four cities, namely Mangaung, Tshwane, Nelson Mandela and eThekwini had conducted some NQF Levels 2 and 4 training for contractors and supervisors. Only Mangaung and Nelson Mandela reported on the training of professional consultants in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Only Johannesburg and eThekwini carried out presentations and orientation sessions for municipal politicians.

**Training of municipal project managers**
To date, a total of 439 municipal project managers received training at NQF Levels 5 and 7. The infrastructure sector received the most training sessions.

**Training of EPWP beneficiaries**
Seven of the nine member cities offered training such as basic life skills, technical skills and NQF Levels 2 and 4. These are Nelson Mandela, eThekwini, Msunduzi, Ekurhuleni, Tshwane, Buffalo City and Cape Town. In total, 7 946 individuals received either accredited or non-accredited training at different levels.

**Poor knowledge of training programmes**
The Department of Labour’s training linkage was reported to be problematic. The municipalities felt that the regional personnel of the Department of Labour knew very little or nothing about the EPWP and, as a result, could not add much value to the work of the municipalities.

**Disjointed timeframes**
Problems were also reported regarding timeframes of training implementation. The Department of Labour favours training that is provided at the beginning of a project to ensure that allocated funds are spent during the financial year in which they are allocated. This created a problem for the project implementing bodies as it is almost impossible to complete training before the projects are implemented.

**Delays in contract arrangements**
The study shows there were delays in finalising the contracting arrangements with the Department of Labour. Bureaucratic processes and subsequent turn-around times did not necessarily coincide with the implementation timelines of the project implementing bodies. This delayed implementation of EPWP projects or led to training not being carried out.

**Limited course catalogue**
In some cases, the courses required by the member cities were not in the course catalogue of the Department of Labour. This issue requires urgent attention.

**Lack of accredited training**
Another issue, related to the shortage of courses on the official course catalogue, is the lack of adequate accredited training providers in the respective provinces. The consequence of this tended to be the provision of non-accredited training, which was not accepted by the EPWP Unit of the national Department of Public Works. The Department of Public Works needs to engage the Department of Labour and the Department of Education to mobilise the resources of FET Colleges and ABET Schools to supplement the existing number of training institutions.

**Contractor learnerships**
Nearly all the member cities of the SACN Reference Group signed up for labour-intensive contractor learnership programmes, with the exception of the City of Cape Town. Even though a number of emerging contractors were given an opportunity to develop and grow, progress has been slow. There is an urgent need to re-engineer the Learnership Programme.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member city</th>
<th>Target group</th>
<th>Nature of training &amp; NQF level</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Number of trainees</th>
<th>Sector</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSHWANE</td>
<td>Municipal Politicians</td>
<td>Presentations</td>
<td>EPWP Unit</td>
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<td>Municipal Project Managers</td>
<td>NQF 5 &amp; 7</td>
<td>Construction Managers</td>
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<td>Professional Consultants</td>
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<td>Contractors &amp; Supervisors</td>
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<td>Labours</td>
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<td>Municipal Politicians</td>
<td>Presentations</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>EPWP Unit</td>
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<td>CETA</td>
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<td>DoL &amp; Consultants</td>
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*continues over.*
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<tr>
<th>Member city</th>
<th>Target group</th>
<th>Nature of training &amp; NQF level</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Number of trainees</th>
<th>Sector</th>
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<td>Social</td>
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<td>EKURHULENI</td>
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<td>Municipal Project Managers</td>
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<td>CETA</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Professional Consultants</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contractors and Supervisors</td>
<td>NQF 2 &amp; 4</td>
<td>CETA</td>
<td>19 &amp; 27</td>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
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<td>EPWP Beneficiaries</td>
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<td>JOHANNESBURG</td>
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Source: Submissions from SACN member cities of the Inclusive Cities Reference Group
Monitoring indicators
The EPWP Unit has developed six standard indicators to be used in the collection of monitoring data across the four sectors:
• Job opportunities
• Person-years of employment
• Person-days of training
• Demographic data (for women, youth and people with disabilities)
• Project wage rate
• Project budget and expenditure

Reporting challenges
The municipalities are expected to monitor the implementation of EPWP projects on a continuous basis. The study reveals concerns that the quality of reporting by each of the municipalities varies. This is attributed to:
• Lack of commitment
• Lack of capacity within the implementing municipalities/bodies
• Difficulties regarding the definition of EPWP projects
• EPWP considered as an ad hoc responsibility and not part of core business
• EPWP not linked to performance agreements within the municipality

Human resource constraints
The study shows that municipalities do not submit reports on time. Some of the reasons cited by the member cities are capacity constraints. It is reported that the preparation of the EPWP reports takes more time and needs more people than envisaged and this makes it difficult for municipalities to concentrate on core business. The municipalities claim they need approximately two to three additional, full-time project technicians to monitor, report and coordinate EPWP projects.

Perception of the EPWP as an unfunded mandate
Another concern is that the EPWP is viewed as an unfunded mandate, meaning it is not funded by the national Department of Public Works. This is a misinterpretation on the part of the municipalities. The municipalities indicate they are limited in their institutional arrangements and cannot assume additional responsibilities without being compensated with additional human resources.

It can be argued that the EPWP is a funded mandate. It is a presidential priority programme that seeks to challenge the manner in which public bodies plan, design, implement and manage projects to maximise the job creation potential of their programmes across the four sectors. At the same time, it imparts skills to the unskilled and creates opportunities for the unemployed to experience and ultimately enter the workplace.

Like their provincial counterparts, the municipalities need to realistically assess their capacity requirements and review their institutional arrangements to raise their capacity for the additional responsibility of implementing the EPWP. The EPWP cannot be seen as a burden, but an opportunity for public bodies to plan, design, manage and implement programmes that create a sustainable bridge between the first and the second economies.

Complex and time-consuming reporting requirements
EPWP reporting requirements are perceived as complex and time-consuming. This is partly linked to a lack of understanding of the existing EPWP reporting template. A number of training and orientation sessions were held with the municipalities, by the EPWP Unit personnel of the National Department of Public Works, but there are still short-comings. There is a need for a thorough understanding of the issues contributing to the reporting challenges and problems within the municipalities and this must be addressed if the impact of the programme is to be maximised.
The impact of the EPWP needs to be measured by the extent to which people are able to move from the informal economy to the formal economy.

Inability to measure movement between the first and second economies
The impact of the EPWP needs to be measured by the extent to which people are able to move from the informal economy to the formal economy. A number of municipalities note that the monitoring tools of the EPWP must enable them to assess if there is any difference or improvement in the conditions of EPWP beneficiaries. One such measurement is the number of people moving from the informal economy to the formal economy in each of the municipalities where EPWP interventions are implemented.

A concern raised is that, since most of the EPWP interventions have a transitory impact, the EPWP does not have the ability to create permanent jobs. As a result, its ability to create a meaningful bridge between the formal and informal economies is questionable. The question posed is whether the funds being spent on EPWP interventions are enough to have the desired long-term impact.

Problems with data compilation and reporting
Quality of reports from municipalities
The quality of reports from the municipalities varies, with some municipalities citing a lack of capacity to collect, collate and verify data before consolidating it into the quarterly reports.

To ensure accountability, it is recommended that the municipal managers of each of the member cities of the SACN EPWP Reference Group sign-off their respective quarterly EPWP reports before they are submitted to the EPWP Unit for consolidation. In this way the municipal managers, as accounting officers for the respective municipalities, will be forced to take responsibility for the quality of reports that are forwarded to the EPWP Unit.

Clarity on the definition of a job opportunity
A concern raised by member cities is the definition of a job opportunity. It appears there is no agreement on the definition of a job. This issue needs addressing as a matter of urgency as it impacts on the data recorded and monitored by member cities.

Non-accredited training
A further indicator reported to be problematic is non-accredited training. Much non-accredited training is provided to beneficiaries but the National Department of Public Works does not consider the non-accredited training figures. This poses the question of why this indicator is included under training if it is not taken into account.

Technical capacity limitations
An issue impacting on the quality of reporting from member cities, is the lack of adequate technical capacity to collect and collate data and, more importantly, to verify the collected data before it is forwarded to the national Department of Public Works’ EPWP Unit.

Under-reporting
Significant amounts of data are not reported by the member cities because of uncertainty regarding the definition of an EPWP project. There appears to be no clear definition of what constitutes an EPWP project. The implication is the exclusion of many projects with the potential to be considered as EPWP projects.

FUTURE COORDINATION AND SUPPORT REQUIREMENTS
The review shows an overwhelming need for further support for the member cities of the SACN EPWP Reference Group. It is indicated that the nature of support should include funding for the management of the programme, as EPWP is perceived as an unfunded mandate. Also indicated, is a need for more support in the economic sector, as food security is a significant problem and has the potential to create more job opportunities in a number of municipalities.

The municipalities expressed the need for regular meetings with other member cities, to share knowledge, inspire and support each other, and help roll out the EPWP at a faster pace.
FUTURE POTENTIAL FOR THE EPWP

Inclusion of other initiatives
The review indicates that member cities have a number of projects being implemented outside of the EPWP framework, for example, the Agricultural/Rural Regeneration Programme and the Incubator Contractor Programme. Most of the member cities want to see these included in the EPWP as special public works projects.

Expansion of the sectors
Infrastructure
A number of municipalities see a need to increase their capital budgets’ EPWP contribution by approximately 5% per annum. Also suggested, is the introduction of large contractor mentorship programmes to accelerate SMME development and service delivery.

Social
It is indicated that member cities need additional dedicated support from the Department of Social Welfare to fund the Early Childhood Development Programme (ECDP) and the Home-Based Care Programme (HBCP).

Environmental and cultural
Member cities did not show a clear programme of implementation of the environmental and cultural sector. An exception is eThekwini Municipality, which has a clearly-developed agricultural model focusing on food security, home grower development, community growers, contract growers and high level technologies like hydroponics.

Economic sector
The review shows that the economic sector learnerships are treated in isolation from the other sectors and there is a need to consider the integration of these learnerships into the other sectors.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A review of the EPWP to date, raises a number issues, summarised below:

• The EPWP is perceived as an unfunded mandate, confirming a lack of understanding for its strategic importance.
• Municipalities have not fully mobilised the various sectors to maximise EPWP interventions.
• Some municipalities have not yet finalised their programme implementation of organisational structures. This has the potential of delaying the implementation of EPWP projects.
• Some municipalities have not yet re-aligned their tender documentation in accordance with the EPWP guidelines. (The EPWP Unit has developed guidelines for the preparation of tender documents and associated training can be provided by the EPWP Unit).
• There are disparities between sector activities, with other sectors significantly lagging behind the infrastructure sector.
• Budget commitments are skewed in favour of the infrastructure and the environmental and cultural sectors, with few grants for the economic and social sectors.
• Regional personnel often lack the necessary knowledge and expertise to handle issues pertaining to the EPWP. Labour officials often do not understand their roles or the value they are expected to add, especially when assisting municipalities with implementation of projects.
• Certain courses are excluded from the course catalogue of the Department of Labour, resulting in the provision of non-accredited training that is not accounted for in quarterly reports.
• There is a shortage of training providers accredited within the national qualifications framework.
• SETAs face budget challenges, undermining the ability to meet commitments and targets for learnerships.
• A job creation bias exists between the sectors, with more jobs being created in the infrastructure and the environmental sectors and few created in the other two sectors.
• Jobs created in the infrastructure sector tend to be short-term, while jobs in the other sectors tend to be reasonably long-term.
• The EPWP is not showing significant success in moving people from the informal economy to the formal economy. The focus is on job quantity, not quality, and it is doubtful whether the infrastructure sector projects are creating long-term sustainable employment.
• Quality of reporting is poor and there is possible duplication in cases with multiple funding sources.

The review reveals that, over the past three years, much work has been accomplished, with assistance from the national Department of Public Works’ EPWP Unit, the CETA and other SETAs. However, as the programme approaches a halfway point on its five-year horizon, more and new challenges are emerging. These challenges point to potential areas for expansion and improvement of the EPWP over the next cycle.

(Note: An updated SACN EPWP report will be published in 2008)
As defined at the beginning of this report, an inclusive city is one that provides all its citizens with decent public services, protects freedoms and citizen’s rights and fosters economic, social and environmental well-being of its citizens. It strives to produce a beneficial framework for inclusive economic growth and improves the quality of urban living. An inclusive city cares for social development in its communities and celebrates their diversity.

The following pages show a table-in-progress that attempts to group and describe various indicators and measurements relating to inclusivity. The table takes into account the discussions and findings of the Inclusive African Cities conference, referred to earlier in this report. Work currently being undertaken will extend the table to include data collection processes.
## Inclusive City Indicators

### Public Service Access
- Key urban services
- Social services and facilities
- Civil protection
- Housing and land
- Public transportation

### Health
- Immunisations, malnutrition and physical fitness
- Sanitary living conditions and food safety
- Morbidity levels
- Environmental quality
- HIV/AIDS prevalence in informal vs formal settlements

### Political Representation & Governance
- Lawful conduct of the administration
- Citizen’s participation
- Voter’s participation
- Strategic planning and foresight
- Access to public information
- Accountability and transparency
- Civic associations
- Inclusion policies
- Responsiveness to citizen concerns

### Culture and Identity
- Safeguarding of human rights
- Public policy and cultural programmes
- Tolerance, acceptance and integration of marginalised groups
- Cultural facilities

### Human and Economic Development
- Employment opportunities
- Business opportunities
- Informal employment
- Business formalisation hurdles
- Unemployment
- Household income disparities
- Household structures
- Gender equality/school enrolment
- Primary and secondary education/school enrolment
- Further education
- Literacy/illiteracy
- Career guidance and employment services

### Spatial Cohesion
- Land use patterns and densities
- Commuting time and cost disparities
- Porousness/permeability of public and semi-private spaces
- Polarisation vs connectivity between different land use types and densities

### Composite Indicators
- Gini coefficient (income inequality)
- Living standard measure (LSM)
- City Development Index (CDI)
- Human development indicator (HDI)
- Quality of life

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*Inclusive Cities 2008*
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<td>SAFE WATER</td>
<td>A supply of clean water is necessary for life and health, yet almost two billion people lack access to adequate water or can only obtain it at high prices. In many cities, households in informal settlements are rarely connected to the network and can only rely on water from vendors at up to 200 times the tap price. Improving access to safe water implies less burden on people, mostly women, to collect water from available sources. It also means reducing the global burden of water-related diseases and improving quality of life.</td>
<td>Ratio of the number of urban population who use piped water, public tap, borehole or pump, protected well, protected spring or rainwater, to the total urban population, expressed as a percentage.</td>
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| ELECTRICITY     | Even though improved access to electricity increases resource pressure and the ecological footprints of cities (as they draw electricity from further and further away), formal service provision is more sustainable than no service provision. 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 provision of electricity to households does not necessarily mean that households will abandon other types of fuel. | - Number and percentage of households not using electricity for lighting.  
- Affordability to various income groups, measured by cost of electricity (kw/h) as a percentage of household income.  
- Quality of service provision per spatial unit, measured by number of power outages/year. |
| WASTE REMOVAL   | Lack of proper waste removal has serious implications for environmental sustainability, as waste and pollution have negative health impacts and compromise the environmental quality of neighbourhoods. Key policy strategies emphasise numerical, time-bound targets and tend to ignore questions of quality. | - Number and percentage of households without adequate refuse removal (adequate = 1 collection per week/household).  
- Average proximity of recycling station to street address/spatial unit. |
| SANITATION      | Lack of sanitation is a major public health problem that causes disease, sickness and death. Highly infectious, excreta-related diseases such as cholera still affect whole communities in developing countries. Diarrhoea, which is spread easily in an environment of poor hygiene and inadequate sanitation, kills about 2.2 million people each year - most of them children under five. Inadequate sanitation, through its impact on health and environment, has considerable implications for economic development. | Ratio of the number of people in urban areas with access to improved excreta-disposal facilities, to the total urban population, expressed as a percentage. |
| SOCIAL SERVICES | Access to social services is essential for the health and general well-being of citizens. Social services and facilities are provided locally and are closest to the daily life of people. Parks, sports and recreational facilities, as well as furnished public space encourage exercise, communal activity and a sense of place. Most cities have an uneven distribution of such facilities, which can be attributed to the age of a neighbourhood, availability and cost of land, political power structures that influenced the location of facilities, and the presence of certain income or age groups that necessitate certain facilities (e.g. welfare centres, crèches, old age homes). | Access to social services and facilities (i.e. clinics, parks, libraries, sports and recreation facilities, social welfare). Proposed indicators for a comparison of spatial units:  
- Ratio of essential facilities/resident.  
- Ratio of square meters of parks or sports/recreational facilities per resident.  
- Average distance to the next social service facility (e.g. health clinic) from each street address. |
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<td>CIVIL PROTECTION</td>
<td>Civil protection is an essential service for all citizens. In order to raise a child, to leave home for work, to enjoy the public space or to run a business, citizens need to feel and be safe and secure. Municipalities encounter great difficulties in ensuring an equal service provision in this field - crime hot spots are likely to be unevenly distributed and low-income communities are usually more affected by crime that affluent neighbourhoods where residents can afford to install security systems in addition to the security provided by the police. Hazards, accidents and fires require a similarly quick response but happen ad hoc which means that adequate response times rely on an appropriate spatial location of the related civil service stations. In reality response times vary and the quality of services that can be provided also differs drastically.</td>
<td>Access to police, fire, ambulance, building safety, disaster prevention and disaster mitigation services. Proposed indicators: - Response times to citizens emergency calls/spatial units. - Ratio of non-administrative staff of civil service station/number of residents in service area. - Ratio of emergency response vehicles (of same type) available/civil service station. - Ratio of criminal acts (selected types) committed/spatial unit. - Ratio of home fires or natural disasters (e.g. mudslides, flood incidents)/spatial unit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOUSING AND LAND</td>
<td>The availability of adequate shelter or land for the construction of housing is crucial in societies that have a growing population. In-migration from rural areas and from abroad, as well as natural growth in urban areas, pose a major challenge to government. Economic growth and rapid urbanisation are accompanied by increasing housing and land costs that exclude low income groups from the gentrifying 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. Therefore the provision of adequate public housing or an upgrade/formalisation of their shelter/land can dramatically better living conditions and enable an integration of previously excluded residents.</td>
<td>- Change in access to formal housing (numbers and percentages). - Percentages of households with and without formal shelter (i.e. per spatial unit and overall). - Location of social housing units and their distance to quality employment opportunities with a minimum number of employees. - Existence of public outreach services for the homeless (e.g. temporary shelters, employment services, social integration). If existent, performance can be measured by public expenditure/beneficiary. - Location of social housing units and their distance to shopping opportunities that offer a satisfactory variety of goods. - Existence of upgrading/formalisation programmes for informal areas. - Duration of the procedure to get access to public housing for a household qualifying for a housing subsidy.</td>
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### Public Transportation

Transport can play a determining role in the economy and quality of life in cities. Effective and environmentally-friendly transportation systems are revealed through measures of the different travel modes used for work trips. Transportation systems should be adequately balanced for the several uses required. While transport should be as efficient as possible to ensure the movement of goods and people, as a major consumer of non-renewable energy and a major contributor to pollution, congestion and accidents, an adequate mix of modes is necessary to ensure its sustainability and reduced impacts on the environment. While private motorised transport (cars, motorcycles) has become the major mode in cities at the end of this century, public transport and non-motorised modes of transport should be encouraged, since they are generally affordable, efficient and energy-saving.

- Access to affordable public transportation, measured by average distance from each street address in spatial unit to the closest stop (i.e. bus/train/tram/ferry stop), weighted with an indicator measuring the availability of minibus service.
- Access to transportation nodes, measured by average distance from each street address in spatial unit to the closest node (i.e. train/tram/ferry station, (mini) bus terminal, with line interchange options).
- Comparison between spatial units of the modal split correlated with: a) average household income b) ethnic groups c) average commuting distance d) average commuting time and e) costs.

### Political Representation & Governance

**LAWFUL CONDUCT OF THE ADMINISTRATION**

A city that wants its citizens to abide by the law needs to act accordingly. Wilful and unintentional infringements of the law by the public administration are common. In many cases action is taken out of urgency and/or without consulting the proper stakeholders and subsequent conflicts dealt with in court.

- Number of court cases lost in court over the past years.
- Existence of self-control measures (e.g. standard ex-ante legal evaluation).
- Provision of legal assistance for the indigenous (i.e. non-partisan, third party legal counsel).

**CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

To encourage and support participation, civic engagement and the fulfillment of government responsibilities, national governments, local authorities and/or civil society organisations should put into effect, at appropriate levels, institutional and legal frameworks that facilitate and enable the broad-based participation of all people in decision-making and in the implementation and monitoring of human settlements strategies, policies and programmes (Habitat Agenda). Participatory mechanisms should ensure that all voices are heard in identifying problems and priorities, setting goals and implementing programmes and projects.

Level of citizens’ participation checked in the following questions:
- Is the Mayor elected by the citizens?
- Is the Mayor nominated?
- Is the city involving civil society in a formal participatory process prior to: a) new major roads and highway proposals b) alteration in zoning c) major public projects?

**VOTER 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 the citizenry. 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 (having reached voting age) who voted in the last municipal election.
### Strategic Planning and Foresight

Strategic planning is an essential tool that supports subsequent decision-making processes and implementation. By adhering to principles and strategic plans set in place with foresight and special attention to sustainability, strategic planning can address inclusivity issues. Spatial divisions among parts of the city, the polarisation of social groups and the distribution of infrastructures (with their connected public services) should be addressed by long-term interventions guided by strategy.

- Existence of a valid City Development Strategy (CDS) with a minimum five-year time span that addresses inclusivity.
- Attention given to inclusivity in the CDS (e.g. qualitative: number of issues covered, status quo assessment, clear objectives, etc.).

### Access to Public Information

While information or data have become marketable and are bought by market researchers, real estate brokers and other professions that can afford to pay for it, many residents neither have the required funds for hiring professionals to provide information nor do they know how to access the information gathered by public bodies. All non-confidential information gathered by public bodies should be accessible to the public as it is gathered using public expenditure. Making information available to the public helps to make the ‘playing fields’ more level between powerful stakeholders and the concerned public.

- Access to public information granted to all citizens (i.e. legal provisions in place).
- Existence of a service centre/dedicated personnel to respond to information inquiries, assist and guide processes (i.e. contact and follow-up with responsible departments, assembling of data).
- Qualitative assessment of a standard procedure: cost, duration of disclosure, barriers (i.e. written requests, forms, number of people to contact), quality/depth of data provided, etc.

### Accountability and Transparency (Political)

The accountability of politicians to their constituents and likewise that of public administration to the politicians is one of the pillars of democracy. Politicians and public officials have to justify their performance over a political term, as well as all their actions and decisions. A functioning free press ensures a certain transparency through reporting, but improved accountability can be achieved by the policy-makers themselves, by making the appropriate technical and communicative provisions to support transparency. Transparent decision-making procedures can be conducive to the inclusion of previously disadvantaged groups as they are able to gain further insight into structures that were previously “off-limits”. Nepotism and corruption that benefit those who already have considerable powers can be addressed by making procedures more transparent and holding abusers accountable.

- Transparency of procedures (e.g. availability of tours and visits at public institutions, public meetings, up-to-date publication of news on city websites).
- Transparency of organisational setup (e.g. publication of organisational charts on websites).
- Local offices of elected representatives (e.g. ward office) and liaison offices of public service providers with permanent staffing offering regular (at least weekly) meetings between the politician/company representative and local constituencies.
- Public relations activities of public service providers for various target groups (assessment of quality/resources spent, frequency, reach within each target group, etc.).

### Civic Associations

Voluntary organisations of all kinds provide avenues for the citizenry to act collectively and independently of government, for mutual benefit, and provide a measure of the plurality of society. Organised groups are vital for effective participation. Civic organisations can help ensure the accountability of local government, through the mobilisation of people behind the issues that affect them. Large numbers of associations may facilitate the formation of partnerships for the delivery and/or maintenance of services.

- Number of voluntary non-profit organisations, including NGOs, political, sporting or social organisations, registered or with premises in the city, per 10 000 population.

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### TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY (MUNICIPAL)

Ensuring transparent and accountable governments is part of the general goal of enablement and participation. Governments are committed to the strategy of enabling all key actors in the public, private and community sectors to play an effective role in human settlements and shelter development (Habitat Agenda). In order to do so, they have committed themselves to the objectives of enabling local leadership, promoting democratic rule, exercising public authority and using public resources in order to ensure transparent and accountable governance of towns, cities and metropolitan areas. Indications of transparency and accountability are the existence of regular independent auditing and municipal accounts, publication of contracts and tenders for municipal services, sanctions against faults of civil servants, laws on disclosure of potential conflicts of interest (UN-HABITAT).

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<td>Level of transparency and accountability as measured by the positive or negative answers to the following question (UN-HABITAT): Are the following processes followed by the local authorities? - Regular independent auditing of municipal accounts. - Formal publication of contracts and tenders for municipal services. - Formal publication of budgets and accounts. - Sanctions against faults of civil servants. - A local hotline to receive complaints and information on corruption. - A local agency to investigate and report cases of corruption.</td>
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### INCLUSION POLICIES (GENDER, MINORITIES, DISABILITIES)

Gender and minority discrimination in local administration and government can be encountered within the internal structure as well as in the provision of services. It takes a conscious effort to battle prejudice and to ensure equal access, and pro-active staff to uncover discrimination and harassment.

People with disabilities, who are also poor, experience the same challenges of poverty and inequality as all city residents. However people with disabilities are extremely vulnerable to social and economic exclusion. One of the largest minority groups is that of internal or cross-border migrants. Social exclusion experienced by migrants is a global phenomenon. Migrants may find themselves living in particular areas of the city that are stigmatised and may even become stigmatised by their presence, which can lead to social and economic exclusion as well as contribute to poverty.

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<td>- Existence of an inclusion/anti-discrimination/empowerment policy. - Level of implementation of existing inclusion policy (addressing gender, minority, disability, migrant’ concerns): - Are there outreach activities? - Are policies implemented in a pro-active fashion? - Does the city engage in regular discussion with representatives from the target groups?</td>
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### RESPONSIVENESS TO CITIZEN CONCERNS

The structures of city administrations are large bodies that can be difficult to communicate with. Citizens struggle to find the right contact person in order to make a complaint, to raise a concern or to suggest an intervention. In an effort to improve responsiveness, city administrations have set up special call-centres and/or decentralised service points that handle citizen inquiries/requests. Call centres receive communications, follow up with the responsible department, give a response and ask for feedback. Structures and procedures can be tested and improved, as the manager of the citizen inquiry/request reports back to the responsible person on the efficiency of the process.

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<td>The structures of city administrations are large bodies that can be difficult to communicate with. Citizens struggle to find the right contact person in order to make a complaint, to raise a concern or to suggest an intervention. In an effort to improve responsiveness, city administrations have set up special call-centres and/or decentralised service points that handle citizen inquiries/requests. Call centres receive communications, follow up with the responsible department, give a response and ask for feedback. Structures and procedures can be tested and improved, as the manager of the citizen inquiry/request reports back to the responsible person on the efficiency of the process.</td>
<td>- Existence of a structure that assists the communication and responsiveness of public administration (e.g. ombudsman, service points, call-centres) or elected representatives to citizen concerns. - Level of follow-up activities by such structures? Are citizens satisfied with the extent to which public administration/their elected representatives respond to their concerns?</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
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. City governments 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, through ordinances and by-laws, that fosters economic growth and the creation of new employment opportunities.

- Access to employment opportunities, mapping the match/mismatch of employment opportunities in the city and the location of the residents registered as seeking work.
- Number of new jobs created and filled with previously unemployed persons/year, through public investment.

As mentioned above, public investment can have short- to mid-term effects on the local economy and can provide business opportunities for local SMEs and larger companies. When addressing inclusivity issues, the target group for creating business opportunities are the small businesses and start-up companies that need special attention in order to successfully compete in the market. Discrimination against service providers, on the basis of ethnic/religious backgrounds or on the experience/age of a company, can be addressed and inversed through the preferential treatment of such service providers in public tenders.

- Preferential treatment of start-up companies or companies in the ownership of a certain minority/ethnic group, in public tender processes.
- Existence of support schemes for business start-ups and entrepreneurs, measured by public investment in the programme and success in fostering such enterprises (e.g. turn-over, profits, generated employment).

The increasing role of the informal sector in a number of economies is a consequence of growth in the labour force without matching growth in formal employment opportunities. The informal sector may generate substantial activity and may constitute a basis for the development of urban economies if adequate policies are in place to enable the sector to perform and expand productively. The informal sector has played an increasing role in the expansion of production in rapidly growing cities in developing countries. The informal sector has great freedom of action, being, by definition, free of government interference, and will tend to deliver labour resources to productive areas of the economy.

Percentage of the employed population, men and women, whose activity is part of the informal sector.

Informal sector enterprises that are willing to formalise and participate in the urban economy can encounter great difficulties in formalisation procedures such as registration, certifications and adaptation of their premises to meet building and hygiene codes. Such businesses often lack professional capacity and need assistance to navigate the legal procedures of formalisation. Most city administrations have potential to ease the procedures and regulations for small businesses by reviewing outdated or unnecessary ordinances and by-laws.

Number of days a business registration takes, for a sample of business types, in comparison with other cities, nationally and internationally.
**UNEMPLOYMENT**

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 income sufficient 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).

Average proportion of unemployed (men and women) during the year, as a fraction of the (formal) workforce.

**GENDER EQUALITY**

By measuring equality of educational opportunity in terms of school enrolment, this indicator addresses the issue of gender equality in human settlements development. 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.

Percentage of females and males enrolled at primary, secondary and tertiary levels in public and private schools.

**LITERACY/ILLITERACY**

During the course of history, urbanisation has been associated with economic and social progress, the promotion of literacy and education, the improvement of the general state of health, greater access to social services, and cultural, political and religious participation (Habitat Agenda). 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 in a particular city or country, 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).

Percentage of the (male and female) population, 15 years and older, who can both read and write with understanding, a short, simple statement on everyday life (UN-HABITAT).

**HEALTH**

**HIV/AIDS PREVALENCE**

HIV infection leads to AIDS. Without treatment, average survival from the time of infection is about nine years. Access to treatment is uneven and no vaccine is currently available. About half of all new HIV cases are among people 24 years or younger. In generalised epidemics, the infection rate for pregnant women is similar to the overall rate for the adult population. Therefore, this indicator is a measure of the spread of the epidemic. In low-level and concentrated epidemics, HIV prevalence is monitored in groups with high risk behaviour (because prevalence among pregnant women is low). High HIV prevalence usually has heavy socio-economic implications in countries affected by the pandemic.

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).

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**INDICATOR** | **RATIONALE** | **DEFINITION**
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**SPATIAL COHESION** | A loose settlement pattern, with great distances between residences, has a disintegrating effect on the local community. Social integration of newcomers to such settlements takes much longer than in a dense settlement. In urban areas of this kind, where there has been little change of population, a sense of community often developed over time and can be as strong as elsewhere. But in those that have a high transition due to in- and out-migration, this sense of community is under-developed. Settlements that allow for daily interaction between residents are more conducive to integration of newcomers. Very high densities also can be problematic, as overcrowding can spur conflicts. Inclusivity is best served by a settlement pattern that allows for high interaction and sufficient space for individuals to enjoy personal freedom without affecting others negatively. | - Concentrations of mono-use commercial and industrial zones within the city in relation to poor communities.
- Comparative population densities of sub-areas.
- New building permits issued (single-use, mixed-use) for large scale developments (minimum size to be determined). |
**LAND USE PATTERNS AND DENSITIES** | The spatial distribution of employment, commerce and shopping opportunities can exclude the poor, as commuting times and costs determine access for those with limited resources. Private sector employment in businesses and in private households is generated mostly in the wealthy parts of the city, while few private sector jobs are available in the poorer neighbourhoods. Travel-to-work costs can dramatically reduce the incomes of low-wage earners, making it impossible to seek jobs in far-fetched areas of town. Similar difficulties are experienced by traders that have to travel great distances to buy their products for resale. Shoppers looking to buy products that are not offered in their areas or who want to enjoy the comforts of the city centre or a shopping mall, are also excluded when commuting times are long and costs high. | - Comparison of average travel-to-work/product-sourcing times in sub-areas.
- Comparison of average travel-to-work/product-sourcing costs in sub-areas.
- Comparison of average travel times to the closest shopping district/shopping mall (minimum number of shops to be determined) in sub-areas.
- Comparison of average travel costs to the closest shopping district/shopping mall (minimum number of shops to be determined) in sub-areas. |
**COMMUTING TIME AND COST DISPARITIES** | | |
### POROUSNESS/PERMEABILITY OF PUBLIC AND SEMI-PRIVATE SPACES

Due to safety concerns, or under an umbrella of exclusivity, an increasing number of public spaces are being closed off and access regulated to exclude individuals not fitting the desired profile. The rules according to which access is granted are often not transparent and decisions are rarely questioned. The mere existence of access controls deters and thereby excludes portions of the population. As public spaces are, by definition, open for the public, closures and access controls are highly questionable and convincing justification should be made in every case.

- Percentage of public parks, sports facilities, plazas/squares that have restrictions on admission/access (door policies: e.g. appropriate clothing). Extent to which access is limited.
- Percentage of shopping malls, sports clubs, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) with limited access (door policies). Extent to which access is limited.

### COMPOSITE INDICATORS

#### GINI COEFFICIENT AND LIVING STANDARD MEASURE

- The Gini Coefficient ranges from 0, which signifies perfect equality where every household has the same income, to 1, which signifies absolute concentration (where one household earns all the income and other households earn nothing).
- The Living Standard Measure (LSM) is a composite index consisting primarily of a set of indicators relating to the ownership of household durable goods. The LSM segments households into ten categories, with LSM1 being the most deprived and LSM10 being the least deprived.

#### HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDICATOR (HDI)

HDI is a composite index of economic and social well-being 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.

### QUALITY OF LIFE

In the two years since the release of the State of the Cities Report 2004 (SACN), there has been an interest in producing quality of life studies at the municipal level. These are important instruments helping municipal decision-makers get a better understanding of their residents.
This report is published at time when South Africa is experiencing, first hand, the consequences of rapid urban growth combined with migration and poverty.

Xenophobic clashes are a clear reminder of the need to place inclusivity high on the agenda of city governments.

Throughout this report, there are accounts of both inclusivity and exclusivity in cities. The African metropolis is a place of coming together and tearing down. We have seen how colonial histories, traditional practices and contemporary lifestyles bring with them opportunities and constraints. We have discovered ways to balance, grow and support our urban environments – sometimes planned and other times organic. This interplay between the abstract and the concrete demonstrates the importance of the mutually reinforcing relationship between the different stakeholders who play in the two spaces.

One of the keys points that emerged from the Inclusive African Cities conference is that the boundary between exclusion and inclusion is not always clear, and it's not always possible to know when an inclusive city has been realised. The work presented here is a vital step forward, as it defines an inclusive city and develops a set of indicators to measure inclusivity.

However, we have also learned that the notion of inclusivity is not a static one – new inclusivities and exclusivities show themselves every day. SACN’s Inclusive Cities programme will continue to play an important role in enriching this knowledge base.
Inclusive African cities: challenges and opportunities in contemporary urban Africa is compiled from discussions and papers presented at the Inclusive African Cities Conference. Speakers and papers presented at the conference include the following:

Gbeniola Adeoti: “People of the city: politics and the urban experience in contemporary Nigerian literature”
Rufus Akinyelue: “Access to land and urban experience in Lagos: the White Cap Chiefs, the land grabbers and the victims”
Cecile Ambert: “‘HIV’ Aids and urban development issues in sub-Saharan Africa: beyond sex and meds: why getting the basics right is part of the response!”
Richard Ballard: “From nominal to substantial participation/achieving inclusion in the context of exclusion, gated communities in SA”
Belinda Bozzoli: Deputy Vice Chancellor Research, University of the Witwatersrand
Sarah Charlton: “Inclusion through housing: limitations of the South African housing programme in the current urban context”
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Wilbard Kombe: “Informal urbanisation and infrastructure provision in Dar es Salaam: challenges and opportunities for development of an inclusive city”

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Detlev Krige: “Citizens or consumers? The everyday construction of identities in contemporary Soweto”
Alan Mabin: Head of School, Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand
Colin Marx: “Conceptualising the economy to make urban land markets work for the poor”
Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza: Member of the Mayoral Committee for Community Development in the City of Johannesburg
Winnie Mitullah: “Socio-economic engagement in ‘illegal’ city spaces: the case of street vending and informal trade in Nairobi”
Christopher Sama Molem: “Negotiating liveability in African cities: innovative responses by the youth in Douala-Cameroon”
Anna Muller and a member of the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia: “Securing inclusion: strategies for community empowerment and state redistribution”
Catherine Ndinda: “Housing conditions of AIDS orphans in KwaZulu-Natal: implications for inclusion in local government housing plans”
Laury Lawrence Ocen: “Cosmopolitan versus homogeneity: emerging opposites in the global African cities”
Udesh Pillay: Executive Director Urban, Rural and Economic Development, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria
Lone Poulsen: “A room in the city: strategies for affordable accommodation”
François Roubaud & Jean-Michel Wachsberger: “Democratic citizenship in the poorest neighborhoods of Antananarivo (Madagascar)”
Lauren Royston: “Land market exclusion? Local land access and transfer institutions”
Abdou Malig Simone: Sociology, Goldsmiths College University of London
Janet Prest Talbot: “Children as participating citizens in a child-friendly city”
Melanie Samson: “Expanding the delivery of waste management services, creating new forms of exclusion”
Alison Todes: “Including women (dis)junctures between voice, policy and implementation in integrated development planning”
Jo Veary: “Hidden spaces: lessons learnt from an innovative research-informed public health intervention for a population of domestic migrants residing in the inner city of Johannesburg”
Dominique Vidal, presented by Aurelia wa Kabwe Segatti: “Living in, out of and between two cities: the migrants from Maputo in Johannesburg”
Tunde Williams: “Spatial distribution of Freetown: A post-colonial city-state”

The intercultural city yet to come: Lessons from Liverpool case studies based on: Film Presentation by Leonie Sandercock, Professor of Urban Planning, University of British Columbia, Vancouver Canada; presentation by Richard Brecknock, urban designer.

Measuring the Inclusivity of Cities: table adapted from draft paper Inclusive Cities/Inclusivity Indicators (2007) by Arndt Husar, with the following sources noted:
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