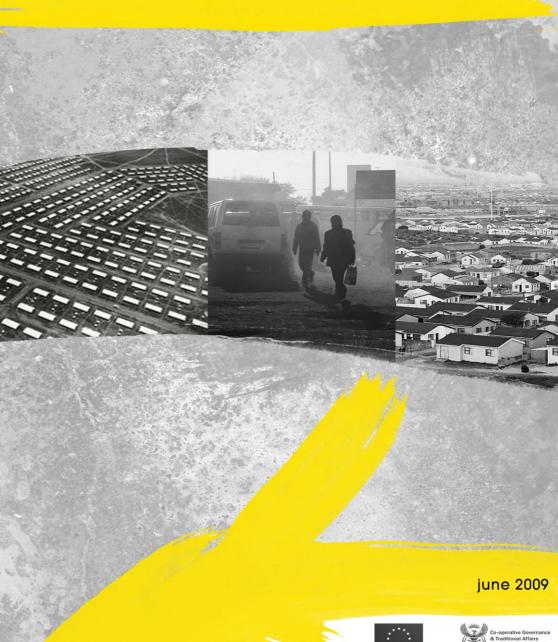
TOWNSHIP TRANSFORMATION TIMELINE



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History is a guide to navigation in perilous times. History is who we are and why we are the way we are.

David C. McCullough

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1. Introduction

Some forty percent of households in South Africa (4,6 million) are living in Townships¹. Overall half of all metropolitan households are living in Townships (2,7 million). Since South Africa's democratic elections of 1994, conditions in urban townships have not substantially improved. Incomes of households in Townships have in real terms remained static. Moreover more households in Townships live in informal settlements and lack full access to municipal services than in 1996. It is critical that Government focuses its attention on integrating and addressing the needs of these households within South Africa's towns and cities. To do this, it is essential to position Townships centrally in urban policy debates and priority-setting processes.



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¹ Analysis of data from StatsSA 2005 (General Household Survey)

The *Township Transformation Timeline* provides an overview of the history of the evolution of Townships since 1900 and the lessons that can be learnt for the future. The Timeline sets out to provide a better understanding of Townships and how they can be *transformed and integrated* into South Africa's urban areas today.

Townships are defined as areas that were designated under apartheid legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Previously called 'locations' Townships have a unique and distinct history, which has had a direct impact on the socioeconomic status of these areas and how people perceive and operate within them.

Over the years, Townships have developed an **iconic profile** in South African society, representing the very heart of where **the struggle for freedom** was waged, where many of today's **leaders**, including famous politicians, artists, business icons, sportsmen and women were born and grew up. They are also places where a **real sense of community exists**.

Prior to 1994, Townships operated and functioned in **isolation from the mainstream economy and society**, and were associated with racial segregation, exclusion and the marginal provision of services and economic opportunities. Since 1994, the government has implemented a number of initiatives to **transform and integrate these areas**, with varying degrees of success or failure.

President Jacob Zuma, in one of his first addresses on becoming President of South Africa highlighted the importance of Townships in South Africa today:

"Our townships need to have proper shopping facilities, proper roads, electricity, water and sanitation, quality schools and clinics, affordable public transport and all the basic services that are taken for granted in historically white areas. "We will not rest until that happens."

Opening of the "Pan African Shopping Centre" in Alexandra Township, 24 May 2009.

This document sets out an analysis of the history of Townships in South Africa using the Timeline methodology of identifying periods in this history and describing these on a consistent basis. Lessons from each period and overall, particularly from a perspective of effective policy and development interventions for Townships going forward, have been drawn. This document is one of three products that have been produced the others comprising a poster and multi-media presentation which can be accessed via the website of the Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs.



2. Statistical profile of Townships²

Approximately 4,6 million households were living in Townships across South Africa in 2005. This represents 36% of the total population of South Africa at the time (12,7 million). Of these 2,7 million (60%) live in metropolitan townships.

In 2005, a significant proportion of South Africa's metropolitan population (50% of all households) were living in Townships. The extent varies per metropolitan area³:

- Cape Town: 46%
- eThekwini (Durban): 38%
- Ekhuruleni (East Rand): 70%
- Johannesburg: 49%
- Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth): 67%; and
- Tshwane (Pretoria): 42%.

Key characteristics of households living in metropolitan Townships are as follows⁴:

- Most heads of household are African (87%) and male (72%)
- The average age of the head of household is 43 years
- Over one third (35%) of household heads have a matric or higher level of education
- Average household size is 3,2 people
- Levels of poverty are high with 82,4% of households spending less than R2,500 per month.

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 $^{^2}$ The profile of Townships reflected in this section was based on an analysis of data from Stats SA. As Stats SA does not distinguish townships as specific areas in order to analyze the data it had to be manipulated using GIS to identify those enumerator areas that would coincide with townships as defined by the Group Areas Act

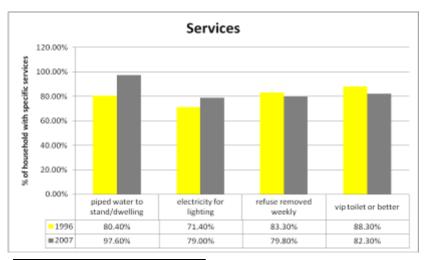
³ Analysis of data from StatsSA 2005 (General Household Survey)

⁴ Analysis of data from StatsSA 2005 (General Household Survey)

Generally, conditions of households living in metropolitan Townships **have not improved** between 1996 and 2007. Some indicative indicators are as follows⁵:

- % households in formal housing- marginal improvement of 2% (61% to 63%).
- % households in informal housing- significant deterioration of 9% (28% to 37%).
- % households with access to services (see diagram):
 - Piped water- significant improvement of 18% (80% to 98%).
 - Electricity for lighting moderate improvement of 9% (71% to 80%).
 - Refuse removed weekly— moderate deterioration or 3% (83% to 80%).
 - VIP toilet or better significant deterioration of 6% decrease in access (88% to 82%)

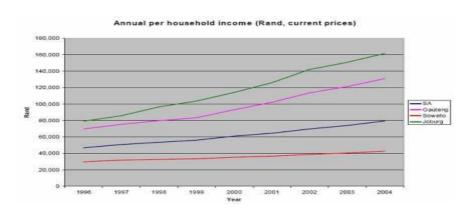
Figure 1: Trend Analysis: Services



⁵ Analysis of date from Stats SA 1996 (10% sample of the Census) and 2007 (Census Replacement Survey)

- The number of households living in Townships has increased significantly between 1996 and 2005. The number of households living in Townships in 1996 was approximately 2,08 million but by 2005 this had increased to 4,64 million representing a doubling of the number of households. This is due partly to household size decreasing and inmigration. Some migration out of the townships to other parts of the city also occurred⁶.
- Households living in metropolitan Townships incomes have not increased in line with the rest of South Africans. Township households are comparatively poorer then their non-township counterparts. For example between 1996 and 2004 the average income of households in Soweto has grown very slowly compared to the average incomes of Gauteng and South Africa, and especially of Johannesburg. While in 1996 the average income in Johannesburg was about 2,5 times as high as in Soweto, in 2004 it was nearly 4 times as high⁷.

Figure 2: Trend Analysis: Expenditure



 $^{^6}$ Analysis of data from StatsSA 1996 (10% sample of the Census) and 2005 (General Household Survey)

 7 L Pernegger and S Godehart, Townships in the South African Geographic landscape, 2007

3. Background and methodology

The Township Transformation Timeline is a project of the **Department Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs** (CGTA) (then called the Department of Provincial and Local Government [dplg]) and the **European Union**. The timeline has been developed using a particular methodology that reviews **history**, **policy and development initiatives** within **specified time frames or periods**. These periods are analysed and documented in terms of the following **key dimensions**:

- Influences: comprising external factors that impacted on the period under review
- Legislation and policy: statutes and policy documents passed during the period under review
- **Institutional roles**: analysis of the role of government and civil society during the period under review
- Implementation interventions: outlining the way in which the development of Townships occurred
- Outcomes: the key outcomes by the end of the period
- **Lessons:** the key lessons that can be learnt.

The methodology applied in developing the timeline was as follows:

- A provisional timeline was generated.
- 38 interviews were then undertaken with policy makers, practitioners and specialists using the provisional timeline as a basis for discussion.
- Findings of the interviews were analysed and key analytical categories for analysis were identified.
- A document review and data review was undertaken in terms of the analytical categories
- On the basis of these reviews the time line periods were finalised and the time line populated.

4. Timeline overview

The time line comprises six periods that are unique to the history of Townships in South Africa. Each period has been selected based on the unique events that occurred during the period with a focus on governance as the key defining factor. One key event was selected where possible to determine the start date of each period. In addition a sub-title has been developed for each period that reflects the impact on Townships. An overview of the time line, the key triggers used to define each period and the impact on Townships is set out below.

Figure 3: The Township Transformation Time periods showing key triggers and overview

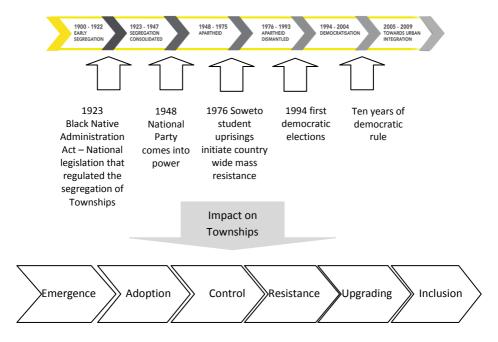


Figure 4: Township Timeline at a glance

1000 1000		
1900 - 1922	First Townships (called 'locations') emerge some within towns (on a mixed	
Early	race basis) but increasingly over time on the outskirts of towns. They are	
segregation	allowed by Government so as to ensure a labour force in urban areas but	
(Emergence)	limited investment is made into their development. Living conditions are	
	extremely poor . Influx control is applied to regulate labour supply for farmers	
	and mines. Africans excluded from rights (political and land). Segregation is	
	applied by government but on a fragmented and decentralized basis. Civil	
	society begins to emerge to contest segregation and living conditions.	
1923 – 1947	Townships assume increasing importance in urban areas as the reliance on	
Segregation	African labour increases. Investment by Government in Townships increases	
consolidated	but is still not able to keep up with demand due to high levels of	
(Adoption)	urbanization. As a result informal settlements emerge and living conditions	
	remain poor. Relocation of Africans commences. Central Government takes	
	on a more direct role in regulating the nature of Townships through oversight	
	and funding. Civil society increases resistance activities using deputations and	
	petitions. The potential to mobilize in Townships emerges, as does the use of	
	strikes and boycotts.	
1948 - 1975	Initially there is extensive development of Townships by Government –	
Apartheid	despite this informal settlements and overcrowding increases. From 1960	
(Control)	development slows down as the focus shifts to homeland development.	
	Townships are segregated physically, socially and economically from towns	
	and residents become progressively isolated and poorer as access to economic	
	opportunities and urban amenities are restricted. Civil society becomes	
	increasingly militant. International sanctions and boycotts are applied.	
1976 - 1993	Civil unrest, international sanctions, increasing urbanization and a declining	
Apartheid	economy contribute to the dismantling of apartheid policy . There is	
dismantled	increasing acceptance that Africans will remain permanently in urban areas	
(Resistance)	and 99 year leasehold and full property rights are provided respectively.	
	Funding for housing is increased and extensive private sector housing	
	development in Townships commences. Racial Local Authorities are	
	established but are dysfunctional. Africans are no longer restricted to living	
	only in townships and start moving into the inner city and suburbs. South	
	Africa is left with cities structured by apartheid. Townships are characterized	
	by small, poor quality houses, with a large number of informal settlements,	
	poor service infrastructure and amenities and lack of affordable public	
	transportation.	

1994 – 2004 Democratisation (Upgrading)

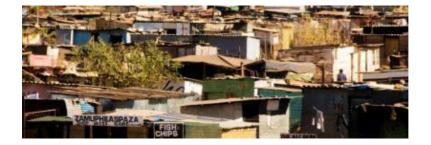
Local Authorities undergo substantial transformation resulting in constraints in respect of capacity and processes. Significant investment into Townships occurs through the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs) and Urban Renewal Programme (URP) launched in 2001 as a ten year pilot programme and sectoral initiatives. Success is variable and impact limited. Access to housing, services and amenities improves but Townships remain separate and marginalized. A key difficulty that persists is capacity and coordination across and within spheres of government. South Africa reflects 'two economies in one country' – one white and wealthy (formal-first economy), the other overwhelmingly black and poverty stricken (informal-second economy). Townships fall into the latter.

2004-2009 Towards urban integration (Inclusion)

The URP continues to be implemented – Provinces and Municipalities start replicating the methodology but funding and capacity remain key constraints. Implementation of the sectoral programmes impacts positively on Townships. However upgrading of Townships continues to be largely uncoordinated. Better and more comprehensive planning and budgeting is pursued (through IDPs and the National Spatial Development Perspective.

The **Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme** is launched in 2006. The **Housing Development Agency** with a **focus on integrated human settlements** is launched in 2009.

Townships still remain marginalised and isolated within towns and cities. The emphasis of development initiatives in Townships gradually shifts to a recognition of the critical need for integration of Townships into towns and cities. The role of Local Government in respect of the development of Townships remains unresolved, with a greater devolution of responsibility towards Local Government but generally with inadequate authority, capacity and funding. There is increasing recognition of the role of the private sector in developing Townships. However tensions remain around the impact on existing Township business interests.



5. Time line periods

This section sets out each of the time line periods in terms of the analytical dimensions namely:

- Influences
- Legislation and policy
- Institutional roles
- Implementation interventions
- Outcomes
- Lessons

5.1 1900 –1922 Early segregation (Emergence)



5.1.1 Influences⁸

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

- 1910: South Africa becomes a Union with four Provinces (Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal). Categorisation of the population by race is applied, but Provinces apply different restrictions in respect of segregation and rights. The Pass Laws put in place in 1866 are retained.
- 1913: The Black Land Act is passed. This Act is significant as land is segregated for the first time within South Africa. Africans are prohibited from owning or renting land outside designated reserves (7,6% of the total land area of South Africa). Property sizes inside the reserves are also restricted.

⁸ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted.

As a result, many Africans are no longer able to farm on a subsistence basis and are forced to seek work for wages on white farms or in mines and factories in the cities.

- 1914 1918: The First World War occurs. This increases work opportunities and further stimulates African migration into towns.
- 1914: An Afrikaner nationalist party, the National Party is founded by J B M Hertzog.
- **1913 1923**: Extensive national government debate on urban policy occurs, particularly as regards the status of urban Africans and control of their movement. Debates around draft range legislation, as well as the findings of two commissions namely the Transvaal Local Government Commission and the Native Affairs Commission. An increasingly accepted view emerges within Government that Africans should not be recognised as permanent in urban areas, as this could lead to voting rights and undermine white supremacy.

On independence, in 1910, there are about 1.3 million White citizens, the majority of which are Afrikaners of Dutch descent; the minority are British in origin. There are four million black Africans, half a million Coloured people and about 180,000 Asians. The two white groups disagree on the level of rights which Africans should have access to.

In the individual provinces different restrictions are placed on these various racial groups. In the Cape Province the Coloureds have the same status as the Whites, listed on the electoral register subject only to meeting the property qualifications; elsewhere in the Union they are classed with the other non-white groups. Indians suffer particular discrimination in Natal where they outnumber the whites, being subjected to a special tax and the need to register their fingerprints.

History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net



5.1.2 Legislation and policy9

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

- 1866: Pass Law: Any African found outside a designated residential area without a pass could be arrested¹⁰
- 1908: Native Beer Act: Empowered Natal Municipalities to utilize the profits from their monopoly sale of beer to Africans for the erection of houses, hospitals and other facilities for Africans.
- 1913: Black Land Act No 27 (also known as the Native Land Act): Prohibits Africans from owning or renting land outside of designed 'reserves' which comprise 7,6% of all land in South Africa.

From 1910 onwards for about 40 years there was an extensive amount of Anti Indian Legislation passed addressing issues such as immigration of Indians, taxes, access to land ownership, their ability to trade and recognition of the Muslim and Hindu religions. legislation was This strongly contested over time by Indians with of the the support Indian Government. Passive resistance was applied initially as part of this contestation originated Mahatma Gandhi.

South African History Online: http://www.sahistory.org.za/

■ 1920: The Housing Act (No 35 of 1920): Introduced a Central Housing Board to regulate local authority housing developments for Africans, Coloured and Indians. The Board's mandate is to supervise/administer the lending of government funds for housing developments.

¹⁰ This Act was passed prior to the period under review but is incorporated as it was retained and is significant

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⁹ This section adapted from South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/

5.1.3 Institutional roles

Government¹¹

Between **1900** and **1910**, South Africa was divided into four Colonies, each of which had its own Parliament that passed its own legislation. Towns were managed by Municipal Authorities (Village Board or Town Council) that had the ability to pass regulations and apply legislation. Racial segregation was applied on an adhoc basis at the Municipal level.

In 1910 with the establishment of a Union, the separate Colonies were replaced by Provincial Councils with authority over education, hospitals and municipal government. Administration of towns continued to be undertaken by Municipalities.

Between **1913 and 1922** with the passing of the Black Land Act, National Government establishes and commences to enforce racial segregation. Townships continue to be managed by a Municipal Authority but increasingly within requirements of national legislation and institutions.

Civil Society¹²

In response to the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism, the increasing restrictions placed on Africans, Coloureds and Indians; civil society organizations begin to emerge. The most significant of which is the **African National Congress** (called at the time the South African Native National Convention) formed in 1912, the **South African Communist Party** (called the Communist Party of South Africa) formed in 1921 and the **Inkatha Freedom Party** (called the Inkatha yeNkululedo ye Sizwe) formed in 1922.

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¹¹ This section adapted from P Morris, A History of Black Housing in South Africa, 1981 unless otherwise indicated.

¹² This section adapted from South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/

In addition, workers begin to organize with the formation in 1919 of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) (see box).

This Union is the most active during this period with its membership increasing to 150,000 by 1927. The ICU played an important role in increasing African awareness of their exploitation and uniting black workers.

A number of resistance campaigns around pass laws and labour issues are undertaken during the period including:

- In 1913 African and Indian women undertake passive resistance campaigns against passes.
- In 1920 there is a militant strike by 70,000 African miners around workers rights and living conditions.

In addition, in 1922 White Miners undertake an armed rebellion (also called the Rand Rebellion or Red Rebellion) to protest against the mines replacing White workers with cheaper African workers. About 200 people were killed and more than 1,000 people were injured. The rebellion resulted in a number of Acts protecting skilled jobs for Whites.

1919 – 1930: Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)

The ICU was formed in Cape Town. It was the first union representing African workers in South Africa. Originally established for Black and Coloured dockworkers of Cape Town, by 1925 it had spread throughout the country. Its membership included skilled as well as unskilled workers from industry and the agricultural sector. The ICU did not officially petition the authorities, but adopted a more active approach with a view to obtaining better working conditions and higher wages for its members. At its peak from 1927-1928. the ICU claimed more than 150 000 members, the majority of whom were Black, although a few thousand were Coloured and some were White. Due to poor leadership and no consistent organization strategy the lost considerable credibility. In due course two factions developed; those who supported more militant action, and those who advocated moderation. By 1930, the ICU had disintegrated and it died slowly over the next few years. However between 1919 and 1930 it played an important role in increasing Africans' awareness of their exploitation and uniting black workers.

South African History Online: http://www.sahistory.org.za/

To protest against the Black Land Act, the ANC leads delegations to Britain during 1914 and 1919. Neither of which are successful, due to Britain's position at the time of creating the Union that it would not attempt to alter the political status of Africans, Indians and Coloureds¹³

5.1.4 Implementation interventions¹⁴

Between **1900** and **1910** the first Townships begin to emerge; in some cases within the borders of towns close to places of work and in others on the outskirts of towns. Activities are **uncoordinated** and each Municipality makes its own decisions. **Racial segregation is not strictly enforced** so some mixed areas emerge such as Vrededorp, Sophiatown, etc. Limited investment by Government occurs into these areas so living conditions are extremely poor, affecting the health of residents. Levels of Tuberculosis escalate and in 1918 an Influenza Epidemic takes the lives of 500,000 Africans, Coloureds and Indians.

From 1913 with the passing of the Black Land Act, Town Councils start to pass ordinances relating to the **establishment and administration of 'locations'** including the provision of services and levying rates and other charges. Town Councils start to actively develop Townships for example Ndabeni (formally Uitvlugt) in Cape Town and Klipspruit in Johannesburg. The approach to land rights varies and in some Provinces (Cape and Transvaal) freehold title is available.

Towards the end of the period **National Government starts to play a more active role** in the development of Townships with the passing of the Housing Act. A **Central Housing Board** is established to oversee housing developments for Africans, Indians and Coloureds. **Loan funding** from government is provided to municipalities for housing developments although no subsidies are contemplated.

¹³ P Morris, The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

¹⁴ This section adapted from P Morris, A History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

During the period the use of funds from beer sales to Africans for the development of houses, services and amenities commences.

5.1.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- The First Townships (called 'locations') emerge. These are allowed by Government so as to ensure a labour force in urban areas.
- Influx control is applied so as to regulate urban migration and the labour supply for farmers and mines.
- Generally Africans are excluded from rights both political and in respect of land
- **Living conditions** in the Townships are extremely poor, with the residents being susceptible to epidemics.
- Civil society emerges to contest segregation and the poor living conditions. This takes the form of passive resistance, strikes and delegations



5.1.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

- In the early period 1900 to 1913, an absence of a national framework resulted in regional differences in the establishment and administration of Townships. From 1913 onward, a national framework (legislation) together with funding significantly influences the approach to Townships and results in a more uniform approach. The combination of a national policy and legislative framework and funding are key prerequisites for institutionalizing a commonly applied approach by municipalities.
- Limitations on access to land, economic opportunities and social services substantially reinforced poverty in the Townships.



5.2 1923 – 1947: Segregation consolidated (Adoption)



5.2.1 Influences¹⁵

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

1923: The **Black** Native Administration Act is passed. This Act legislated the outcome of the debates in the previous era in respect of the status of urban Africans and their freedom of movement (for more details see 5.2.2 below). It consolidated segregation of Africans and influx control and the basis for administering Townships. The Act started to consolidate the segregation policies that would form the cornerstone of apartheid (see box). The adoption of the Act

'There is now shaping a policy which may have far reaching effects...we have realized that political ideas which apply to our white civilization largely do not apply to the administration of native affairs... and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions...giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites.... in land ownership, settlement and forms of government, we are trying to keep them apart, and in this way are laying down a policy which may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solution to our native problem'

Jan Smuts: 1923: Soweto history; http://www.sahistory.org.za

was optional, Jan Smuts (the then Prime Minister) said it was not the intention to 'bully' the municipalities into accepting it.

¹⁵ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted

- Johannesburg accepted it right away, while others, such as Port Elizabeth waited until 1935.
- 1924: The Nationalist Party wins the national elections (in a coalition with the South African Labour Party) and enacts additional laws to further protect the white minority and enforce segregation.
- 1929- 1932: The Great Depression occurs plunging both Whites and Blacks into extreme poverty, forcing them to move into urban areas to seek work.
- 1940 45: World War II occurs and especially towards the latter years increases work opportunities which further stimulates African migration into towns.
- 1946: The unprecedented demand for labour, spurred by World War II, forces the government to slacken influx control laws. Migration to towns becomes easier and increases. African populations in towns and cities increase significantly for example in Johannesburg the African population increased from 229,000 in 1936 to 371,000 in 1946.



5.2.2 Legislation and policy¹⁶

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

- 1923: Native (Black) Urban Areas Act No 21: Local Authorities are empowered and required to:
 - Set aside land for Townships (called locations)
 - Keep separate Native Reserve Accounts with income and expenditure to be approved by central government
 - Apply influx control and remove surplus Africans from urban areas
 - Manufacture and sell beer to Africans in Townships
 - Establish Native Advisory Boards to represent African opinion
- 1927: Black (Native) Administration Act No 38: Gives the Minister power to move people without prior notice. This Act is used extensively to carry out forced removals.
- 1934 : Slums Act : Provides powers to undertake the demolition of slums and expropriation of land
- 1936: Development Trust and Land Act No 18: This Act expands the reserves to a total of 13,6% of South Africa. In addition it authorizes the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to eliminate 'black spots' (black owned land surrounded by white owned land). The Act also established the South African Development Trust to acquire and administer land for African people in each of the provinces.
- 1937: Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 46: The Act prohibits the acquisition of land in urban areas by Africans from owners who are not African. In addition it introduces very strict regulations regarding the freedom of movement of women as part of influx control.
- 1945: Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25: This Act strengthens influx control and the ability to remove people from urban areas.

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¹⁶ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

1945: A Housing (Emergency Powers) Act: This Act gives the Minister of Welfare and Demobilization (through the Housing Board now called the Housing Commission) the power to expropriate land, buy materials, and appoint contractors. In addition if a local authority is unwilling or unable to carry out housing schemes, the Commission itself could undertake the scheme and recover the costs from the local authority.

The Pass Laws

The first time Pass documents were used to restrict the movement of Africans was in the 1700's where Khoikhoi workers had to carry 'permission documents' from their employers. In the 1800s passes were used by Local Government to control Black and Coloured people's access to the diamond fields in the Orange Free state. The first Pass Law occurred in 1866 to restrict access to the goldfields in the Transvaal. In 1910 when South Africa became a Union this Law was retained and applied nationally. The Pass laws resulted in constant humiliation and monitoring of African people and caused intense anger and hardship. In May 1918 the first protests against the pass laws was undertaken. This started an ongoing and active campaign against this law often led by women. The first pass-burning campaign occurred in the 1930s and this was to be a common form of protest. Administrating Pass laws was costly and difficult. There were a number of reviews of the pass laws over time that recommended they be abolished – despite this they remained in place and over time worsened. In 1952 the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952 was passed. This forced African South Africans to carry a range of documents, including a photograph, place of birth, employment records, tax payments and criminal records, and enabled the government to further restrict their movement. The Pass laws were repealed on the 23 July 1986. From 1800 between 15 and 20 million people had been arrested for violating these laws.

South African History Online: http://www.sahistory.org.za/

5.2.3 Institutional roles

Government¹⁷

Local Government continues to be responsible for the development and administration of Townships and due to the growing size of the Townships many set up dedicated Departments. However there is stricter Central Government oversight through legislation, increased powers of the Central Housing Board (Housing Commission) and the provision of funding for housing (see 5.2.4 below). Central Government itself begins to develop township areas where Local Government does not perform.

Advisory Boards are established as a first attempt at African representation on township matters. These Boards had limited powers and are ineffective.

Soccer

Soccer has played an important role in township life. Its popularity is due to the fact that it does not need special equipment and can be played anywhere. In the first few decades of the 20th century African soccer associations were formed across South Africa, In 1933 the South African Bantu Football Association (SABFA) and the South Coloured Football Association (SACFA) are formed. In 1935 the Transvaal Inter-Race Soccer Board is formed by Africans, Indians, and Coloureds. In 1937 Orlando Pirates is founded. By 1945 of all sports, soccer enjoyed the biggest following. Alexandra For example, in soccer experienced a sudden surge of growth as the number of teams affiliated to the Alexandra African Football Association leaped from ten to sixteen. By 1950 fourteen teams were playing in the Alexandra league. In the 1960s soccer became semi professional and more commercial. The growth of mass support for soccer provided a way of developing a common urban identity among communities. By 1962 up to 30,000 people attended soccer games. During the apartheid era soccer matches were a way for leadership to address the crowds without the restrictions of a political meeting imposed by the apartheid Government. Soccer also becomes a way out of the township when Stephen "Kalamazoo" Mokone and David Julius in 1962 become the first Black South Africans to sign professional contracts in Europe.

J Nauright, Sport, Culture and identify in South Africa, http://book/googlie.co

 $^{^{17}}$ P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

Civil Society¹⁸

Civil society starts to consolidate around common views on the rights of Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Resistance campaigns increase with a focus on Pass Laws and workers rights. The activities undertaken are predominantly moderate and in the form of petitions and deputations.

Some boycotts occur but Government commences the violent suppression of resistance. Some of the key activities that occurred during this period include the following:

- 1930: A pass burning campaign commences with African and Indians all over the country gathering to burn their Pass Books. In Durban police storm the protesters killing four people. The campaign continues until February 1931 when it is crushed.
- 1946: **African miners' strike** from the East to the West rand. Police open fire and kill and injure hundreds of workers.



¹⁸ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

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There is increased support and cooperation bv civil society groupings across the different racial groups. In 1935 the All African Convention is formed comprising Africans from different political spectrums. The body aims to promote African rights through representation to parliament. In 1939 the Coloured National Liberation League convenes a conference in Cape Town, where delegates from 45 organizations representing Africans, Coloureds and Indians form the Non European United Front.

Between 1940 and 1945 the first mobilization in Townships occurs around living conditions particularly the cost of transport in the form of the Alexandra Bus Boycotts (see box). These boycotts mobilize 20,000 people representing a new phenomenon in South African resistance politics.

From 1946 onwards, Indians begin to actively mobilize in respect to Indian rights. The passive resistance campaign led by Mahatma Gandhi commences in this year and continues well into the 1950s.

The Alexandra Bus Boycotts

In 1940 conditions in the Townships were harsh. The capacity to survive even at a low standard of living came under intense pressure. There was an increase in the price of all kinds of goods including the cost of transport. In Alexandra this became a critical issue. Like other townships in the country, Alexandra did not have an alternative mode of transport. Three boycotts took place in 1940, 1942 and 1943. The third boycott was the biggest and gained momentum. Lasting from 2 to 11 August, it existed longer than the two previous ones and also drew external attention. On this occasion about 20,000 boycotters resolved to walk to their respective work places instead of using buses. All three boycotts were effective.

The boycotts were significant in that they indicated the extraordinary levels of mobilization that could occur within townships and signaled a new phenomenon in South Africa resistance politics. In addition they placed in the public spotlight, in a way that had never happened before, the whole structure of black exploitation in South Africa upon which white prosperity rested. The boycotts thus came to represent one of the most important acts of black self assertion during this period.

P Bonner and N Nieftagodien: Alexandra: A History, 2008

5.2.4 Implementation interventions ¹⁹

Local Authorities show considerably more initiative in developing the Townships during this period than during the previous phase. Townships are developed in three different forms: Locations (Townships), hostels, and villages (for Africans who build their own dwellings).

This was due to the pressure of the extensive urbanization that occurred and the more favorable funding facilities (funding from the Housing Commission) as well as the ability to use profits from the monopoly sale of beer (see box).

Townships such as the South Western and Eastern Native Townships (later to become Soweto), Orlando East, Lamont, Baumanville and Cato Manor are developed. No freehold title is provided and access to land is on a rental basis only.

Funding from beer sales

As a result of the 1923: Native (Black) Urban Areas Act all Local Authorities were given the authority to develop a monopoly to brew beer and sell it in the Townships and the funds use to develop infrastructure and amenities for the Townships (A practice previously only occurred in Natal). The Act laid down methods of producing beer and stimulated Local Authorities to actively brew beer and by 1940/41 most Municipalities were undertaking this activity and selling the beer initially in canteens and later in beer halls in the Townships.

Over time Local Authorities began to rely increasingly on this form of funding. In 1962 a law was passed that specified how the profits could be used (two thirds to make up for losses on housing schemes and one third to improve welfare and recreational amenities). In addition, a law prohibiting the sale of European liquor to Africans was changed so that local authorities would have a monopoly on the sale of liquor in African townships and could use the profits (20% to be retained and 80% to be paid to the Department of Bantu Administration for the general interests of Africans). This activity only ceased during the late 1970s when civil action in the Townships targeted the beer halls which were mostly destroyed.

P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa, 1981

¹⁹ P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

However, due to high levels of urbanization, development is insufficient to meet demand and so housing conditions remain poor with overcrowding and lack of services and amenities. As a result of the severe shortage of housing, the Local Authorities allow temporary controlled squatting.

Generally Local Authorities are unable to meet their financial obligations in respect of Townships, without a substantial contribution from Central Government, Local Authorities are required to open a Native Revenue Account, into which all moneys derived from fines, service fees and be deposited must accounted for. Further financial support from central Government extends subsidized loans for housing.

Under pressure from Central Government, relocations commence with Local Authorities being required to relocate Africans living in white areas into townships. However enforcement is weak and only voluntary relocations occur (see box).

In 1944 adjustments to the Housing Act are introduced. The Central Housing Board is abolished and

First relocations

In 1933 the central government declares key portions of towns as 'white areas' in terms of the Native (Black) Urban Areas Act. Johannesburg the whole central town is declared a 'white area' in which falls Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare comprising population of 43,000 people who were now residing illegally in the town. In terms of the Act, the Local Authorities were required to relocate all illegal residents living in white areas. The approach was to encourage Africans to voluntarily. In Johannesburg this primarily to Orlando. A number of those who volunteered were wealthy Africans who could afford the cost. By 1936 in Johannesburg 12,000 people had relocated.

P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa, 1981

replaced by a National Housing and Planning Commission (the Housing Commission) consisting of a full time chairman and deputy and eight other members.

A National Housing Council representative of Provincial executives and municipal associations is set up as an advisory body to the Minister. A new financial basis for granting of housing loans is introduced.

The Housing (Emergency Powers) Act gave the Minister of Welfare and Demobilization the power to expropriate land, buy materials at cost plus 10%, and to limit contractors profits to 6%. If the local authority is unwilling or unable to carry out a housing scheme, the Commission itself could undertake the scheme and recover the costs from the local authority.

5.2.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- Townships begin to assume an increasing importance in urban areas as they grow in size and the reliance on African labour increases.
- However, Local Authorities are not able to keep up with demand due to high levels of urbanization resulting in poor living conditions reflected in informal settlements and overcrowding in existing housing
- Increased investment is undertaken by both Local and Central Government into housing and infrastructure.
- Central Government takes on a more direct role in housing developments in Townships
- Local Authorities are not able to keep up with demand due to high levels of urbanization resulting in poor living conditions reflected in informal settlements and overcrowding in existing housing
- Relocations commence to move Africans living in white areas into the Townships.
- Civil society becomes increasingly active in contesting segregation and living conditions, but predominantly using moderate mechanisms of deputations and petitions. The Alexandra Bus Boycott and other campaigns indicate the power of mobilization in the Townships.

5.2.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

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



5.3 1948 – 1975: Apartheid (Control)



5.3.1 Influences²⁰

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

- 1948: The National Party wins the national elections and the era of strict apartheid begins.
- 1948 1958: Existing segregation policies are further reinforced and institutionalized through a series of Acts of Parliament:
 - Physical and spatial separation of the races in terms of living areas, amenities and facilities occurs.
 - Africans are considered 'temporary sojourners' in urban areas and are not entitled to political, social or other rights, which are to be exercised in their traditional homelands
 - Influx control becomes stricter
 - Trading rights and rights to undertake skilled work for Africans becomes severely restricted.
- 1960 1975: Implementation of homeland policy commences. Homelands are established as self governing states. In 1970 all Africans become citizens of a homeland.
- 1948 1975: Contestation by civil society of segregation and living conditions increases through boycotts and strikes over the period. Government responds with increasingly oppressive mechanisms including banning of organizations, detention of individuals, deaths in detention, trials and imprisonment of leadership and a strong police presence in Townships.

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²⁰ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted

- 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
- 1961: South Africa becomes a republic
- 1970 onwards: South Africa becomes increasingly isolated from the rest of the world. United Nations' condemnation of apartheid commences and embargoes are placed on South Africa in terms of participation in sports events, arms and oil. This results in an economic downturn.

5.3.2 Legislation and policy ²¹

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

- 1950: Group Areas Act No 41: This Act provided for areas to be declared for the exclusive use of one particular racial group. It became compulsory for people to live in an area designated for their classification group.
- 1951: Bantu Authorities Act of 1951: The Bantu Authorities Act established the African reserves, known as homelands. These were considered independent states that the government assigned each African to, according to their record of origin. Africans were considered citizens of these "homelands," which meant that they lost their citizenship in South Africa.
- 1951: Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No 52: This Act prohibited persons from entering land or a building without lawful reason, or remaining there without the owner's permission. Magistrates were granted powers to order squatters out of urban areas, demolish their dwellings and move them to a place as might be determined.

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²¹ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

- 1952: Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act No 54: The 1945 Urban Areas Consolidation Act is amended to specify that all African persons, men and women, over the age of sixteen are to carry passes and that no African person is to be allowed to stay in an urban area longer than seventy-two hours unless they have permission to do so. Powers are widened with respect to the removal of Africans from urban areas.
- 1952: Black (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act No 67: Repealed the laws relating to the carrying of passes by Africans. These laws had differed from province to province. This new Act provided for the issuing of reference books to all African persons in all provinces.
- 1953: Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49: Allowed for public facilities and transport to be reserved for particular race groups.

Coloured and Indian Councils

During this period separate Councils were formed in respect of Indians and Coloureds in terms of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Acts. The Councils were constituted differently for Coloureds and Indians (the Coloured Council comprised 40 elected members and 20 nominated members and the Indian 25 members appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs). The Coloured Council had legislative powers and the Indian one did not. The Coloured Council made laws affecting coloureds on finance, local government, education, community welfare and pensions, rural settlements and agriculture. The Indian Council represented Indian views. The difference was due to the fact that Coloureds had voting rights. During the period there were a number of unsuccessful attempts by the Nationalist Government to remove these rights. History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net

- 1954: Blacks Resettlement Act No 19: Established a Resettlement Board which would remove Africans from 'black spots'. This enabled the Sophiatown, District Six and other removals.
- 1957: Group Areas Act No 77: Consolidated the law relating to the establishment of group areas and the control of the acquisition of immovable property in those areas.

- 1957: Housing Act: Established a Bantu Housing Board to deal with housing of Africans and a Fund
- 1961: Urban Blacks Council Act No 79: The first provision for black 'self-government' in the urban townships.
- 1971: Black Affairs Administration Act No 45: Extended provisions for black self-government in townships.



Government 22

Between 1948 and 1970 Local Authorities continue to have direct responsibility for the administration of Townships. However increasing powers are assumed by Central Government for example:

■ In 1957 as a result of the Housing Act funding for housing is made available through racially separated funding streams through the creation of the Bantu Housing Board which was responsible for providing funding for Africans. The National Housing Commission remained responsible for providing funding in respect of Whites, Coloureds and Indians. Local Authorities had to submit and receive approval for housing schemes from the Bantu Housing Board in order to access loans for housing.

²² P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

- The Department of Native Affairs kept a close watch on local authorities to ensure that the policies relating to urban Africans were being implemented. Access to loan funding for housing was denied to those Local Authorities that did not comply.
 In mid 1958 the Minister of Native Affairs appointed a 'watchdog committee' for Johannesburg to provide accurate and precise information on the interpretation and application of government policy in respect to African affairs.
- In 1960 special urban area commissioners were appointed in various regions to monitor the implementation of aspects of urban development and oversee the activities of municipalities.
- The Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act allowed the Minister to order a local authority to remove, curtail or abolish a Township.

In 1971, the Administration of townships was taken over by Central Government. Administration Boards were established to take over the responsibility for African Townships from Local Authorities. The Board had only White representatives consisting of a chairman and members appointed by the Minister. Boards were given executive powers and were directly responsible to the Minister. The Boards were required to be self sufficient while providing all the services and functions which the local authorities had previously provided. By 1973 control of most Townships had been handed over to Boards.

A second attempt was made at providing for African political representation in the Townships. The Urban Blacks Councils Act of 1961 introduced a new form of representation with provision of nominated and elected members. The **Urban Bantu Councils** replaced the Advisory Boards established previously and were to have powers that included the layout of residential areas, the erection and use of buildings, the allotment of sites, the provision of health and medical services and the removal of unlawful residents. However few of these powers were ever conferred on these Councils and like the Advisory Boards they were generally ineffective.

Civil society²³

After the National Party's election victory, with conditions getting worse rather than better, leadership of the ANC is taken over in 1949 by younger members including Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. They organize a programme of passive resistance and the drafting of the Freedom Charter. The ANC leaders and their supporters (among them Coloureds, Asians and liberal whites) are increasingly harassed by the police.

Yet at this stage the campaign remains one of non-violent resistance - a fact internationally recognized when Albert Luthuli, president of the ANC from 1952, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. However, as the membership of the ANC increases and the numbers of people joining the passive resistance movement increase, the Nationalist Government starts to respond with violence and arrests leading to the banning of the ANC and the start of its period of violent resistance. Key activities during the period include:

- 1950 1953: The Defiance Campaign a programme of passive non-violent resistance against segregation and living conditions commences. Extensive demonstrations are undertaken all over South Africa.
- 1955: The Freedom Charter Civil society determines its vision and goals in respect of a bill of rights.
- **1955 1960**: **Demonstrations continue** but the ANC leaders are increasingly harassed.
- 1960: The Sharpeville massacre occurs where the police fire on a crowd protesting the pass laws killing more than 60 people and wounding a further 180 people. The outrage proves a turning point. Thousands march and go on strike, while the government reacts with severity arresting some 11,000 people under emergency measures.
- **1960: ANC and PAC and their leaders are banned**. The First State of Emergency is declared.
- 1961: Umkhonto we Sizwe is formed by the ANC and armed resistance commences.

²³ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

- 1963: The key leadership of the ANC is captured, put on trial and imprisoned.
- 1970: Worsening economic conditions result in worker dissatisfaction.
 Labour based strike action increases
- 1972: A new generation begins to demand change. Inspired by the Black Consciousness movement mass demonstrations commence driven by students.



5.3.4 Implementation interventions²⁴

Between 1948 and 1960 extensive development of townships linked to removals from 'white areas' is undertaken throughout South Africa. Most townships that exist today were developed during this period including Mofolo, Moroka, Central West Jabavu, Dube, Molapo, Moletsane, Nancefield and Jabulani (all suburbs of Soweto), Lenasia, KwaMashu, Mamelodi, Daveytown, Natalspruit, Thokoza and KwaThema.

²⁴ P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

Townships were developed in terms of specific conditions stipulated by Central Government which outlined the basis for siting of these Townships, how they should be structured and the type of housing to be provided as follows:

- The site should be an adequate distance from the white town.
- It should adjoin an existing African Township so as to decrease the number of areas for Africans.
- It should be separated from the white area by an buffer where industries exist or are being planned.
- It should have land to expand away from white areas.
- It should be within easy distance of the town or city for transport purposes by rail rather than road.
- It should have one road that connects it to the town preferably running through the industrial area.
- It should be surrounded by open buffer areas .

Exerting control through form

The key focus of the specifications set down for Townships was to enable the government to assert its control. Row upon row of identical dirt streets radiating from a central hub, line upon line of drab, cheap, uniform houses - a colourless mind numbing monotony. Through regimentation and uniformity the government sought to establish a firm control that could not be challenged.

P Bonner and L Segal, Soweto, A History

Culture in the mixed areas

A distinct urban culture emerged in the mixed areas which alarmed white Afrikaner society. These areas most distinct feature was their racial mix -Africans, Indians, coloureds, Chinese and Whites from diverse origins lived together and began to borrow from each other's societies. For example shebeens – unlicensed drinking houses selling home brewed beer were transported from Ireland to these mixed areas before being introduced into the townships. A distinct dialect 'flaaitaal' developed in Johannesburg, as did a distinct cultural style called 'Marabi'. Distinct musical styles emerged – made famous in respect of Sophiatown.

P Bonner and L Segal, Soweto, A History

- It should be a considerable distance from main and national roads
- Housing should be built and allocated in areas for different ethnic groupings
- Whereas before 1947 the standards and design of housing for Africans varied considerably, the minimum standards of accommodation for African and Coloured housing were now specified. All housing schemes had to be in accordance with these standards. The four roomed, 40,4m² 51/6 prototype was developed at this time and was the most typical house constructed as a result of this requirement.
- A mix of formal housing, site and service schemes and hostels should be provided.
- Housing should be provided on a rental basis.

The extensive development of Townships that occurred during this period was made possible by additional funding made through a **dedicated funding allocation from Central Government for housing via the National Housing Fund.** Funds were voted annually by Parliament to the National Housing Fund. The National Housing Fund was a revolving fund in that funds redeemed from loans to Local Authorities were continually added to the capital. The use of funds from the sale of beer continued during this period.



Despite Influx control being strictly applied, the development of Townships was still insufficient to meet demand and informal settlements and overcrowding in existing stock persisted.

Removals out of 'white areas' increased significantly during this period resulting in severe hardship, disruption and loss of assets for many Africans. For example in 1955 an emergency camp was established in the Western Cape and 17,000 persons from 38 black spots were relocated into it. From 1952 the relocation of 18,000 families commenced out of Cato Manor first to an Emergency Camp and then to the townships of KwaMashu and Umlazi. In 1955 removals of 23,000 families commenced in Johannesburg -out of areas such as Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare.

From 1960 to 1975 developments in Townships slow down as Government shifts towards its longer-term objective of developing the homelands and restricting the movement of Africans into White areas. The implications of this policy shift were:

- The Urban Bantu Councils were established to assist Municipalities to administer African townships.
- Police forces in the Townships were significantly increased. Enforcement of influx control continued more rigorously.

The Homelands

In 1971 the Minister of Information outlined the government's plan for the homelands of South Africa. They were to become sovereign states in their own right, independent, entitled to maintain their own languages, cultures identities in their own way, according to their own wishes in their own geographical territories. Throughout the decade extensive talks are held between the Nationalist Government and the leadership of the homelands with respect to their independence, governance and economic development. The Nationalist Government had hoped that influx control would force development within the homelands and attract people to them. This strategy failed and Africans continued to stream into urban areas in a bid to escape the grinding poverty of the homelands.

- Industry was located close to the homelands to increase earning capacity in these areas. Towns and service industries were developed in the homelands.
- African women were denied access to family housing in urban areas. Non productive Africans (elderly, physically handicapped and widows) were to be resettled in the homelands.
- Trading rights by Africans were severely restricted to the provision of daily or essential domestic necessities in Townships.
- The number of African workers that could be employed by new or existing factories was restricted.
- Housing loans for African housing in urban Townships were reduced and new housing development in existing Townships had to be approved by National Government and was only approved if such developments were shown to be imperative.

As funding for the development of the Townships in urban areas became more restricted Local Authorities began to rely even more on rentals and levies and on the profits accrued from the sale of beer.

5.3.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- 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 were restricted.
- While influx control is strictly applied, informal settlements and overcrowding in existing stock in Townships increase.
- Civil society becomes increasingly mobilized and militant over the period in its efforts to contest segregation and poor living conditions – mass mobilization occurs despite increased suppression by the state.
- International condemnation and isolation continues with sanctions through the United Nations and embargoes.



5.3.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

- Clear direction by central government linked to funding, strong oversight and the authority and will to intervene enabled the implementation of contentious and unpopular policies. However the ability to maintain such policies centrally becomes increasingly difficult where local government accountability and responsibility is absent.
- Direct establishment and administration of Townships by central government agencies expedited the implementation of apartheid policy. However this became increasingly dysfunctional over time as centralized accountability and conflicts with local government made these arrangements unsustainable and funding priorities shifted to the homelands.
- Governance structures without a democratic foundation lacked credibility, integrity and the ability to govern or represent.

5.4 1976 – 1993: Apartheid dismantled (Resistance)

1900 - 1922 1923 - 1947 1948 - 1975 1976 - 1993 1994 - 2004 2005 - 2009 1948 - 1975 APARTHED DEMOCRATISATION TOWARDS URBAN INTEGRATION WITEGRATION

5.4.1 Influences²⁵

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

- 1976- 1989: Widespread and extended uprisings of which the Soweto Uprising is the most famous. increased international isolation and a severely depressed economy places pressure on government to begin to dismantle apartheid policies relating to influx control, group areas and property rights.
- 1982: First official HIV/Aids deaths in South Africa

HIV/Aids

South Africa is regarded as having the most severe HIV epidemic in the world. In 2007, it had the highest number of people infected globally, estimated at around 5.7 million, including 300 000 children under the age of 15 years (UN 2008 Global Report on the HIV and AIDS Epidemic). The UNAIDS 2008 Global Report, estimated that in 2007, 350 000 people died from AIDS in South Africa. Many factors contribute to the spread of HIV including poverty; inequality and social instability; high mobility; limited and uneven access to quality medical care and a history of poor leadership in the response to the epidemic. Given that forty percent of all households are located in Townships and that the majority of the poor are located there, Townships become an important focal point in national efforts to address the impact of HIV/Aids

Aids Foundation South Africa, 2005

²⁵ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted

- 1985: P. W. Botha delivers the infamous Rubicon Speech where the expected radical policy shift in respect of apartheid (including the release of Nelson Mandela) did not materialize.
- 1986: Influx control is removed. From 1800 between 15 and 20 million people had been arrested for violating these laws. Extensive urban migration occurs.
- 1989-1991: The ANC, PAC and key leaders are unbanned.
- 1990–1991: Multi party negotiations for the transfer of power take place. 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 significant violence.

The Soweto Uprisings: 1976

The Soweto Riots were preceded by extensive student uprisings which commenced in early 1970. On the 16 June 1976 demonstrations by 20,000 secondary school pupils, protesting against the compulsory use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction, escalates into an outbreak of violence in Soweto, during which police open fire on the protesters. Casualties occur, one of the first being Hector Petersen. Rioting, arson, looting lawlessness spread. The death toll in the riots is officially given as 174 blacks and two whites, the number of wounded 1,222 blacks and six whites, the number of persons arrested 1,298. Property damaged or destroyed is officially listed as sixty-seven state owned beer halls and stores. fifty-three administration buildings, thirteen schools, eight state hostels, 154 vehicles, as well as banks, clinics, bus sheds, hostels and factories and public buildings and amenities built up over the previous twenty-five years.

In the days and months after the Soweto riots, rioting, arson, destruction and protest spread to other localities and townships throughout South Africa and to students of all races.

The protests marked a turning point in South African politics. They showed that the administrative model was no longer sufficient to control the townships. After 1976 the state never regained full control over all aspects of the daily lives of township residents.

History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net In the Townships there are incidents of violent clashes between Hostel Dwellers mainly single male groups and surrounding family based communities.

- 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, local government, water, etc. Local forums negotiate interim arrangements for local government.

5.4.2 Legislation and policy ²⁶

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

1977: Community Councils Act: Established **community councils** in certain black townships.

1978: Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment Act: Introduced a **ninety-nine-year** leasehold property rights in Townships.

1982: Black Local Authorities Act: Provided for the establishment of town councils for Africans.



²⁶ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

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1984: Commission of Inquiry into Township Establishment and Related Matters: Made recommendations on expediting the planning and proclamation of land in the Townships.

1984: Black Communities Development Act: Introduced freehold ownership for Africans in the Townships.

1986 & 1991: Black Communities Development Amendment Acts: Expanded on the provision of **freehold rights** to urban Africans and provided for the conversion of **leasehold into ownership**.

1993: Local Government Transition Act: Provided for revised interim measures for the **restructuring of local government**.

5.4.3 Institutional roles

Government²⁷

Between 1976 and 1983 the Administration Boards administer Townships but are ineffective due to inadequate financial resources, red tape, an inability to respond efficiently to local conditions and illegitimacy because of their non representative governance structures. Revenue from the sale of beer and liquor stops during this period due to the destruction (as part of mass resistance in the Townships) of beer halls and liquor outlets.

In 1983 numerous separate area and racially based local authorities are introduced in terms of a policy that promoted 'own management for own areas'. It resulted in the creation of numerous separate local authorities each in charge of a racially segregated area. For example, the Durban metropolitan area consisted of more than 50 local authorities as a result of this policy. The local authorities had to generate their own revenue.

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²⁷ P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

The African areas constituted the poorest local authorities, particularly because at the time of introducing Black Local Authorities. the Administration Boards were serious experiencing financial problems.²⁸ The Local Authorities, as racially based institutions. Townships lacked legitimacy and met with extensive civil resistance and widespread payment bovcotts thereby further undermining the delivery of municipal services to these areas.

Civil society²⁹

Between 1976 and 1980: Wide-Spread Mobilization occurs and the country becomes increasingly ungovernable. Many African Townships experience extended periods of violence. New student leadership emerges.

1980 – 1993: New Mass Movements emerge particularly community resistance groups called the 'civics'. Widespread payment boycott of rents, rates and services charges and later of home loan repayments to the banks is undertaken.

The Hostels

The tightening of influx control forced many migrant workers to remain migrants or to raise a family in the townships. Many migrants due to housing shortages and the need to retain links to their rural areas chose to retain their families in the rural areas and live in hostels in the Townships. This was the start of a division between township dwellers and hostel dwellers or migrants.

Hostel conditions were harsh with individuals being forced to share rooms and ablution facilities with strangers, insufficient ablution facilities, no personal space, concrete beds and rooms etc. There were high levels of crime and ethnic fighting. Over time in some hostels groupings began to emerge that imposed discipline and social life including traditional singing and dancing bearing witness to the strength of the human spirit and the capacity of people to humanize even the bleakest circumstances. Ethnic grouping in the hostels particularly Zulus and the siting of the hostels amongst the settled urban communities resulted in extensive violence and disruption which commenced in the late 1950s and occurred to a greater or lesser extent all the way through to the 1990s P Bonner and L Segal, Soweto, A History

²⁹ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

²⁸ S Godehart, The Transformation of Townships in South Africa

The **United Democratic Front**, an umbrella organization for mass based resistance groups, is founded in 1983 and operates until 1990. The **South African National Civic Organization (SANCO)** - a second broad structure for civics - emerges. When Black Local Authorities collapse, Civics take over responsibility for many of the tasks of local government. Controversial 'People's Courts' were established. The Civic's (through SANCO) negotiated

new policies and the structure of local government prior to the transfer of power.

After 1990 increasingly violence erupts between hostel residents, who supported the Inkatha movement (later Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP), and



township residents who supported the ANC. These conflicts were often stirred by the state security organs.

5.4.4 Implementation interventions³⁰

The wide ranging civil unrest that occurs from 1976 onwards has a severe impact on Townships. Normal everyday life is severely disrupted. There is extensive destruction of property particularly that owned by the Local Authorities including beer halls, administration offices, clinics etc. As a result of the unrest and civil disturbances and poor performance by the Administration Board, housing provision from 1976 to 1980 is limited. At the same time, growing population pressure sees the beginning of a phenomenal growth of informal settlements on the homeland borders located near the major cities, as well as around urban Township areas.

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 $^{^{}m 30}$ P Morris: The History of Black Housing in South Africa,1981

From 1978 policies were introduced that represented increasing acceptance that racial segregation and discrimination could not be sustained. This was reflected in the recognition of the permanence of urban Africans, the extension of property rights, the repeal of group areas legislation and attempts at greater consultation with Township communities. Increasingly there was a recognition within Government and Business that the living conditions in Townships were unsatisfactory and needed to be improved.

Key activities included the following:

Increased consultation: The Community Councils Act was passed which empowered the Minister to establish a community council after consultation with the relevant administration Board and Urban Bantu Council. These Community Councils had similar functions to the Urban Bantu Council and experienced similar difficulties i.e. lack of finance and credibility.

Housing reform:

- In 1978 the Minister of Plural Relations and Development introduced a 99 year leasehold scheme. The Urban Foundation, together with the Association of Building Societies, played a major role in securing the new leasehold.
 - The leasehold was significant in that it increased certainty of tenure, made private sector housing finance available to Africans and gave them a chance for capital formation.
- New township regulations governing the conditions of residence in townships were developed eliminating the arbitrary powers of township superintendents to evict residents.
- In 1979 the Housing Amendment Act No 109 was promulgated. Under the terms of this Act the Bantu Housing Boards were abolished and all applicants for loans for Africans and other race groups were to be dealt with by the Department of Community Development through the National Housing Commission. From 1978 the amount of funding provided by Government for African housing increased substantially from previous years.

This was to continue and at the end of the 1980 financial year the government raised an overseas loan of R150 million for the development of Townships.

- In April 1979 housing loans were provided for Africans at the same rates and according to the same standards as those for other race groups. The new policy allowed Africans to take up home loans from building societies. This policy shift led to the construction of more expensive suburban houses in the Townships by commercial developers throughout the 1980s.
- Reduced Bureaucratic discretion: In 1983 the government withdrew its direct involvement as landlord of Township housing. The government offered tenants in Townships to buy their houses. The initial response to this offer was very poor and increased only after the prices of the houses had been substantially reduced and the residents were pressurised to buy.

5.4.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- 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. Racial segregation of urban areas is embedded in the spatial structure of the cities and towns.



- Townships are characterized 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 rendered dysfunctional and unsustainable.

5.4.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

- Local government structures that lack political legitimacy or financial capacity are unable to effectively fulfill a local government mandate.
 The racial or administrative segregation of local government is dysfunctional and financially and politically unsustainable.
- Central government is able to substantially influence the activities of local government through the linking of strong policy frameworks, conditional funding and oversight. However, central government becomes dysfunctional when it takes direct responsibility for the implementation of local programmes through centrally controlled institutions. The lack of a local governance results in unresponsive implementation which fails to recognize the critical local context. The negative legacy of apartheid on the structure of South Africa's cities and towns and on the functioning of local government is enormous and will require substantial time and focused effort to remedy.



5.5 1994- 2004: Democratization (Upgrading)



5.5.1 Influences³¹

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

1994: South Africa holds its first democratic elections. Nelson Mandela is sworn in as the new President. The international world embraces South Africa, the embargo is lifted and aid begins to flow into the country to support the new Government. South Africa's markets open up. Economic growth is slow due to the effects of sanctions and disinvestment and there is large public debt. There are high levels of poverty and destitution predominantly in respect of Africans.



³¹ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted

- 1994-2004: Government starts to implement policies aimed at constructing a new political, social and economic order. Between 1994 and 2004, 90 new Acts are published per year.
- 1994 onwards: Migration from other countries in Africa into South Africa increases significantly. Surveys from 1997 onwards show a hardening in the public's views towards immigrants who are seen to be placing a burden on the country and a threat to its social and economic well being. In 1998, the Roll Back Xenophobia Campaign commences as a result of increasing attacks on foreigners.
- 1995: The first Municipal elections are held. Transitional Local Councils are elected in urban areas integrating a former white municipality with the related racial based Townships in large cities this resulted in weak metropolitan councils which are umbrella institutions with four to six local councils under them.
- 1995 2000: Municipal boundaries are re-demarcated to better coincide with functioning economic areas. The number of municipalities reduces from more than 800 to 284. The large cities are demarcated as metropolitan municipalities and are extensively restructured. The process of both consolidation and transformation results in municipalities with weakened capacity, vastly expanded responsibilities and inadequate budgets.
- 1997 and 2003: Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs): The introduction of the Urban Development framework and the National Spatial Development Perspective set out frameworks for spatial integration and investment prioritisation. In addition the Department of Transport championed regional corridors such as the Maputo and Urban Corridors (Bara, Wetton-Lansdowned Corridor). These reflect an attempt for spatial integration through transport infrastructure, but had limited buy in from other government sectors.
- 1996 : The Constitution of South Africa is adopted defining the roles and functions of the three spheres of government.

- 1996: The number of households increases three times faster than population growth as the pressure to operate as extended families reduces and households become smaller. This reflects changing social values, urbanization and reduced restrictions and has consequences for changes in the nature of demand for housing and services.
- **2001:** The **ISRDP/URP pilot nodes are launched** by the State President.
- 2003: The social grant programme is expanded and rolled out resulting in a significant increase in the number of South Africans receiving these grants over time.
- 2004: South Africa commits itself to the Millennium Development Goals aimed at halving unemployment and poverty and eradicating service delivery backlogs by 2014.
- 2004: South Africa wins the right to host the FIFA World Cup Soccer Tournament™.

5.5.2 Legislation and policy 32

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

- 1994: Reconstruction and Development Programme: Comprises a transformation plan to meet basic needs, build the economy, democratise the State and society, develop human resources and build the nation. Clear targets are set.
- 1994-2004: White Papers published and Acts promulgated: A number
 of White Papers developed and Acts passed in respect to the delivery of
 housing, electricity, water, telecommunications, sewerage removal etc
 all focused on providing access to households as required in terms of
 the RDP.
- 1998: White Paper on Local Government: Establishes the basis for a new developmental local government system, which is committed to create sustainable human settlements.

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³² South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

- 1994: Restitution of Land Act: South Africans forcibly removed from land since 1913 can lodge claims for return of land. A Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights established to settle claims by mediation or negotiation.
- 1995: Development Facilitation Act: Introduces a uniform process to expedite land development for housing for low income groups. Municipalities are required to draft Land Development Objectives (LDOs).
- 1997: Urban Development Framework: Aims to ensure that policies and programmes support the development of urban settlements that will by 2020 be spatially and socio-economically integrated. It outlines four programmes: integrating the city, densification of the cities, improving housing and infrastructure and promoting urban economic activities.
- 1999: Municipal Demarcation Act: To provide for criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries by an independent authority.
- 2000: The Local Government, Municipal Systems & Municipal Structures Acts: Outlines how Local Government must operate and be structured. All Local Governments required to prepare a Five year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) to be revised annually. IDP's to set out the strategic direction of development based on a consultative process.
- 2000: The Housing Code: Sets out in one comprehensive document the national housing policy of South Africa and most significantly sets out the rules and regulations pertaining to the National Subsidy Programmes.
- 2003: The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP): Provides
 a framework for infrastructure investment and development spending
 emphasizing that investment should be focused in areas with potential
 for both sustainable economic and development potential.

5.5.3 Institutional roles

Government

The new democratic government results in a **revised public sector** with **specified roles and responsibilities** between spheres of Government. In respect of development of Townships the following applies:

- National Government sets the policy frameworks, provides a level of oversight and provides subsidies and grant funding.
- Provincial Government is responsible to undertake development programmes in Townships (the Special Integrated Presidential Programme (SIPPS), the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) and the National Housing Subsidy Programme).
- Local Government is responsible for administering Townships in terms of overall planning and development control, as well as the provision of public housing, infrastructure and services and governance.

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. The effectiveness of these mechanisms is questioned by some.

Civil society

Between 1994 and 2007 Civil society plays a less dominant role than previously played for the following reasons:

- Most of civil society leaders in the unions and civics move into positions
 of government creating a leadership gap in civil society in the
 townships.
- International Aid funding, provided directly to NGO's prior to 1993, is now channeled directly to government.
- The Ward Committees over time increasingly replace the functions performed by the civics.
- Many civil society organizations struggle with a lack focus for their activities after apartheid had been defeated i.e. the war was won.

5.5.4 Implementation initiatives

Development in the Townships in this period occurred predominantly through two programmes that affect only 21 Townships:

- The **Special Integrated Presidential Projects** (SIPS) (1994) are undertaken in 13 Townships (such as Kathorus, Cato Manor etc). These are multi-faceted. multi-sectoral integrated development projects, aimed at quickly and visibly demonstrating government's commitment and capacity to improve living conditions with significant support from the RDP.
- The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) (2001) is undertaken in eight Townships, aimed at tackling issues of poverty and exclusion by coordinating the resources of the three spheres of government.

Special Integrated Presidential Programme (1994)

SIPPS comprised 13 high profile projects to upgrade Township areas on a multi-faceted, multi-sectoral integrated development approach, so as to quickly and visibly demonstrate government's commitment and capacity to improve living conditions, particularly in townships. Funding was directly from National Government via an RDP Fund administered by the RDP Office and later by Treasury.

Evaluations of the projects generally found them to be successful for the following reasons: the focus on distinct, geographical priority areas; emphasis on integration and alignment of government activity; having Presidential status raised their profile and the use of pilot projects. The projects were started prior to the transition of Local and Provincial Government and as such experienced substantial institutional challenges. In addition they were criticized for having too much of an infrastructure focus.

DPLG: National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation framework



Urban Renewal Programme (2001)

The URP was undertaken in eight Townships (Inanada, Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Motherwell, Mitchell's Plain/Khayelitsha, Galeshewe and Alexandra) aimed at tackling issues of poverty and exclusion in urban areas by coordinating the resources of the three spheres of government to address these challenges in a coordinated way. The Urban Renewal Nodes were designated by the President and a particular Sphere of Government was tasked with preparing overall plans for coordinated investment into these areas over a ten year period. No substantial dedicated funding source was allocated to the programme. The programme sought to ensure funding through a process of funding alignment and budget prioritization within the spheres of Government tasked to implement it. Different approaches were used to provide dedicated funding for the nodes including:

- An element in the Local Government Equitable Share formula to allow for the prioritization of development (N – component)
- Conditional grants including for example the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme and Municipal Infrastructure Grant made additional allocations to the nodes, Gauteng Province ring-fenced all sector grants in support of the Alexandra node
- Donor funding

The method of funding has faced a number of challenges in terms of identifying, accessing and coordinating funding.

The URP's success was variable with higher success achieved in some areas than others.

Key learnings are as follows: programmes need to have clear institutional structures, intergovernmental contractual arrangements and clear lines of accountability and sound and active leadership at political and administrative level. Participatory structures (stakeholder and ward committees) must be resourced and capacitated for effective community ownership of the programme. There must be a balance between housing delivery, infrastructure upgrading and human development activities. Land assembly and influence over the housing budget are key factors for success. Preparation funding is critical initially to structure the project and secure broad based intergovernmental support and funding. Townships are not and cannot be self sufficient. Linkages with nearby commercial areas and into the overall urban transportation system are important. Generally the private sector has under invested in these projects.

DPLG: National Urban Renewal Programme: Lessons learnt

In addition a number of sectoral programmes are implemented aimed at improving:

- Planning: Integrated Development Plans (2000);
- service provision including the Access to Free Basic Services (2001) and Municipal Infrastructure Grant (2004).

Activities are adhoc and coordination is difficult and there is often a limited focus on the Townships.

Sectoral programmes

1994: National Housing Programme: This comprised the roll out of the national housing programme (including the housing subsidy programme) and resulted in extensive housing development both in terms of ownership and rental housing stock. The programme since 1994 has been through a number of phases but has delivered to date some 3 million houses. A criticism has been that many of the houses were of poor quality and located on the outskirts of towns thereby reinforcing the spatial pattern of the apartheid period.

2000: The first Integrated Development Plans are prepared by Local Governments. These are refined over the years in terms of increasingly uniform procedures as specified by National Government.

2001: Access to Free Basic Services: Poor communities particularly those in townships and the surrounding informal settlements cannot afford service charges for basic services provided. Accordingly the free basic services policy is initiated whereby poor and indigent people get access to sanitation and a minimum amount of water and electricity services free of charge.

2004: Municipal Infrastructure Grant: This programme comprises a multi billion rand municipal infrastructure grant – aimed at fast-tracking improved service delivery from municipalities. The grant focused on supporting the provision of improved water provision, sanitation, roads, solid waste and lighting. There was also a requirement to develop such infrastructure on a labour intensive basis wherever possible so as to contribute to the Expanded Public Works Program

5.5.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- 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 area based initiatives such as SIPPS and URP and through the sectoral initiatives. Integration of Townships into the Urban Spatial Structure receives limited focus with most Township initiatives being inwardly focused. 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 predominantly into the latter.



5.5.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

- The upgrading 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 and equity. In general programs have been inward looking or not coordinated within an overall urban development strategy and plan.
- While national government has set policy and provided support for programmes aimed at the development or upgrading of the Townships, the national government generally did not provide any significant finance, enhance implementation capacity or enforce compliance with policy direction. This has undermined the extent, scope and impact of interventions.



5.6 2004 - 2009: Towards urban integration (Inclusion)



5.6.1 Influences³³

The key external factors (influences) of relevance to Townships during this period are as follows:

- 2005: A Review of the First Decade of Freedom finds that generally Government is making progress – however many challenges still persist.
- 2005: Planned and illegal protests in Townships commence and increase significantly due to slow rate of service delivery and poor living conditions.
- 2006: The Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA) and the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition are launched.

Middle income migration out of the townships

Since the end of apartheid many township residents have moved to other parts of the cities or use facilities outside the townships, indicating that the move to integration has not matched township residents' desired quality of life. Through this 'one-way integration' the townships continuously lose the impetus for improvement. An example of such a loss is parents who can afford to send their children to schools outside the townships, making the improvement of the quality of townships schools an even more difficult task, as the demand to warrant such improvement is perhaps too small. This example is cited because schools have been internationally acknowledged as problems in exclusion. Urban programmes, e.g. in Germany, have begun to focus on the improvement of educational the 'hook' for the institutions as regeneration of communities.

It is noted that there is also a lot of inmigration into the Townships both from rural areas and individuals moving between urban areas seeking work.

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³³ This section adapted from History of South Africa, http://www.historyworld.net unless otherwise noted

- 2007: Integrated Development Plans are adopted by all municipalities (100%).
- 2008: An outbreak of xenophobic violence against foreigner migrants occurs in Townships.
- 2008/09: A global financial crisis occurs South Africa experiences its first recession in 17 years. This significantly increases unemployment and reduces the tax revenues to the State.

5.6.2 Legislation and policy³⁴

Key legislation and policy passed during this period of relevance to Townships includes the following:

- 2004: The Comprehensive Housing Plan (Breaking New Ground): Sets out the basis for creating sustainable human settlements.
- 2004: The Expanded Public Works Programme is launched seeking to create additional work opportunities for the marginalized unemployed through existing state expenditure.
- 2005: The Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act: Establishes a framework to facilitate intergovernmental relations and structured coordination of intergovernmental initiatives.



³⁴ South African History Online' http://www.sahistory.org.za/ unless otherwise noted

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- 2006: National Spatial Development Perspective: Comprises a revision of the perspective developed in 2003 requiring each sphere of government to undertake rigorous analysis of the spatial economy.
- **2007: Revised Housing Code:** Sets out a range of new housing policies and subsidies to support the creation of sustainable human settlements.
- 2008: Housing Development Agency Act: Establishes the Housing Development Agency (HDA) and provides for its functions and powers. The focus of the HDA is on facilitating the development of large scale integrated sustainable human settlements including informal settlement upgrading and new developments.

5.6.3 Institutional roles

Government

- Local Government increasingly becomes responsible for the 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.
- National Government introduces direct conditional grant funding (for both technical assistance and capital funding) through the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant.
- Ongoing capacity constraints remain the key problem within the public sector, particularly within municipalities - which severely undermines delivery both as a result of poor capital development programmes and inadequate maintenance and poor operating capacity in respect of basic services.

Civil society

- Government continues to attempt to engage civil society in the policy and development making process – however this is acknowledged both in the ten and fifteen year reviews as an area of challenge.
- Multipurpose services centers (Thusong Service Centers) are increasingly set up and resourced to provide information and services to the public.

 Izimbizo and Ward Committees continue to be used as the most significant basis for community engagement and consultation in local

government processes.

NGO's continue to provide services to communities albeit with reduced levels of donor funding. Some NGO's register and receive funding from Government to support service delivery.



 Service delivery protests and xenophobic attacks continue and reflect ongoing dissatisfaction by communities with conditions in the Townships. New civic groupings emerge such as the Soweto Rates Crises Committee.

5.6.4 Implementation initiatives

 The URP continues to be implemented. Provinces and Metropolitan Municipalities start replicating the methodology developed as part of a regional approach to developing Townships in their areas. Programmes such as the Gauteng Twenty Townships Programme, the Soweto Roads improvement programme undertaken by the City of Johannesburg, the Areas Based Pilots in KwaZulu Natal and the Cape Town Region Review are examples. However funding, intergovernmental coordination and capacity constraints remain key constraints.

- The **Neighborhood Development Partnership Grant** (2006) is launched aimed at supporting projects in Townships that provide community
 - infrastructure and create a platform for private sector investment. Conditional grants are applied to this programme to provide both technical assistance and to contribute to capital costs.
- The Training for Township Renewal Initiative is launched (2007) by National Treasury, Department of Provincial and Local Government (now CGTA) and the South African Cities Network to build a cadre of township development practitioners through a peer learning network.
- Implementation of the sectoral programmes gathers momentum, impacting positively on Townships, but vertical and horizontal coordination remains a challenge. These include MIG,

The Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (2006)

The aim of the programme is to neighbourhood support development projects that provide community infrastructure create the platform for private sector investment and that improve the quality of life of residents in targeted areas. The NDP supports and facilitates public sector funding into Townships in order to leverage private sector investment. The programme focuses on providing municipalities with the financial assistance to develop appropriate project proposals and to support approved proposals with capital grant funding where appropriate. **Neighbourhood Development** Partnership Grant Business Plan

the eradication of service backlogs and the Housing Subsidy Programme. In addition at the local government level, sectoral initiatives can have significantly positive impact on the upgrading of Township conditions - for example the Soweto roads programme.

New ideas and initiatives are launched including the Housing Development Agency aimed at undertaking large scale sustainable human settlements, increased emphasis on public transport and spatial integration, informal settlement upgrading, inclusionary housing policy and increasing densities.

Area based development: Cato Manor

The Cato Manor Development Project (CMDP) is a good example of area based development and has achieved world-wide acclaim as a model for integrated development. Cato Manor in the 1990s bore the grim scars of apartheid's segregation policies, being characterised by marginalisation from the city, urban poverty, environmental degradation and social disarray. The Cato Manor Development Association (CMDA) was formed as a partnership between local community organisations, political parties, the eThekwini Municipality and the KwaZulu Natal Provincial Government. Cato Manor has experienced significant and exciting change across all sectors. Today, around 93 000 people live, work and enjoy a normal life in Cato Manor. New houses, buildings, facilities, roads and engineering works have been and continue to be developed. Cato Manor's economy and its people, especially the urban poor, have benefitted from the integrated development process.

The scale of the intervention and the level of support which has taken place in Cato Manor, both in capacity and financial terms, has been made possible by the combined efforts of a range of funders including National Government, the European Union (EU), the KwaZulu Provincial Housing Department, the eThekwini Municipality, USAID, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA).

The project in 1995 was made a SIPPs project and this was significant milestone in the course of the project. The CMDA is a Section 21 company (not for profit), which acts as an agent for the eThekwini Municipality, provincial and national government. The CMDA is the facilitator of development in Cato Manor, responsible for ensuring an integrated yet expeditious development process. The project is strongly guided by a spatial development plan for the area.

CMDA Review: 1994 - 2002

5.6.5 Outcomes

The key outcomes of this period are as follows:

- Upgrading of Townships continues to be largely uncoordinated. Townships still generally remain marginalized and separate from towns and cities. There is some recognition that Townships need to be significantly transformed and integrated into urban areas.
- The emphasis of development initiatives in Townships is shifting to one of integration into the towns and cities through improved spatial planning and budgetary coordination. This is reflected in investment in improved transportation linkages, infrastructure upgrading, mixed use developments and an increasing commitment to the creation of sustainable human settlements. Better and more comprehensive planning is being undertaken (through IDPs and the National Spatial Development Perspective) and encouraged through national programmes such as the Neighborhood Development Partnership Grant and the Municipal Infrastructure Grant.
- The roles of Local and Provincial Government in respect of the development of Townships remains unclear with a greater devolution of responsibility towards Local Government but generally accompanied by inadequate authority, capacity and funding.
- There is increasing recognition of the role that the private sector can play in developing Townships. However substantial tensions remain around the impact of private investment and business activities on existing township business interests. This applies to transport, retail and services and housing.



5.6.6 Lessons

The key lessons of this period are as follows:

- While there are a range of initiatives which promote more integrated development approaches, there are still substantial funding, institutional and capacity challenges to this occurring at scale. Generally, urban spatial frameworks and urban development strategies are not prioritizing the integration and upgrading of the Townships, nor are Township initiatives properly informed by or based on overall urban spatial planning. Planning Ordinances governing the establishment of Townships remain untransformed despite the enactment of new laws for municipal areas. This limits the effectiveness and impact of such interventions.
- Preoccupation with eradication of backlogs has hampered forward planning to address population migration patterns and rapid growth resulting in increased informal settlements and uncontrolled private sector housing developments.
- 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. The capacity constraints within both Provincial and Local government limit the ability to mobilize cooperative governmental action.
- Local Government's role in the development of Townships is unresolved. Municipalities are accountable for Townships but lack the funds and often the institutional capacity to undertake the serious interventions required. Provinces and National Agencies continue to implement initiatives, often without the commitment or capacity of the local authorities to undertake the ongoing management and maintenance of these investments.



6. Conclusions

It is recognised that Townships and Township people have **shared in the benefits of democracy** as set out in the Ten and Fifteen Year reviews. This includes delivery of services to millions of people denied such services, freedom of movement and association, access to democratic rights and, in key instances, powerful upgrading projects. At the same time, Townships – home to 40 percent of households in South Africa – reflect the **less desirable and poorer parts** of South Africa's towns and cities and **inadequate access to its urban economy**. The **structural factors persist** that make it expensive and (often) unpleasant to live in Townships and more difficult to access urban opportunities.

While Townships may generally be more stable than when they were the focus of mass based resistance; in their current conditions, they also represent a substantial risk. If government and other role players fail to address concerns, issues, backlogs and marginalisation in urban areas, Townships potentially could have a destabilising effect and could cast a shadow over South Africa's democratic gains and future outlook.

Townships possess the human, physical, social, cultural, physical and other assets that can be harnessed towards the successful transformation of townships. Townships can become an integral part of progress, integration and optimal economic vibrancy in urban areas. However, this will take substantial financial resources — together with a multi-stakeholder commitment and government leadership.



With a focus on the experience of the post democratic period, the salient lessons emerging from the research, interviews and analysis undertaken in the Township Timeline Project are:

Development Strategies: There is a need for a sound urban development strategy and for priority attention to townships in relevant sector policies. An urban development strategy should speak clearly to the needs and priorities of townships, as an integral part of the urban system. The strategy, aimed at inclusive cities would guide the planning, budgeting and maintenance of these localities as a government priority. It should be acknowledged that solutions for Townships will not merely emerge from sector policies (e.g. integrated human settlements or transport policy) - Townships and their needs must be deliberately addressed in such policies.

While in pre-1994 Government had a deliberate policy with regard to Townships that it enforced, since 1994 (although Township initiatives have been undertaken) a coherent overall strategic approach to townships has been lacking. While unique policy in respect of the Townships may not be considered desirable given requirements of integration and inclusion —the opportunity exists for stronger leadership, a priority focus and deliberate strategies and programmes regarding Townships.

The failure to align Township transformation interventions with current urban spatial frameworks and strategies has limited the impact of these initiatives. Each Township must be upgraded and integrated into its urban context in a manner that recognizes its unique circumstances and challenges, as well as its potential to contribute to a broader system of urban economic production.

Championing, Leadership and Effective Partnership: The significance of Townships in South Africa's Towns and Cities is huge and the response must be equivalent. The response can only be adequate if it is driven by national policy and budget alignment that supports provincial and local spheres as the implementing arm of government. To this end, the upgrading and integration of Townships should be articulated in the National Urban Development Plan inclusive of a monitoring system to measure desired outcomes.

In developing Townships, Government must work in partnership with other actors. While government plays a key role, especially given the context of reconstruction and development, partners should be drawn in and given the space to play their appropriate roles. Government provides the certainty that comes through planning and plays a role in resource prioritization; the private sector contributes efficiency, plays an investment role and works with government to promote local entrepreneurial activity and the voluntary sector mobilises community enthusiasm and participation, and plays a vital role in governance.

Demonstrable Government commitment is a prerequisite for creating certainty required by the private sector as implementation partners. **Government must initiate and provide leadership** including a recognition of the positive consequences of urbanisation. This is so, particularly given the Townships' history of marginalization, the historically low levels of private sector investment in the past and the role townships play today as reception areas for new migrants.

Funding, Institutional Arrangements and Support: Townships are affected by the same problem that faces local development generally that of the co-ordination of budgets for urban development. Urgent steps need to be taken for institutional mechanisms that ensure a level of centralised planning and optimal budget alignment between government actors (local, provincial and central government and other government agencies) related to initiatives and programmes for developing Townships as part of the national policy agenda.

Area based institutions have emerged as important bodies for Township upgrading, helping to overcome jurisdictional and other bureaucratic problems. In addition, (when used effectively) such bodies act as an antidote to fragmentation, a government centred approach, and (sometimes) a lack of sufficient focus amid the multiple priorities of a local authority.

While National Government needs to be more directly involved, a major thrust must be in **capacitating local government** to take full responsibility for the upgrading and ongoing management of the Townships. A distinction should be made between the capacity to implement Township programmes, which can be supplemented by government and other support initiatives and the governance and oversight of these initiatives which must be located within local government.

The Township Timeline shows the **history of racial segregation** and how Townships were used to **marginalize** the majority of urban residents. It also shows the **significant but insufficient** gains that have been achieved since the democratization of South Africa.

The Timeline should be used to understand the context, recognize the successes achieved to date and learn lessons from previous periods that will enable us to successfully upgrade and integrate Townships and their residents into South Africa's towns and cities. This process is essential to the demonstrable transformation of towns and cities in South Africa.

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