

1900 - 1922
EARLY
SEGREGATION

1923 - 1947
SEGREGATION
CONSOLIDATED

1948 - 1975
APARTHEID

1976 - 1993
APARTHEID
DISMANTLED

1994 - 2004
DEMOCRATISATION

2004 - 2009
TOWARDS URBAN
INTEGRATION

EMERGENCE ADOPTION CONTROL RESISTANCE UPGRADING INCLUSION

INFLUENCES

LEGISLATION
AND POLICY

INSTITUTIONAL

IMPLEMENTATION
INTERVENTIONS

OUTCOMES

LESSONS

1910: South Africa becomes a Union
1913: The Land Act is passed - as a result Africans are forced off the land to seek work in the cities.
1914 - 1918: First World War - stimulates African migration into towns.
The National Party is founded.
1913 - 1923: Increasing consensus within Government that Africans should not be recognised as permanent residents in urban areas.

1924: Nationalist Party wins elections in coalition with the South African Labour Party.
1929 - 1932: The Great Depression forces both Whites and Blacks off land into urban areas.
1940 - 1945: World War II stimulates further African migration into towns.
1946: Unprecedented labour demand forces government to slacken influx control - migration increases.

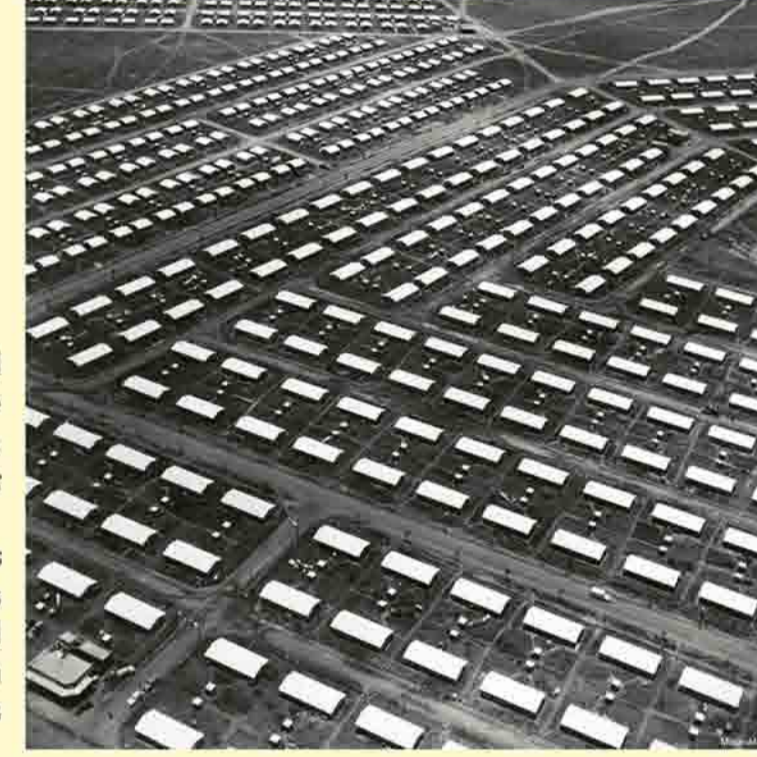


1866: Pass Law: Any African outside a designated area without a pass could be arrested
1913: Black Land Act: Prohibits Africans from owning or renting land outside of designated 'reserves' (comprising 7.6% of all land in South Africa).
1920: The Housing Act: A Central Housing Board introduced to provide funds (unsubsidized) and oversee local authorities in respect of providing housing for Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

1923: Native (Black) Urban Areas Act: Provides for Local Authorities to set aside land for Townships, keep separate Native Reserve Accounts, apply influx control, and manufacture and sell beer to Africans.
1927: Black (Native) Administration Act: Minister empowered to carry out forced removals.
1936: Development Trust and Land Act: Expands 'reserves' to 13,6% of all land and authorises elimination of rural 'black spots'.
1937: Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act: Africans prohibited from acquiring land in urban areas.
1945: A Housing (Emergency Powers) Act: Minister empowered through the Housing Board (now called Housing Commission) to expropriate land and build houses in Townships.



1948: The National Party wins national elections - the era of strict apartheid begins.
1948 - 1958: Existing segregation policies are further reinforced and institutionalised through legislation - the population is racially segregated in all aspects of life.
1960 - 1975: Implementation of homeland policy commences.
1948 - 1975: Contestation by civil society increases (see below). Government suppresses protestors.
1960: The Sharpeville massacre occurs whereby the police open fire on protesters killing more than 60 people and resulting in extensive international and national outrage.
1970 onwards: South Africa increasingly subject to boycotts and sanctions. This results in cultural and sporting isolation and economic decline.



1950: Group Areas Act: Provided for areas to be for the exclusive occupation of specified racial groups.
1951: Bantu Authorities Act: Established the homelands.
1952: Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act: All black persons required to carry passes and prohibited from staying in an urban area longer than seventy-two hours without permission.
1954: Blacks Resettlement Act: Established a Resettlement Board to remove urban 'black spots'.
1957: Housing Act: Established a Bantu Housing Board.
1961: Urban Bantu Council Act: A further attempt at limited black 'self-government' in the urban Townships.
1971: Black Affairs Administration Act: Extended provisions for black 'self-government' in Townships.

1976 - 1989: Widespread and extended uprisings, increased international isolation and a severely depressed economy place pressure on government to dismantle apartheid policies.
1986: Influx control is removed.
1989 - 1991: The ANC, PAC and key leaders are unbanned.
1990 - 1991: Multi-party negotiations for the transfer of power undertaken. In anticipation of the transfer migration into towns and cities increases significantly.
1990 - 1993: A power struggle between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party results in thousands of deaths. This occurs in the Townships in the form of violent clashes between Hostel Dwellers (Inkatha) and surrounding communities (ANC).
1992 - 1993: The Multi-Party Negotiations results in an interim constitution. An All-White Referendum is held and overwhelmingly supports the reform embodied in the interim constitution.
1991 - 1995: National negotiating forums are established to formulate new national policy for housing, water, etc. Local forums negotiate interim arrangements for local government.

1977: Community Councils Act: Established community councils in certain black townships.
1978: Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act: Introduced ninety-nine-year leasehold property rights.
1982: Black Local Authorities Act: Provided for the establishment of town councils for blacks. Similar Acts passed for Coloureds and Indians.
1984: Black Communities Development Act: Introduced freehold property ownership for Africans.
1986: The Pass Laws are repealed on the 23 July.
1993: Local Government Transition Act: Provided for revised interim measures for the restructuring of local government.



1976 and 1980: Administration Boards administer Townships but are ineffective due to inadequate financial resources, red tape and inability to respond to local needs. Use of funds from the sale of beer occurs.
1983: Numerous separate area and racially based local authorities are introduced - each required to generate their own revenue. In Townships these 'Local Authorities' lack legitimacy and are met with extensive civil resistance and widespread payment boycotts.
Civil Society:
1976 and 1980: Wide spread mobilisation continues. The country becomes increasingly ungovernable particularly at the local government level. Extensive physical damage occurs in Townships - burning of administration offices and beer halls. New community resistance groups - the 'civics' emerge. They mobilise a widespread payment boycott of rents, rates and services charges and later of home loan repayments to the banks and participate in local government forums to agree on interim arrangements for local government.

1994 - 2004: The first democratic elections are held. Government starts to implement policies aimed at constructing a new political, social and economic order. Migration from other countries in Africa increases significantly.
1995 - 2000: Municipal boundaries are re-demarcated. The number of municipalities is reduced from 800 to 284. Large cities are demarcated as metropolitan municipalities and restructured.
1995: First Municipal elections held. Transitional Local Councils are elected.
1996: The Constitution of South Africa is adopted.
1996: The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy is launched.
1999: South Africa's economy starts to grow although unemployment and poverty remain high.
2001: The IFRDP/URP pilot nodes are launched.
2003: The social grant programme is expanded and rolled out. Government's 'Towards a Ten Year Review' finds that generally Government is making progress - however many challenges still persist. In addition the gap between the formal and informal economy in South Africa is identified.
2004: South Africa commits itself to the Millennium Development Goals.
2004: South Africa wins the right to host the FIFA World Cup™.

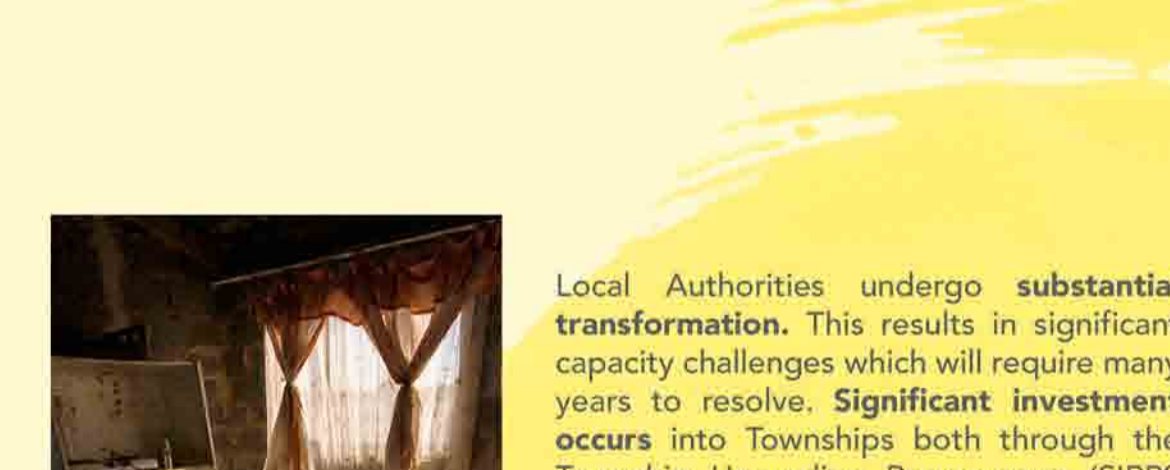
1994: Reconstruction and Development Programme: Sets out policy to reconstruct the country and meet basic needs.
1994: White Paper on Housing and Housing Act (1997): Sets out housing policy and the national housing subsidy programme.
1994: Redistribution of Land Act: Sets out a land redistribution process.
1995: Development Facilitation Act: Introduces a uniform process to expedite land development.
1997: Urban Development Framework Policy to support the development of urban settlements.
1998: White Paper on Local Government: Establishes the basis for a new local government system.
1999: Municipal Demarcation Act: Criteria for the determination of municipal boundaries set.
2002: The Local Government, Municipal Systems & Municipal Structures Acts: Outlines how Local Government must operate and be structured.
2003: The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP): Provides a framework for infrastructure investment and setting development priorities.



Government:
A new democratic constitution provides for a restructured public sector with clear roles and responsibilities between three spheres of Government and in respect of other statutory institutions. Government has a strong focus on public participation putting in place the Imbizo programme, the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) and Ward Committees.
Civil Society:
Civil society ceases to play the dominant role that it played previously. This is because of the increased legitimacy and role of the new democratic government as well as a shift of leadership and donor funding into or via government. Many civil society organisations lack focus and funding in the post apartheid era. Ward Committees over time increasingly replace the functions performed by the civics.



Township Upgrading Programmes: Two upgrading programmes are established but affect only 21 Townships: The Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs) (2004) are multi sectoral projects in 13 Townships. The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) is undertaken in eight Townships to tackle issues of poverty and exclusion - by coordinating the resources of the three spheres of government.
Sectoral programmes: A number of sectoral initiatives are implemented aimed at improving planning, housing, infrastructure and service provision (Integrated Development Plans (2000), National Housing Programme (1994), Municipal Infrastructure Grants (2004), Access to Free Basic Services (2001)). Regional corridors (2003) championed by the Department of Transport such as the Maputo and Bara Corridors. Activities are adhoc, coordination is difficult and there is often limited focus on the Townships.



Local Authorities undergo substantial transformation. This results in significant capacity challenges which will require many years to resolve. Significant investment occurs into Townships both through the Township Upgrading Programmes (SIPPs and URP) and the sectoral initiatives. Success is variable and impact most often limited with a key difficulty being capacity and coordination across and within spheres of government. South Africa reflects 'two economies in one country' - one white and wealthy (formal); the other overwhelmingly black and poverty stricken (informal). Townships fall into the latter.



The development of Townships has been undertaken on the basis of a limited number of focused area based urban renewal and upgrading programmes and sectoral initiatives. In most instances, interventions have not been structured around a vision of overall urban spatial integration. In general programmes have been inward looking or not coordinated within an overall urban development plan. National government generally did not provide any significant funding or enforce compliance with policy direction.

2005: Planned and illegal protests in Townships increase significantly due to the slow rate of service delivery and ongoing poor living conditions.
2006: The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGI) and the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition are launched.
2007: Integrated Development Plans are adopted by all municipalities (100%).
2008: An outbreak of xenophobic violence against foreign migrants occurs in Townships.
2008/09: A global financial crisis occurs - South Africa experiences its first recession in 17 years.

2004: The Comprehensive Housing Plan ('Breaking New Ground'): Sets out the basis for creating sustainable human settlements.
2004: The Expanded Public Works Programme: Aims to alleviate unemployment by creating at least 1 million work opportunities for unskilled unemployed people, through the delivery of public goods and services.
2005: The Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act: Establishes a framework to facilitate intergovernmental cooperation.
2006: National Spatial Development Perspective: Requires that each sphere of government undertakes rigorous analysis of the spatial economy.
2008: Housing Development Agency Act: Establishes the Housing Development Agency and provides for its functions and powers.



Government:
Local Government increasingly becomes responsible for the upgrading and development of Townships. Provincial Government's involvement in the development of Townships continues in some provinces. The challenge of coordination between Local and Provincial Government in terms of the provision of social amenities such as schools and health facilities remains largely unresolved. The Inter-Governmental Relations Framework Act attempts to address this issue. The role of National Government remains unchanged although direct conditional grant funding emerges through the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant. Ongoing Local Government capacity constraints remain the key problem within the public sector - which severely undermines delivery.
Civil Society:
Government continues to attempt to engage civil society in the policy and development process - however this is acknowledged as an area of challenge. The Imbizo programmes and Ward Committees continue to be the primary forms of civic engagement. NGO's continue to be active in communities albeit with reduced levels of donor funding.



The URP continues to be implemented. Provinces and Metropolitan Municipalities start replicating the methodology developed (for example Gauteng's Top 20 Townships project). However funding and capacity remain key constraints. The Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (2006) is launched to support community infrastructure projects in Townships. The Training for Township Renewal Initiative. Implementation of the sectoral programmes gathers momentum - impacting positively on Townships. New ideas and initiatives are launched including the Housing Development Agency aimed at undertaking large scale sustainable human settlements. Informal settlement upgrading, inclusionary housing policy and increasing densities. There is an increasing recognition (2007) that transportation is a critical factor in linking Townships to the cities.

Upgrading of Townships continues to be largely uncoordinated. Townships remain marginalised and separate from towns and cities. Service delivery protests occur as a result. There is recognition that Townships need to be significantly transformed and integrated into urban areas. Development focus shifts to integration of Townships into towns and cities through improved spatial planning and budgetary coordination, transportation linkages, infrastructure upgrading and mixed use development. The roles of Local and Provincial Government remain unclear with a greater devolution of responsibility towards Local Government, but generally with inadequate authority, capacity and funding. Poor economic conditions in Townships limit the ability of citizens to pay for municipal services which undermines the quality and long term sustainability of service delivery. There is increasing recognition of the role that the private sector can play in developing Townships. However tensions remain around the impact on existing business interests.

While there are a range of initiatives which promote integrated development, there are still substantial funding, institutional and capacity challenges to this occurring at scale. It is increasingly recognised that Township redevelopment requires a significant time and cost commitment to be effective. Generally, urban spatial frameworks and strategies are not prioritised. The integration and upgrading of Townships, nor are they properly informed by or based on overall urban spatial planning. This limits their effectiveness and impact. Delivery of sustainable human settlements and neighborhood upgrading programmes requires extensive cooperation between spheres of government - mechanisms to ensure cooperative government are only now starting to be developed. In addition government cannot do this alone but needs to create opportunities for partnerships with local communities and the private sector.

Government:
1900 - 1913: Managed by Municipal Authorities who apply racial segregation on an adhoc basis.
1913 onwards: National Government (in the form of the first Union Cabinet, headed by Louis Botha) enforces racial segregation. Townships continue to be managed by Municipal Authorities but increasingly within the requirements of national legislation and institutions.



Organizations opposed to racial restrictions begin to emerge. (African National Congress (1912) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (1922)). Workers begin to organize. A number of resistance campaigns undertaken around pass laws and labour issues.

Government:
Local Government remains responsible for the development and administration of Townships - many set up dedicated Departments. Stricter Central Government oversight occurs through legislative prescription, the Housing Commission and provision of funding for housing. Advisory Boards established - first attempt at African representation on Township matters, but lack powers and are ineffective.
Civil Society:
Civil society starts to consolidate and co-operate around common views across racial groups. Resistance campaigns increase in the form of petitions and deputations. Government commences violent suppression of resistors. First mobilisation in Townships occurs in the form of the Alexandra Bus Boycotts.

Local Authorities actively undertake development comprising Hostels, Locations (Townships), and villages (for Africans who build their own dwellings). Townships such as the Western and Eastern Native Townships, Orlando East, Lamont, Baumanville and Cato Manor are developed. Native Reserve Accounts established - into which all moneys relating to Townships are accounted. Local Authorities are increasingly unable to meet their financial obligations in respect of Townships without a substantial contribution from Central Government and profits from the sale of beer. Relocations commence of Africans living in white areas - enforcement weak and relocations undertaken on a voluntary basis.



1948 and 1960: Extensive development of Townships occurs linked to removals from 'white areas'. Most Townships that exist today are developed during this period (Moletsane, Lenasia, KwaMashu, Mamelodi, Thokoza and KwaThema). Clear specifications for Townships set out in national legislation. Housing provided in the form of small 'matchbox' houses and hostels. Dedicated funding allocated for the first time from Central Government for housing. Funding from the sale of beer continues.

1960 - 1975: Development of Townships slows down as Government shifts focus to homeland development. Removals out of 'white areas' increases significantly, but now into homeland townships. Direct administration of Townships by Central Government occurs through Administration Boards that operate independently from local authorities.

Townships are separated physically, socially and economically from the town. Township residents become increasingly isolated and poorer as access to economic opportunities and urban amenities are restricted. While influx control is strictly applied, informal settlements and overcrowding in existing stock in Townships increase.



Clear direction by Central Government linked to funding, strong oversight and the authority and will to intervene enables the implementation of contentious and unpopular policies. However the ability to maintain such policies centrally becomes increasingly difficult. Direct establishment and administration of Townships by central government agencies expedites the implementation of apartheid policy. However this becomes increasingly dysfunctional over time as centralised accountability and conflicts with local government make these arrangements unsustainable. Governance structures without a democratic foundation have been demonstrated to lack credibility, integrity and the ability to govern or represent.

Housing provision in Townships is reformed. Africans are able to acquire registered title to land and housing in Townships. Funding for housing is increased substantially both from the public sector and the private sector (home loans). Extensive private sector housing development commences. Tenants in Township Houses are offered the option to purchase their houses. Racial Local Authorities are established - but lack legitimacy and financial sustainability and fail. Broad based national sectoral and local area based negotiating forums are established to formulate policies and arrangements around most aspects pertinent to the Townships. These forums are highly participatory and assist in building consensus for the transition to a democratic government.



Township residents are no longer restricted to living in Townships and some of the wealthier households start to move into other areas of the cities and towns. South Africa is left with a legacy of cities and towns structured by apartheid with inefficient, inverted density patterns and the majority of the city's population far from employment centers resulting in a heavy reliance on transport. There is racial segregation of urban areas. Townships are characterised by small houses of low standard and poor quality. High levels of informal settlements, poor services, infrastructure and amenities and poor transportation routes. Local Authorities are dysfunctional.

Local government structures that lack political legitimacy or financial capacity fail to effectively fulfil a local government mandate. The racial and administrative segregation of local government will very quickly prove to be dysfunctional. The negative legacy of apartheid on the structure of SA's cities and towns and on the functioning of local government is enormous and will require substantial time and focused effort to remedy.



Prior to 1910: First Townships called 'Locations' emerge either close to places of work or on the outskirts of towns. Racial segregation is not strictly enforced and some mixed areas emerge (Vrededorp, Sophiatown, Burgersdorp, Brickfields, etc).
1913 onwards: Town Councils pass ordinances relating to the establishment and administration of racially segregated areas or 'locations'. New Townships are established and existing Townships relocated to the outskirts of towns on a racially segregated basis. Townships like Ndabeni (formally Uitvlugt) in Cape Town and Klipspruit near Johannesburg are developed.

The first Townships emerge - some within towns (on a mixed race basis) but increasingly over time on the outskirts of towns. These areas are allowed by Government because of the need for a labour force in urban areas but limited investment is made into their development. Influx control is applied to regulate labour supply for farmers and mines. Africans are excluded from rights (political and land). Living conditions in Townships are extremely poor.



The absence of a national framework resulted in regional differences in the administration of Townships. Once national legislation promulgated, together with funding, the approach to Townships is significantly influenced. Limitations on access to land, economic opportunities and social services substantially reinforced poverty in the Townships.

Economic pressures result in increased African urbanisation in spite of influx control. This is reflected in growing Townships and the increased inadequacy of housing and services. Local Authorities establish specialised dedicated Township administration units in response to the increased demand to develop and administer Townships. Central Government is increasingly dominant in defining local government's approach to developing Townships. As the task gets bigger, the dependence of Local Authorities on Central Government increases - particularly for financial support.

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TOWNSHIP TRANSFORMATION TIMELINE