
Integrating Poor Populations in South African Cities

A Challenge for Government Authorities

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Study produced under the supervision of Thierry Gonzalez, AFD

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Abstract

In South Africa, urban development issues are essential, especially for the urban integration of underprivileged households and settlements in the main cities. The spatial segregation imposed by apartheid fragmented the urban environment and spatially excluded non-white people from cities. Since 1994, the post-apartheid government, led by the African National Congress (ANC), has developed catch-up policies for historically disadvantaged groups, mainly in regard to service delivery: free single-family houses, water, electricity. These policies have had considerable results, but the houses have mostly been built at city fringes, which has not made it possible to spatially integrate these populations in cities. Because spatial planning was used to establish apartheid, planning instruments — both forward planning and regulatory processes — are not used by public authorities to conceive urban development. This is one of the main hindrances to integration. In addition, the production of urban areas for struggling populations is today heavily guided by the construction of housing — essentially small, single-family houses located in remote areas — and not coordinated with other urban functions. Other options, such as rental housing and the in-situ upgrading of informal settlements, are progressively being developed in order to diversify the public housing supply. This housing-based approach does not generate integrated settlements, and cities do not yet seem able to manage their urban development strategically, nor do they seem able to integrate poor households. However, all government spheres seem to be increasingly aware that it is both relevant and crucial to think about urban issues in terms of the living environment. Many innovative projects are emerging that take into account existing settlements and seek to produce suitable human settlements for disadvantaged groups. This territorial approach, which relies on overall management of the urban project, is still experimental and deserves close attention.

Keywords: public policies, cities, integration, urban development, disadvantaged populations, urban planning, housing, public authorities, municipalities, urban projects.

En Afrique du Sud, les enjeux de développement des grandes villes sont cruciaux, en particulier pour les installations des populations défavorisées et leurs possibilités d'intégration urbaine. La séparation spatiale imposée par l'apartheid a ancré des formes urbaines fragmentées excluant des villes les populations de couleur. A partir de 1994, le gouvernement post-apartheid, dominé par l'ANC (African National Congress), a développé des politiques de rattrapage pour les populations historiquement défavorisées, principalement en termes de services : maison individuelle gratuite, eau, électricité. Les résultats ont été conséquents, mais les constructions ont souvent été réalisées en périphérie et cela n'a pas permis d'intégrer spatialement ces populations dans les villes. Étant donnée l'utilisation autoritaire de la planification spatiale pour mettre en place l'apartheid, les outils de planification, stratégiques et réglementaires, ne sont pas utilisés par les pouvoirs publics pour penser le développement urbain et cela constitue un frein considérable. D'autre part, la production des espaces en milieu urbain pour les populations en difficulté est aujourd'hui largement guidée par la construction de logements – en grande partie des petites maisons individuelles situées sur des terrains éloignés – de manière non coordonnée avec les autres fonctions urbaines. Des solutions alternatives, comme le logement locatif et les projets de gestion de zone d'habitat informel, sont progressivement développées pour diversifier l'offre de logement. Cette approche par l'habitat ne permet pas la réalisation de quartiers intégrés et les villes ne semblent pas encore être en mesure de gérer leur développement de manière stratégique et en intégrant les populations démunies. Cependant, l'importance de cette réflexion en termes d'espaces de vie urbains apparaît à tous les échelons gouvernementaux ; des projets novateurs voient le jour et prennent en compte les développements existants tout en cherchant à produire des installations humaines adaptées en faveur des populations défavorisées. Cette approche territoriale qui s'appuie sur une gestion globale pour l'ensemble d'un projet urbain est encore expérimentale et mérite toute l'attention.

Mots-clés : politiques publiques, villes, intégration, aménagement urbain, populations démunies, planification urbaine, habitat, pouvoirs publics, municipalités, projets urbains.

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Methodology

The **purpose** of this study is to understand how South Africa operates in response to the challenges of urban development and primarily to understand the government authorities' attempts to create living spaces for poor populations within the urban fabric. In this report, the South African system is compared to the French system to enable better understanding of the challenges by using a known system of reference.

The **scope of the study** is vast, and this document attempts to remain sufficiently general to serve as background for any reflections or future projects in South Africa in the field of urban development. Nevertheless, the decision was made to focus primarily on **large South African cities** that are facing difficulties integrating low-income populations within the urban environment and attempting to overcome these difficulties.

The research lasted six months, from July 2008 to December 2008. Since the end of apartheid, many authors have taken an interest in the issues involved in the urban integration of historically disadvantaged groups. Thus, the first source used was a review of existing **writings** on the subject. This review of the literature was extended by **interviews** (see Appendix 1 for a list) conducted in France, Reunion Island and South Africa. Indeed, I had the opportunity to work in Reunion Island for one week at the end of September; and twice in South Africa, once for two weeks half-way through the study in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria, and a second time in Johannesburg for approximately ten days one month before the end of the study. In addition, simultaneously with this study, I helped organize a **workshop** titled "Urban Development, Housing and Social Cohesion" with Brazilian, South African and French speakers. This workshop, set up by AFD, was an opportunity to learn more about these issues.

The subject of the study is vast, and the time allotted, in Paris and on site, was fairly short. For this reason, this document identifies the important stakes and raises historic, and especially current, urban issues. The research aims to be extended via other more specific themes of study in function of the location or subject targeted.

FOREWORD

Public Policies on Housing and Urban Integration in South Africa

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Fifteen years after the first free elections and the ANC's coming to power, spectacular transformations are underway in South African cities. The democratic revolution and the construction of the "rainbow nation", promoted by Nelson Mandela's government and based on the principles of restitution, redistribution, equity and the affirmation of rights, have given birth to an ideal of urban integration that aims to break with the legacy of apartheid. This integration is supposed to organically combine spatial equity (reducing urban sprawl through physical densification, functional diversity, equalization of access to urban resources), social equity (redistribution, solidarity, guaranteed vital minimum for all), and political inclusion (desegregation, participation, democracy-building).

This ideal guiding new decisions likely to encourage fair, equitable and lasting change was all the more necessary as urban issues are central in South Africa. As those who conceived the plans for a new society have repeatedly insisted, large cities are at the core of economic, social and political challenges. According to national statistics, which are haphazard and hardly comparable over time, the rate of urbanization is said to have reached 56%, but 85% of South Africans are said to live within functional urban areas.¹ In this statistical grey zone, one of the rare certainties is the relative weight of large cities. The twenty-one largest functional urban areas — made up of

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1. Functional urban areas: areas under the influence of the permanent facilities and job catchments of urban agglomerations, defined in the Urban Development Framework (Department of Provincial and Local Government). Rate of urbanization: defined by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA).

five core urban regions, five major urban areas, and eleven significant urban services centres — are said to contain 41% of the total population, provide 70% of national value added, and concentrate 68% of households' total incomes and approximately one quarter of people living on less than the minimum living level (SACN, 2006). Within this heterogeneous ensemble, the six municipalities that have been assigned the status of metropolis (or metro)² are said to contain one-third of the total population and nearly two-thirds of city dwellers, provide nearly 60% of national value added, and 46% of salaried jobs.

Since 1994, considerable efforts have been made and tangible results have been achieved. Public and individual freedoms such as representative democracy have been consolidated, and redistribution policies have been implemented. 2.6 million subsidized housing units have been built for disadvantaged city dwellers, and equipment and infrastructure catch-up programmes targeting pockets of poverty and poor populations have multiplied.

The current situation and trends observed are, however, very far from the ideals of the 1990s, and South African cities are not moving toward increasing integration. The polycentric spatial spread of large cities was accompanied by the reproduction of the urban division inherited from apartheid. Residential desegregation is still slight everywhere. Poverty and social polarization have worsened. The compact city objective was abandoned and replaced by the objective of liveable city acceptable for all, and the search for a new urban utopia is on the agenda.

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That it would certainly take more than a decade to make deep-reaching changes to the urban structure, whose inertia is well-known, and promote fair integration for the most disadvantaged city dwellers is obvious but explains little. As it crystallized numerous resentments accumulated under apartheid, “habitat” — a notion combining land tenure, housing, equipment and services — has been the favoured tool in urban policies. One must therefore re-examine the fundamental choices and logic of these policies.

2. Johannesburg, Cape Town, eThekweni (Durban), Tshwane (Pretoria), Nelson Mandela (Port Elizabeth/Uitenage/Despatch), Ekurhuleni (East Rand). The South African Cities Network (SACN) contains these six unities and three other municipalities: Buffalo City (East London), Msunduzi (Pietermaritzburg) and Mangaung (Bloemfontein).

Urban Challenges

After apartheid was legally abolished, the urban challenges that needed to be overcome were considerable. One first had to deal with inequalities of all types, but one also and above all had to deal with the extreme diversity of inherited situations. Far from simply a high-level segregation system, apartheid differed from other colonial segregation systems in its objectives and its constant violence against individuals and groups, defined by political engineering that established micro classifications that aimed to create multiple “racial” sub-groups that were placed in a hierarchy and given different rights, for instance access to land. The effects of this engineering still influence identity-based behaviours and concepts of one’s “rights to this or that”.

This excessive identity-based fragmentation is in part linked to the extreme complexity of legacies in terms of the macro urban structure, rights to land, and administrative and fiscal practices. The racial urbanism made systematic in the 1950s itself varied over time and space. The apartheid city model was an ideal to attain, often neared in small cities much more than in large ones. Among other things, the time frames of urban policies were more or less aligned with those of the regime itself. Until the end of the 1950s, attempts to attain the model predominated (racial zoning, construction of the townships). With the “great apartheid” of the 1960s, the construction of townships ceased, and massive deportations to bantustans with the aim of excluding blacks from the city increased. To mobilize the labour force indispensable to white capitalism, hostels for temporary “single” migrants were built and new urbanized areas were created — simple bedroom communities located on the edges of declared white zones, near pools of salaried jobs or growth points and near the capital cities necessary for the administration of the bantustans. The stinging political and economic failure of the bantustans, the impossibility of fully controlling migrations, and the acceleration of migration to cities in the 1980s forced the regime to open (urban leases were authorized for blacks in 1982, the public housing stock was partially privatized in 1983, and property rights were extended to all in 1986) and accommodate migrants in improved frameworks. At the same time, illegal settlements (squatter camps) proliferated in the gaps between inhabited areas, on their fringes, and within townships (backyard shacks), and the boycott of rents and service payments in the townships, a political weapon that made them ungovernable, spread.

This chaotic evolution pushed urban complexity to the extreme. To cite only two examples, one will recall that before the abolition of the discriminatory legal arsenal (with the Abolition of Racially Based Measurements Amendment Act No. 113 of 1991), approximately seventeen thousand legal texts were in force. In regard to the conditions on and modes of access to land, the Land Administration Act No. 2 of 1995 and the Land Affairs General Amendment Act No. 11 of 1995 abolished fifty-four texts, as each province and bantustan had its own legislation. Legal abolition was a fairly simple political act. Taking stock of the land tenure situation, verifying property or usage deeds, and integrating them in a single cadastral registration system was otherwise more complicated. Launching a new housing policy required the identification of the lands owned by the state, provinces and municipalities. Yet, this operation had not been completed in 2009, and the state is still unable to map and evaluate its own property and most provinces and municipalities are still struggling to define theirs.

There are two other challenges in addition to the challenge of heterogeneousness: demographics and economics. Slower than elsewhere in Africa, population growth has nevertheless helped increase the need for housing, equipment and infrastructure. The population of South Africa is believed to have grown by an average of 2.7% annually from 1946 to 1970, and 2.4% annually from 1970 to 1996.³ However, migration has fed faster urban growth of respectively 3.5% and 3.1% annually, especially in large cities.

There is a correlation between this urbanization and a long-term trend of economic growth: first, irregular in the 1970s, slower than population growth in the 1980s, and then regular but modest at the start of the 1990s — which many authors have analyzed as marking a crisis in the former regime of accumulation. It is also linked to the restructuring of mining and industry protected by the former apartheid fortress, and stimulated by measures to increase openness adopted at the start of the 1990s. Since 1996, the neo-liberal shift taken by the government (Growth, Employment and Redistribution – GEAR) has sped up this transformation, one of the consequences of which is a modification of the urban salaried labour market making it increasingly polarized.

3. Source: SACN 2006.

The deregulation of the former administered racial Fordism led to an attempt at re-regulation. This re-regulation relied on a hybrid mode combining neo-liberalism and redistribution policies. It was the result of a compromise between the ANC, the unions, and business owners. This mode was supposed to respond to the double objective of driving strong growth through the accelerated opening to the world market and reallocating resources for the benefit of those who had been the victims of the former racist regime. It is in this framework that the fundamental choices in public housing policies make sense.

The Decision to Make Private Property Widespread

Listed as a political priority in the ANC's first platform (the Reconstruction and Development Programme – RDP) and the White Paper on housing published in 1994, access to housing is a fundamental right, written into the 1996 Constitution and confirmed by the Housing Act of 1997. In 1994, the housing deficit was estimated at 1.5 million units, and according to the 1996 census, 13% of the total population (or 1 million households) lived on non-serviced or partially serviced land. To overcome this deficit, a large national programme to produce 1.5 million homes in five years was launched. More than this productive effort, however, one must insist on the model chosen.

Negotiated during the National Housing Forum that brought together numerous public, private and associative actors including the Urban Foundation, a private institution and powerful local vector of neo-liberal thought, this model is a variation of the mode of hybrid regulation favouring public-private partnerships and hybrid governance.⁴ Ignoring the rental solution — too reminiscent of apartheid and provided by the private and cooperative sectors for solvent segments of the population — the central government focused its efforts on making private property widespread, first by continuing sites and services programmes (People's Housing Process – PHP) focusing on people's self-promotion, then by speeding up the sale of the public housing stock in the

4. Hybrid or partnership-based governance designates systems and processes of coordination among heterogeneous (public, private and associative) actors aiming to create cooperation so as to attain collectively negotiated objectives.

townships, and finally by financially democratizing first-time home ownership. On the income criteria alone (less than 3,500 rand⁵ per month), 86% of South African households had, for instance, access in 1995 to the Housing Subsidy Scheme whose subsidy amounts were modulated in function of the beneficiaries' incomes (Plancq-Tournadre, 2006; Royston, 2002). Aiming to normalize the situation of those excluded from formal housing, roll-out of the model relied on a partnership between a determined, instigating and facilitating government, private companies producing popular housing, and the "communities" supposed to participate in elaborating projects that concern them. It was innovative as an entirely subsidized urban offer: built on subdivided plots with individual connections to the electric grid and the water and sanitation network, the houses were offered to first-time home owners.

This decision came from an ideological position that values the assumed virtues of owning land and real estate. By making the situations of numerous citizens more secure via access to private property, at least in theory, the goal was, of course, to strengthen an electoral base, favour the formation of middle classes made solvent by public action, and make new home owners likely to support urban financing by increasing their ability to pay for the services provided by the municipalities. The aim was also to integrate the poorest into the conventional market economy by mobilizing their "social capital" to serve local development. Spreading private property to liberate people's economic initiatives and foster productive investments echoed the ideas made popular by theorists such as Hernando de Soto (2000).

Two modifications then brought the initial model into line with international orthodoxy.⁶ The first was a 2002 revision of the financing system that instituted mandatory contributions by beneficiaries, which was already the case in the PHP programmes. The principle of making access to loans conditional on the financial participation of the recipients was made systematic, except for households considered to be indigent (incomes of less than 800 rand per month in 2002, and less than 1,500 rand in 2004). It introduced household "responsibility", which was expected to strengthen the feeling of ownership. The second modification happened in 2004 and was an attempt to

5. 1 rand = €0.08 (2009).

6. The notion of orthodoxy here refers to the imperative of cost recovery through the financial contributions of households.

correct one of the flaws of the previous policy — the lack of a vast programme to restructure precarious informal housing. Thus, on 1 September 2004, the National Cabinet approved a new housing development plan and the next day the Minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu, unveiled the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements, better known under the name of Breaking New Ground (BNG). The central aim of this plan was to eradicate precarious informal housing through in-situ restructuring operations and/or relocating households when restructuring was complicated or impossible. It also modified the approach to the issue, switching from the simple delivery of grouped residential units to the production of integrated spaces by completing the former package with social facilities and economic infrastructure. It was thought that the development of integrated, functional and lasting settlements would be ensured in this way.

The New Fields of Action

This housing policy was launched simultaneously with a vast politico-territorial restructuring based on dual movement: national decentralization and local re-concentration. The modalities of this restructuring were set forth in the 1996 Constitution and various laws defining three governmental “spheres” (national, provincial and local). The Demarcation Board reconfigured the territorial divisions by substituting, prior to the 1995-1996 elections, 883 local authorities for the 1,260 previous ones, and then by grouping the municipalities into 284 units before the 2000 elections. Three types of local authorities were defined: municipalities, the districts that encompass them and with which they share responsibilities, and the metros, selected based on criteria listed in the Municipal Structure Act No. 1117 of 1998. The six metros were given a great degree of autonomy, and exclusive executive and regulatory powers protected within their territory of jurisdiction over which true local government could be exercised, legitimized by democratic elections. In this context, the unified metropolitan municipalities, or unicitys, were entrusted with ensuring local development, and the concept of “development local government” was included in the preamble to the Municipal Systems Act No. 23 of 2000. Relying on a “vision” of their economic future, public-private partnerships, and strategies negotiated with private companies and “communities”, the metropolitan governments must utilize specific planning tools and coordinate their development actions with those of the provinces and the central government.

These obligations implied applying horizontal governance within new municipal territories to ensure that development operations would be crosscutting, and ensure vertical governance between the three spheres. Prior to the 1996 Constitution, South African municipalities were in charge of producing public housing. The Housing Act of 1997 favoured the national and provincial spheres. The first sets national policy and elaborates the institutional and financial framework. The second manages national programmes and must help the municipalities fulfil their housing responsibilities. The municipalities, for their part, must elaborate, plan, coordinate and facilitate appropriate housing development. The emphasis is on their role as intermediary and mediator facilitating the actions of the two other protagonists, in particular by providing the necessary infrastructure. The Housing Act nevertheless gave them the possibility of intervening directly in housing production. This Act allows them to be accredited to manage national programmes, and therefore to infringe on the Provincial Housing Departments' prerogatives. Inadequate coordination between public housing production and municipal strategies and the difficulties mobilizing private promoters led to a new direction being taken in 2001. Municipalities were called to play a stronger role as the contracting authorities for public real estate projects and to become the promoters in most subsidized housing projects, which has poisoned their relations with the provincial authorities.

Lessons from Experience

Most of the reports by researchers (including Morange, 2004; Boraine *et al.*, 2006; Pillay, 2008; van Donk *et al.*, 2008) insist on both the growing housing deficit (which has grown from 1.5 million units in 1994 to 2.4 million units in 2006) and the need to rethink the foundation for collective action. In a prophetic paper, Vanessa Watson had underscored the primary obstacles that implementation of the initial model faced or risked facing (Watson, 1999).

First, its success depended on partnerships that made it possible to mobilize private companies that were supposed to negotiate "social agreements" with communities. These agreements were to condition access to public financing. However, the private sector was not very responsive, and community participation rarely worked as the stakes were very conflict-ridden among city-dwellers. Among other things, the

housing fund never received the 5% of the national budget as the state was not able to comply with one of the recommendations in the White Paper on housing. Given this cascade of failures, annual production never reached the 350 thousand homes needed to meet estimated needs, while the urban population grew by +1.6% per year from 1996 to 2001. Sprinkling aid also brought about a drop in project subsidies, leading to lowest-cost production and cheap buildings. Between half and two-thirds of the maximum subsidy amount was absorbed by equipment costs, and the base units (core houses, starter houses) destined to be expanded later were small — one or two rooms with a bathroom (40 to 50 square meters at best, but 15 to 25 square meters in most cases) — and often of poor architectural quality.

Second, there were multiple dysfunctions in horizontal and vertical governance. The effectiveness of the housing policy was contingent on the existence of operational provincial and municipal administrations. However, the politico-territorial reconfigurations were difficult. Integrating administrations that had different cultural legacies, often different ways of operating, and different staff hierarchies and salary scales, while simultaneously taking affirmative action and attempting to prevent the loss of technical knowledge following the departure of white professionals was a real exploit. Unifying budgetary rules in the metros took time, and for the municipalities included in districts where distributing resources among urban hubs was conflictual, managing budgets supplemented by the Equitable Share⁷ was complicated. In addition to this laborious horizontal reconstruction, there were also relational problems within the multi-level administrative galaxy. Because of the vagueness of texts regulating the reciprocal responsibilities of the provinces and municipalities, contracting authority was all the more disputed by the two spheres as its clientelistic dimension was an essential political given. Conflicts over authority, especially in Western Cape and Kwazulu-Natal, were intensified by administrative blockages about transferring and allocating funds from the central sphere: budgets granted late, insufficient amounts attributed by the provinces, and interference of all sorts in the selection of housing recipients, a task that was already tricky because of competition among city-dwellers defending their eligibility priorities. From one plot or settlement to another, the locals had defined themselves as belonging to competing categories — haves and have-nots, insiders and outsiders — forged

7. The system of allocating budget resources from the central sphere and destined for the provinces and local governments.

according to or in contrast with the discriminations inherited from apartheid, in such a way that it was a struggle to give real content to the often fantasy notion of “community”.

Third, the spatial organization inherited from apartheid was reproduced and perpetuated by the production of low-density single-family housing, which created outlying, mono-functional settlements (Watson, 1999). To build massively and inexpensively, private promoters and municipalities alike utilized land located on the outskirts of urban areas. At market prices in central or close-to-central areas, the available private land was too expensive to acquire and the often rare public reserves of land were utilized for other things by the municipalities. Indeed, they needed to increase their productive base to increase their own budget resources. In addition to the consumption of more land, which worked against compactness, there were also the effects of segregation and marginalization. The recipients belonged to the same income brackets, very frequently to the same “racial” group, and the lack of businesses forced them to commute long distances every day to areas of employment. Transport costs weighed heavily on household spending and penalized the poorest, who could not access the formal labour market.

Faced with the alternative of acquiring subsidized housing on the outskirts or illegally moving into (or remaining in) squatter camps or sublets in the townships (which were better situated in relation to formal and informal job opportunities), many potential beneficiaries opted for illegality. One can therefore understand the stakes for Breaking New Ground, which makes it possible to channel the Social Housing Restructuring Capital Grant subsidies into restructuring informal housing. One can also understand the importance of a needed break with the hegemony of private property and reflection on the role of rental housing for the population. This reflection is all the more urgent as creating property owners itself produces social exclusion. Indeed, first-time owners are confronted with insurmountable difficulties meeting the induced expenses, including paying for at-home utilities networks. The multiple examples of water and electricity cut-offs are not simply due to the “culture of non-payment” inherited from apartheid. They are due to a real financial inability to pay (Plancq, 2006), even taking into account national redistribution policies (the first 6 kl of water and 50 kWh of electricity are free for many households) and local redistribution policies (exemptions on property taxes and waste removal based on real estate values, flat-rate income tax reductions). As a result, an illegal market for subsidized housing rapidly developed. Sublets and the

return of recipient households to squatter camps or backyard shacks became frequent, and the illegal resale of homes (subsidized houses cannot legally be sold for five years) proliferated to the point that the Minister of Housing announced in her 2008 budget speech the start of an audit of occupants' real status. She also proposed recovering houses by evicting illegal occupants and excluding the owners — a position that was fought by activist associations that denounced a return to the methods of apartheid, with some of them, such as Soweto's Anti-Privatisation Forum, violently questioning the government's economic and social policy.

On every scale, from the settlement to the urban macro structure, the fetishism for private property ultimately worked against urban integration and desegregation. We can understand the political value assigned to the status of home owner that had been denied to black city-dwellers. It is more difficult, however, to understand why the government granted such exclusivity to private property when poverty over-determines the housing issue. Becoming a home owner, whether for free or not, in an emerging country such as South Africa is meaningless unless this accession is accompanied by an improvement in monetary incomes. Town-planning-based treatment of poverty is necessary, of course, but it is not sufficient as housing is not an isolated factor disconnected from social issues. In 2006, there were nearly six million city-dwellers under the poverty line in the twenty-one functional urban areas, approximately one-third of their total population, and the average unemployment rate was estimated to be 25% and nearly 27% in the nine metros (between 35% and 40% in Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela). And these figures are only averages (in Cape Town, the unemployment rate reached 40% among black workers and 60% in some townships).

Among other things, in the context of neo-liberal globalization, any national or local attempt at urban integration runs up against strong general trends that work against its objectives. Cities are affected by the rise of flexible accumulation, the transformation of the labour market, the increasing precariousness of salaried jobs, and the growing informality of activities. In addition, solidarities within cities are chosen rather than organic: the residential enclosures and confinements associated with safety practices that isolate “from the top” (gated communities) combine with the isolation of the poorest “at the bottom” (trapped communities). Yet, sectoral service policies, despite their advances in terms of physical and economic solidarity (networks, technical facilities, tariff measures) have not offset the effects of division.

For some, this observation is the consequence of new South Africa's founding compromise and a hybrid governance that works in favour of the most advantaged and market forces, and feeds urban fragmentation (Bond, 2003). For others, hybrid governance, a sort of in-between process, is not in and of itself a vector of division and could encourage progressive management provided that the spheres of government rely on an innovative vision that combines social justice and the urban landscape and use the existing regulatory tools, combining them in an efficient multi-level system to counter the forces of dislocation or eliminate their effects (Boraine *et al.*, 2006; van Donk *et al.*, 2008).

Diversify to Integrate?

Where are we in April 2009? The central government is, first of all, in search of the financial means to deal with the most urgent issues, trying to keep up with a worsening housing deficit. The Department of Housing's budget has doubled in the space of five years, from 4.8 billion rand in 2004 to 9 billion rand in 2007/2008 and 10.7 billion rand in 2008/2009, with 12.7 billion planned for 2009/2010 and 15.3 billion for 2010/2011. But all the audits show that these sums are insufficient, since the 2008-2009 budget only allows for the construction of 266 thousand housing units. According to a 2006 audit, it would take 120 billion rand by 2012 to fully restructure the squatter camps, install transit lines and continue to produce subsidized housing in sufficient amounts. However, the problem cannot be reduced to the financial sums at play, and reflection is needed on the content and meaning of public action.

In regard to content, two initiatives were taken in 2008. To attempt to resolve the acute land issue, the Housing Bill approved in May 2008 opened the door to the creation of a national agency, the Housing Development Agency. It would have two missions: acquiring land, and reducing project approval times. In addition, the Minister of Housing presented a bill to the National Council of Provinces aiming to quell all illegal settlement. The local authorities formulated strong opposition to both initiatives. A long road remains to be travelled to oil the wheels of vertical governance, make the multi-level government system work effectively, and bring to life the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act of 2005, which promotes the negotiation of intergovernmental agreements and defines conflict resolution procedures. These initiatives do not remove

the need to examine other types of financing for people's housing and the creation of systems to collect national savings and redistribution systems for social housing. They also do not remove the need for a critical look at the dogma of private property. It is now necessary to rethink rental solutions as a public tool and break with the uniformity of large national programmes by asking how one can efficiently address urban heterogeneity and complexity. How can one diversify to generate integration? This is the new challenge facing the authorities that emerged from the voting booths in April 2009.

In regard to the meaning of public action, reflections have begun based on a criticism of the notion of "post-apartheid city". As a group of South African researchers has insisted, the time has come to move "from a particularistic expression of the imperative of overcoming apartheid to a more generalised aspiration for urban innovation led by a developmental state" (Boraine *et al.*, 2006: 260). By slowly freeing themselves from the reference to the redeeming project of abolishing apartheid, the discussions are refocusing on the characteristics of "metropolization" in an emerging country, on the quest for a "city of rights," and on the need to invent original modalities for collective action. South African researchers are therefore calling for a new foundation for public housing policies. It remains to be seen if the current leading elites in the ANC are able, or willing, to hear them. In South Africa, as elsewhere, the housing issue is not technical but political in nature. To attempt to resolve this issue, it is high time, as Sampie Terreblanche has emphasized (Terreblanche, 2003), to renegotiate the agreements between elites and reformulate a new social contract.

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Introduction

At the end of apartheid, the new government of South Africa wanted to rebuild the country both politically and spatially, and one imperative was to compensate historically disadvantaged populations. In this recently democratized country that had inherited a spatial landscape corresponding to racial segregation, urban issues have all their importance and the urban integration of poor populations is one of the major challenges facing the government authorities in South Africa.

The urban landscape has changed since 1994: all of the territory is open to all citizens, the city centres are open to the various populations, mixed residential zones have been built for the middle classes and the elite, and some townships have been “gentrified”. In the large cities, however, the fragmentation between the different population classes is still considerable, and integration and access to essential urban functions are clearly not the same depending on the populations’ incomes. Fourteen years after the end of apartheid, South African cities have not evolved toward balanced urban landscapes, the amount of informal housing has increased, and fragmentation persists or is even increasing. To attempt to restructure cities and guide their urban development, a strong political will is indispensable. South Africa oscillates between a catch-up policy for disadvantaged populations and a neo-liberal position born of the compromises made with white economic power at the end of apartheid.

This study aims first to present the context in which current urban policies exist today and primarily to give an overview of the history of South African cities before apartheid and since 1994 so as to provide an understanding of the challenges that the government is attempting to overcome. It then presents the government’s current policies to shape the urban landscape and meet the needs of poor populations. In order to provide vulnerable populations with adequate places to live, the government has two primary levers for action. It can plan city development, that is to say envisage and plan it but

also control it. More practically, it can also produce cities by undertaking to build infrastructure, housing, and public areas and facilities. These two public policy lines — planning and the production of residential zones — will be described and analyzed in turn. Part two of the study will make it possible to understand the planning system currently in place in South Africa, and see its limits and prospects for change. Part three is devoted to studying the modes of production and construction developed by the South African government when it comes to public policies to integrate poor populations. Finally, the end of part three will discuss original initiatives that reveal a general determination by the government to re-examine past policies and reflect on more complete programmes and coordinated, integrated projects.

PART ONE:

An Urban Context Marked by Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Reconstruction Policies

This section presents the South African specificities that shape urban development. First, it places the history of cities in perspective under apartheid and then from 1994 on. This leads to a presentation of the current situation and urban development stakes. Finally, the current political and institutional backdrop to urban development policies in South Africa is described.

An Urban History of South Africa: From 1652 to the Present

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South Africa's urban history is particularly eventful, from the arrival of the first inhabitants to Nelson Mandela's rise to power, via the successive waves of European colonists, territorial wars, the unification of the South African nation, the establishment of the apartheid system, and finally the supremacy of the ANC.

1.1. Territorial Conquest: From Colonization to Apartheid

A brief review of South African urban history until apartheid is crucial to understanding the role and impacts of public development policies since 1994.

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1.1.1. The First Human Settlements

Indigenous Populations and European Colonists

Before the first colonists arrived, South Africa was populated in the southwest by a people of hunters and cattle farmers called the **Khoisan** (or Bushmen, or Hottentots), and various black populations covered the majority of the South African territory, notably the **Xhosas** in the south and the **Zulus** in the north.

In 1652, the **first Dutch colonists** arrived in Cape Town to set up a coastal supply station for the Dutch East India Company. Large tracts of land were progressively

granted to Dutch farmers (still known under the name Boers) that colonized part of the South African territory. This colonization was only slightly slowed by resistance from the Khoisan, who were little armed and susceptible to the new imported diseases. The colonization led to a scattered settlement of Boer farming families, each of which was very isolated and self-sufficient. Starting in 1688, a few hundred **French** Huguenots arrived in Cape Town, followed by the **British** who wished to prevent the French from taking control of the colony. In 1820, there was a massive arrival of more than 5,000 British immigrants. In 1835, fleeing English colonization, the Boers began a march to the north of the country, called the **Grand Trek** (map 1).

Map 1.
The Formation of South Africa



Source: Atlas-historique.net, 2002.

During their northwards expedition, the Boers had to affront, among others, the Zulu, which led to a bloody battle in 1838, the Battle of Blood River. Along their path, the Boers created several republics, including the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State. Diamond mines were then discovered and the English annexed the various Boer states, which became British colonies in 1902. These clashes between the English and the Boers gave rise to two wars, the second of which — the **Boer War** — was particularly deadly.

Independence of the Union of South Africa and the First Stirrings of Territorial Segregation

In 1910, all the British colonies merged and acquired independence by becoming the **Union of South Africa**. From the very formation of this new country, black populations were excluded from power and territorial segregation was set up. The **Native Land Act** of 1913 limited the amount of land that could be acquired by the black population to 7% of the national territory. Simultaneously, the **Afrikaner identity** was formed by bringing together all of the descendants of the Dutch colonists, Boer city-dwellers and farmers. The economic difficulties of 1930 brought the English-speaking and Afrikaner parties representing the white populations closer together. In 1948, a radical Afrikaner party, the **National Party**, took power and immediately established the apartheid system, imposing **separate development** for white and black populations.

1.1.2. Apartheid's Policy of Exclusion

Separatist Ideology and the Legal Framework

The National Party promoted separate development of the races so that, theoretically, better development of each population would be possible. This ideology did not simply mean segregation, as that had already been present since the start of colonization, but rather legislative engineering that systematically and in an authoritarian manner organized a radical **spatial separation** of different populations. The apartheid government wanted urbanization to formally exclude all non-white populations, and especially all black populations. This was supposed to ensure that the white population was protected by controlling, on all levels, the other populations. In order to succeed in its goals, the

government banned non-white populations from access to education, controlled and considerably limited their access to jobs, and limited their rights to housing and services. But above all, the ideology of apartheid relied on separate spatial development, designed in an authoritarian manner and executed thanks to extremely powerful legislative instruments. The government used territorial planning, not to ensure coherency in territorial development but to put into practice this division of the various populations.

A law⁸ established racial categories. Then, the **Group Areas Act** of 1950 imposed absolute separate urban development by no longer authorizing non-white populations (black, coloured, and Indian) to live in white cities and forcing them to live only in race-specific dormitory zones.

Territorial Apartheid and Separate Urban Landscapes

The need for inexpensive labour, notably in mining, would be a limit to the government's desire for separate urban development. In order to take advantage of black labour all the same and utilize it, the government decided to control the comings and goings of working populations with the help of a pass system⁹ authorizing limited circulation within white cities. To territorially outline this barrier, working populations were assigned rental housing in hostels or matchbox houses within **townships**. The term "township" designates a dormitory zone that existed before or was created during apartheid, separate from the multi-functional white city by industrial zones and buffer zones.¹⁰ Access roads to townships were very few in number and controlled; public and commercial spaces were inexistent; and facilities and services were lacking or rudimentary. Matchbox houses were small, rudimentary houses built massively by the government between 1948 and 1962 to house non-white workers. The hostels were buildings of one or more floors with bedrooms and shared lavatories for workers obliged to live alone when their families were not authorized to live "that close" to the white city. The apartheid city was therefore entirely conceived to ensure full residential

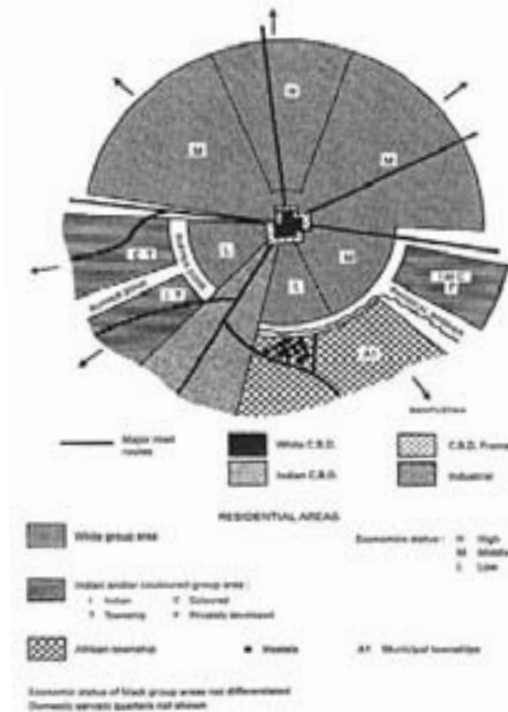
8 The Population Registration Act.

9. This system was established by the "Influx Control Act" that formally forbade workers from staying in urban areas more than 72 hours.

10 A "buffer zone" was a strip of unbuilt land at least 100 meters wide separating white zones from non-white zones.

segregation (Graph 1). The township of Soweto south of Johannesburg was, for example, used by the apartheid government to house black populations in an overcrowded and under-equipped area near the mines. The government wanted to restrict non-white populations' spatial freedom but had no real intention of housing them. Thus, in 1986, 50% of the people residing in the Johannesburg area lived in informal housing.

Graph 1.
Theoretical Model of the Apartheid City



Source: R.J. Davies, *The Apartheid City*, 1981.

The **homelands** were another territorial division strategy elaborated by the apartheid government. Starting in 1960, approximately 2,600,000 blacks were thus deported to ten small rural zones called homelands or bantustans that were supposed to correspond to the ethnic origin of the population. In reality, the aim was to produce, not on city scale

but on national scale, an inequalitarian territorial division between the various populations. The homelands were very small, disinherited, and could not therefore become economically autonomous. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act (1959) went even further and proposed excluding these homelands politically by forcing them to become independent states, which was done in 1971 (Map 2). In this way, some black populations even lost their South African citizenship.¹¹

The apartheid system relied on **differentiated political management** according to population: the homelands were governed by tribal chiefs (which made it possible

Map 2.
South African Homelands in 1986



Source: University of Texas - Perry-Castañeda map.

11. This situation would be rectified in 1994 when the homelands were once again considered to be part of South Africa.

to perpetuate the conflicts between the various ethnic groups), and the townships were progressively administered by black municipalities that had neither funds nor technical capacities. In this way, political separation was complete and allowed the government to maintain a manipulative discourse touting independence and separate development for populations in order to better match their different needs.

This spatial planning of separate development brought about an unbelievable number of forced displacements, imposed long daily commutes, broke apart family units, and divided the various ethnicities and populations to reign. This left a legacy for future generations of an unfairly and lastingly divided territory when it came to urban landscapes.

1.2. Since the End of Apartheid: A Political Desire for Reconstruction

1.2.1. Progressive Changes Starting in the 1980s

The End of Apartheid

Starting in the 1970s, an anti-apartheid **resistance** movement grew stronger, and strikes and demands became more and more frequent and formed what is called the civic movement. The Soweto Uprising in 1976 was one of its most violent manifestations. After having attempted to crush this resistance by declaring a state of emergency, the government decided to give non-white populations more manoeuvring room, and they progressively obtained the right to circulate freely, even live anywhere, although this was rarely the case in practice. The Black Communities Development Act in 1984 and then the Free Settlement Act in 1989 then allowed black populations to **own property**; and the government withdrew from the management of rental housing and progressively privatized real estate stocks in the townships. **Orderly urbanization** was tolerated for black populations: cities could be established in the homelands and renovation plans were launched for the principal townships such as Khayelitsha in Cape Town and Alexandra in Johannesburg. Finally, the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act in 1991 explicitly ensured the right of all populations to own land and residential real estate.

A Critical Urban Situation

The changes to public policies between 1980 and 1994 had, however, a limited effect on the reduction of urban disparities. The most racist laws had of course been abolished, but this did not yet make it possible to right the situation: segregation and inequalities were impressive. In 1993, 66% of the black population (which itself accounted for approximately 75% of the total population) lived below the **poverty** line in South Africa, and more than 7 million city-dwellers lived in **informal housing** — either in backyards or more massively in shantytowns.¹² The situation was, thus, critical both in terms of housing for the poorest populations and in terms of urban balance. Apartheid's **human and urban record** was disastrous, and the need to bring radical change to this urban development was overwhelming. However, the determination to preserve social peace did not allow for a complete overhaul, and the housing crisis demanded rapid and quantitative responses.

1.2.2. Debates on What Direction to Take

The negotiations between the National Party and the ANC were difficult to conclude, in part because of the reluctance of the white government to admit the end of apartheid, and ethnic divisions between the ANC and the Inkhata Freedom Party representing the Zulu electorate. Compromises had to be made between the white political powers and the black opposition. In order to take control of political power, the opposition agreed to leave **economic power** under the control of the white population, which limited the post-apartheid government's ability to put pressure on the private sector. These negotiations concluded with the establishment of a new democratic regime. Apartheid was abolished in 1993. The first multi-racial elections were held in 1994 and placed Nelson Mandela at the head of the new South Africa. The new constitution was approved in 1996.

On the urban issue debates took place starting in 1992 to determine how a post-apartheid city could be created. These discussions brought together numerous actors, affected from near or far by the urban development and housing challenges. They raised

12. Statistics from the 1993 *Race Relation Survey* report.

essential questions, such as: How could what the apartheid system had produced be disarmed? How could one re-advantage the populations that had been heavily disadvantaged? How could balanced city development be attained?

The National Housing Forum and Choosing Free Private Property

The National Housing Forum was created in 1992 to attempt to answer these questions. It was an organization bringing together different political groups, financial institutions, the private sector (especially industry and construction), unions, civics¹³ and other development organizations. Within this Forum, the private sector's interests were apparently very well represented, notably by the Urban Foundation, an association created by private investors in 1976. All of these reflections were partially influenced by international debates (conveyed notably by the World Bank) on the shape of cities and the role of the state in response to urgent housing needs. After two years of work and discussion, the National Housing Forum recommended that the **South African government** play the **role of facilitator** in a massive housing delivery programme for the poorest people. The **private sector** would then be in charge of conducting these housing projects, consisting of small single-family houses given away for free. The aim was to be able to meet, inexpensively for the public authorities, the needs of the largest possible number of households very rapidly. The single-family home ownership solution would ensure residential security for inhabitants that had been deprived of property rights and obliged to rent during the apartheid years.

The Right to Housing: A New Constitutional Right

The right to housing emerged as one of the new fundamental rights in the South African constitution approved in 1996:

“Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.”¹⁴

13. The term “civics” designates associations representing South African civil society created under apartheid. The civics federation SANCO (South African National Civics Organisation) played a decisive role in fighting apartheid.

14. Excerpt from the South African constitution: *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996, Chapter 2 – Bill of Rights, Section 26 – Housing.

1.2.3. A Catch-Up Policy Centred Around the Massive Construction of Single-Family Homes

Following these debates and in order to apply their conclusions, a set of national policies and laws emerged starting in 1994.

An Overall Framework

The determination to take into account all of the urban development recommendations and carry a vision of the post-apartheid city brought about the drafting of the Urban Development Strategy in 1995, which was rearranged in 1997 to become the **Urban Development Framework**. This document presents a certain number of general guidelines to attain the urban development desired by the government. The principal lines are spatial restructuring for compact, integrated cities, economic and social development for productive, fair cities, and finally institutional restructuring for well-governed cities and an efficient local scale. This document provided a general framework but in reality had little impact on practical implementation. Indeed, the general principles — or, rather, the ideals to attain — are presented but the means to attain them are not set out and no other document has been written to implement them.

Fairer Land Distribution

A large-scale **land reform** policy was conducted from the end of apartheid by the Department of Land Affairs. This policy relied on three types of actions: restitution (return ownership of their lands to the populations that had owned them originally, before the spoliation under apartheid), redistribution (help non-white populations acquire land, notably in rural areas to attain a fairer distribution of all farm land), and finally the reform of land tenure (aiming to normalize land situations, limit customary management mechanisms and re-establish fairer property rights). The aim of this reform was to make up for the harm to certain populations under apartheid. Its implementation was, however, extremely tricky and its results are still very mixed.¹⁵ This reform concerned

15. In 2004, only 2% of land had been attributed to non-white populations.

mainly rural and agricultural land and aimed to be a catch-up policy for historically disadvantaged populations. When it comes to urban land management, the **Development Facilitation Act** (DFA, 1995) is one of the only laws that attempts to implement the general principles of balanced urban development (notably those detailed in the Urban Development Framework). The DFA recommends development and land management principles, and in particular: preventing urban sprawl, optimizing resources, proposing housing and nearby or rapidly accessible employment solutions, and encouraging mixed use of land. In order to attain these objectives, cities must develop Land Development Objectives,¹⁶ and provincial land management tribunals have been created to accelerate land development authorization processes. These mechanisms will be discussed in detail at the start of Part Two.

The Home Construction and Attribution

Overall, the policy that would primarily influence urban development in the years following apartheid was the housing grant programme. This policy of public housing construction was part of the general framework of measures emanating from the **Reconstruction and Development Programme** (RDP) elaborated by the ANC in 1994. The RDP is the founding document of the ANC's post-apartheid policy. It was established before the Constitution and presents all the strategic lines of action and measures that must be taken. The RDP is a very ambitious programme that addresses all the subjects necessary to erase traces of apartheid and rebuild the country. Among these subjects, housing appears at the top of the list as one of the flagship policies to implement. Successfully providing decent housing to the largest possible number of people was declared to be crucial. This housing policy, which promised to build one million homes in five years, would have considerable effects. It was based heavily on the National Housing Forum's recommendations and therefore focused primarily on the massive provision of small houses for free. These houses are commonly called RDP houses (Photos 1 and 2).

16. The Land Development Objectives are spatial and land strategies that each municipality must produce.

Photos 1 and 2.
RDP Houses in Alexandra, Johannesburg



Photo credit: Alexandra Renewal Project.

To implement this policy, an entire **institutional and legislative** framework was set up. The **Housing Subsidy Scheme** was launched in 1994 and established how the subsidy would work: it would be a grant for households earning less than 3,500 rand per month, would cover both the price of the land and construction of the house, and would be in amounts of 5,000 to 12,500 rand.¹⁷ This subsidy was indirectly used by promoters who would build vast single-family home projects; these houses were then given to households that met the allocation criteria. The subsidy mechanism, objectives, and the role of the various institutions involved were taken up in a 1994 White Paper on housing.

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In 1997, the **Housing Act** was published. This law was written by the Department of Housing and describes all of the public provisions in regard to housing. Alongside this subsidy favouring standardized individual ownership, other public assistance measures were developed. The People's Housing Process was a system developed starting in 1996, which involved more recipient households by allowing them to be responsible for building housing. In addition, the financial sector was solicited from the start, notably through the National Housing Forum, to intervene in the housing field. In 2003, the various private banks took the initiative of forming a group and drafting a financial charter¹⁸ to help households obtain home loans. Finally, rental housing

17. 1 rand = 0.08 euros; 3,500 rand = 275 euros; 5,000 rand = 394 euros; 12,500 rand = 985 euros.

18. *Financial Sector Charter*.

initiatives¹⁹ emerged and were progressively acknowledged by the Department of Housing that took the initiatives into account by slightly amending the Housing Act. This public assistance system, still largely in force today, will be presented in greater detail in Part Three.

1.2.4. Very Positive Quantitative Results but Qualitative Limitations Demanded a New Direction

This housing policy, which began in 1994 and endeavoured to produce a large number of houses for private ownership very rapidly, made it possible to provide homes to poor people in a remarkable way. Indeed, the government of South Africa spent 29.5 billion rand²⁰ in ten years and enabled the construction of **1.6 million RDP houses**. This system made it possible to house thousands of families and automatically ensured access to essential utilities (water and electricity). This policy was developed in response to the **urgency** of the situation, and it can be compared to the “**politique des grand ensembles**” (large ensembles policy) elaborated in France at the end of the 1950s. In response to the rural exodus and the major urbanization phase, the French government developed centralized measures to produce decent housing for urban workers very rapidly and inexpensively. These measures led to the construction of outlying, purely residential neighbourhoods, large towers and buildings containing social housing units.

Thus, faced with the need to take rapid action and house people in acceptable sanitary conditions, South Africa created these RDP houses. However, despite laudable quantitative results, limits were reached. First, in order to allow a maximum of households to receive the subsidy, the amount granted was small: this brought about **standardization** and poor architectural quality for houses. In addition, in order to reduce costs, the promoters wanted to build homes on the **large scale** and on **outlying tracts of land**. This policy of providing RDP houses was rapidly criticized and its approach was seen as too **liberal**.²¹ Indeed, the government was supposed to have a facilitating role, and the provision of housing was concretely carried by the private

19. Primarily initiatives by NGOs that seek to mitigate the uniformity of the public housing policy.

20. 29.5 billion rand = 2.3 billion euros.

21. Housing assistance was initially supposed to make up 5% of the total state budget but was in fact reduced to 1.4%.

sector. It was perhaps illusory to believe that the private sector could provide housing for poor populations in a qualitative manner. Furthermore, the fact that **individual property** was all that was proposed has also often been noted (Morange, 2006) because this did not take into account the diversity of needs and relevant rental housing possibilities for poor populations.

Progressively, since the start of the RDP housing policy, reflections have emerged and the qualitative difficulties have led the public authorities to question the policy's effectiveness and limitations. This reflection led to certain amendments to the Housing Act, notably to give greater space to rental housing, but above all led to new housing guidelines. The Department of Housing's new plan of action, known under the name of Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlement or **Breaking New Ground**, was published in September 2004. This plan recommended expanding the proposed responses by relying on rental solutions and fostering the secondary real estate market, facilitating cooperation between the different levels of government, and above all re-thinking housing in terms of integrated urban development (planning, densification, urban renovation, functional diversity).

Box 1.
Historical Parallel with France

History of Urban Policies in France from 1945 to the Present

Until the start of the 20th century, municipalities were in charge of managing and developing their cities, and construction and development operations were operationally conducted by private initiatives. After World War I, rents became very expensive and the government decided to intervene by imposing a moratorium on rent increases, which would last until the end of World War II. In 1946, the government's efforts focused on **rebuilding** cities destroyed during the war. This reconstruction phase ended in 1950, and was followed by a massive influx of people to cities, the consequence of the rural exodus and immigration caused by industrialization. Faced with this growing urbanization and the urgent need for housing, the government established what is commonly called the "**politique des grand ensembles**" (large ensembles policy): the Caisse des Dépôts et des Consignations (CDC, bank of deposits and escrow) was entrusted with producing the

Zones à Urbaniser en Priorité (ZUP, zones to urbanize in priority) and industrializing the production of social housing. In the mid-1960s, in response to this policy's limits (only functional and centred primarily on social rental housing), the **government** once again became heavily involved. It implemented **planning** tools²² and launched the development of **new cities** that were supposed to be a coherent wide-scale response to urban growth. Near the end of the 1970s, public assistance for single-family houses was set up in response to the demands from households. Adding to this generalization of single-family homes, the expansion of the road network and the massive appearance of hypermarkets gave birth to a characteristic urban landscape called **bypass urbanism**, in this case the result not of an urban policy but of a public housing policy. In 1982, a **decentralization** process began and aimed to give most responsibilities in the field of urbanism to municipalities. Simultaneously, and from the early 1980s, the **city policy**²³ was born. Indeed, the difficulties facing the ZUPs were progressively acknowledged and the government launched a reintegration policy in these areas. It first gave rise to the "Grand Projets Urbains" (GPUs, large urban projects), and then, starting in 2004, to urban renovation projects accelerated and financed in part by the Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (ANRU, national urban renovation agency). On the legislative level, starting in the 2000s, certain laws (and notably the Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain law – SRU) fostered social diversity and consideration of the environment in town planning and urbanism actions.

Similarities with South Africa

Despite very different political pasts (apartheid having until recently determined all of political life and passed down "indelible" urban landscapes) and differences in territorial scale, certain similar stages in how urban development was tackled are to be emphasized. First, the *politique des grand ensembles* in France and the RDP house policy in South Africa were

22. The 1967 Loi d'Orientation Foncière (land orientation law) introduced the Schémas Directeurs d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (SDAU, development and urbanism blueprints), precursors of the Schémas de Cohérence Territoriale (SCOT, territorial coherency blueprints), and the Plans d'Occupation des Sols (POS, land occupation plans), precursors of the Plans Locaux d'Urbanisme (PLU, local urbanism plans).

23. The Commission pour le Développement Social de Quartiers (neighbourhood social development commission) was created in 1981, and the Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville (inter-ministerial delegation for cities) was created in 1984.

housing policies in response to the need to find rapid, quantitative solutions to a housing crisis. They had unfortunate consequences for urban development and are now the object of “repair” policies that aim to integrate these isolated and disinherited residential settlements. In addition, the French government needed to intervene around 1965 to ensure a coherent development policy, notably by fostering **planning**. Since the start of the 2000s, the same urgency can be felt in South Africa. What is more, France evolved toward decentralization, and South Africa is also moving toward transferring urban development to the **municipalities**. Finally, in the same way that the SRU law in France imposed social diversity and lauded **sustainable development**, South Africa’s recent housing policy, Breaking New Ground, insists on the sustainable development of South African land.

Current Challenges

The apartheid policy has completely conditioned the form of cities and generated considerable social disparities. In order to successfully overcome this inegalitarian past and found a new South Africa, the post-apartheid government of South Africa has established a strategy, corpus of laws, and institutions. A dynamic has been initiated and changes are underway, but the stakes are considerable. The challenges that South Africa must overcome, nearly fifteen years after the end of apartheid, are macroeconomic in nature, and urban landscapes show growing inequalities.

2.1. A Two-Speed Macroeconomic Situation

Certain macroeconomic indexes provide a portrait of the current situation in South Africa. Here is a look at those that are necessary to understand urban development stakes.

49

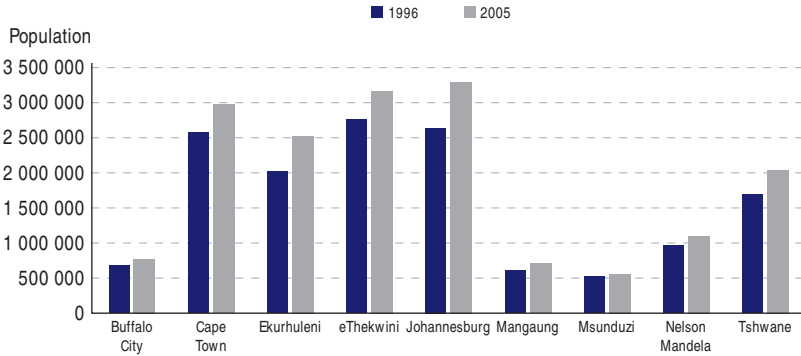
2.1.1. Demographics

The latest official census in South Africa dates from 2001 and the population was 44 million people at that time. The population is now estimated to be nearly 48 million. Of these **48 million** South Africans, approximately 80% are black, 10% are white, and 10% coloured, Indian or Asian.²⁴ The South African population is growing, especially in the **cities**.

24. According to the 1996 and 2001 censuses:

	Black African	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White
1996	76.7%	8.9%	2.6%	10.9%
2001	79.0%	8.9%	2.5%	9.6%

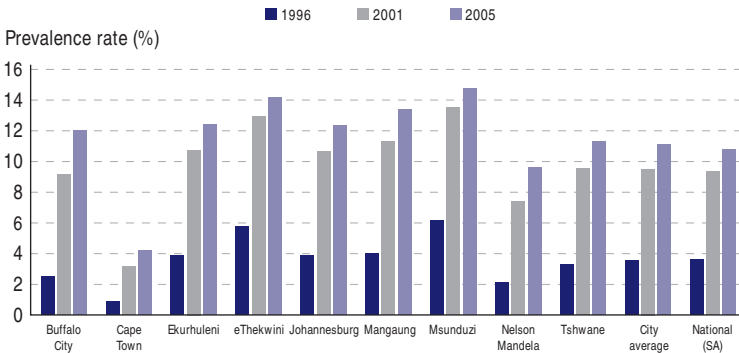
Graph 2.
The Population of Large South African Cities



Source: State of the cities report 2006.

This population growth is slowing, notably because of the prevalence of AIDS in the country. Life expectancy was 62 years in 1990, it was 47 years in 2004. The government estimates that nearly four million people are HIV+. Starting in the 2000s, the government of South Africa became aware of the magnitude of this phenomenon and launched several national actions. The most recent and most important is the HIV and AIDS and STI Strategic Plan for South Africa for the years 2007-2011.

Graph 3.
Prevalence of HIV in the Main Cities

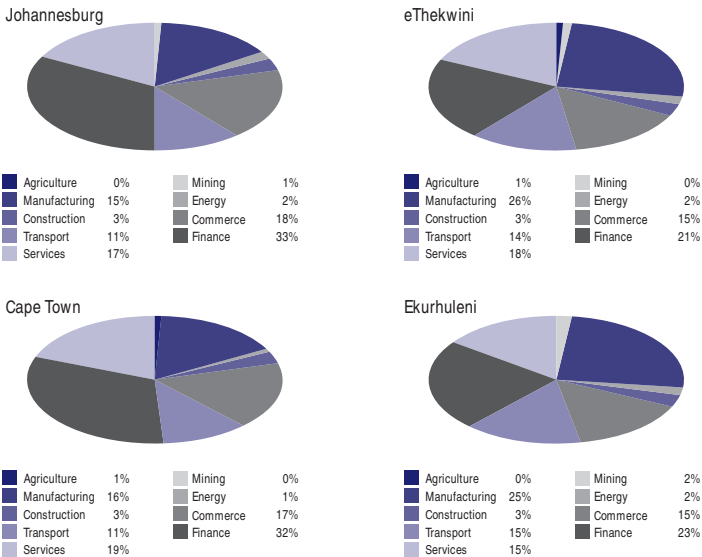


Source: Quantec.

2.1.2. The National Economy

Since the end of apartheid, the government has successfully endeavoured to ensure high national economic **growth** to allow the country to rebuild itself economically and socially. This strategy was first presented in the RDP²⁵ in which economic growth and social reconstruction must go hand in hand. It was taken up in 1996 in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) plan that advocated economic growth supposed to automatically ensure social reconstruction. Finally, the recent Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) recommends continuing to seek economic development over the 2004-2014 period. In part thanks to this political effort, growth remains high in South Africa: over the 2006-2007 period, growth was 5%. In large South African cities, the principal sectors of activity are services, finance, commerce, the textile industry and transport, followed by construction, mining, energy and agriculture.

Graph 4.
Sectors of Activity in the Four Largest Cities



Source: State of the cities 2006.

25. RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme (see Part One, section 1.2.3.).

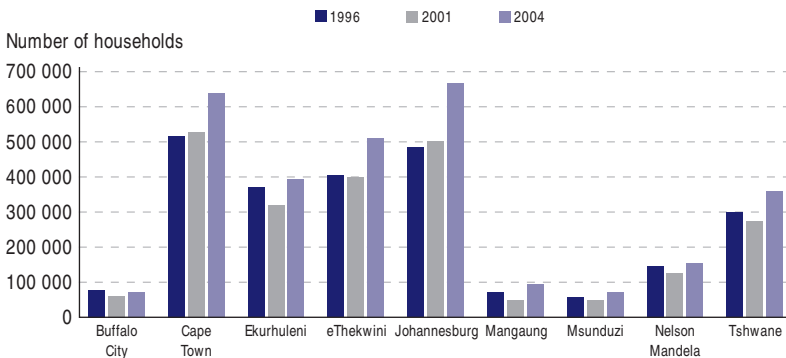
South Africa, especially since Thabo Mbeki became president in 1999, has interacted a lot with the rest of the world and gives great importance to maintaining its **international visibility**. The coming soccer World Cup, which will be held in South Africa in 2010, is part of these efforts.

Finally, at the end of apartheid, the government set up a **positive discrimination policy** to foster employment among black populations and ensure the economic integration that they were denied under apartheid. This policy is called Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and was recently modified to become Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE). The BEE favoured in particular a black elite for jobs requiring relatively high qualifications, and the BBBEE aims to foster the insertion of black populations in all types of employment.

2.1.3. Poverty and Unemployment

These efforts to ensure increasing economic development were accompanied by considerable social measures. Among other things, the amount of **social spending** in the state budget has risen since 1994 in all areas: health, education, housing, personal services. Thanks to these actions, the number of households receiving basic services has risen (see the increase in large South African cities in Graph 5).

Graph 5.
Number of Households with In-Home Access to Water



Source: State of the cities 2006.

However, despite these improvements, **inequalities** have continued to grow and the government is struggling to reduce them. Economic growth is not spreading as the government would like, and the gap is widening between economically integrated populations and the poorest. Unemployment is growing: it was officially 23.08% in 1996, and 24.13% in 2004.²⁶ A large percentage of the South African population lives in extreme poverty: in 2005, 52% of the total population was beneath the Minimum Living Level.²⁷

2.1.4. Housing Challenges

As we saw earlier, a proactive housing policy has been in place since 1994, and has provided a roof to one and a half million households in a decade. This programme rapidly came to be seen as an **incomplete response** for several reasons. Offering ownership of property to relatively poor households has inconveniences as the households are not necessarily able to regularly pay their house-related expenses (electricity, water, repairs, upkeep) and are sometimes obliged to sell the property for very small sums. Indeed, the RDP houses' architectural uniformity and minimum comfort did not encourage a true secondary market to emerge, and this lack of encouragement was further strengthened by the government's discourse discouraging resale. Next, as has already been emphasized, rental solutions were not chosen and do not allow for an alternative offer to meet the diversity of needs. In addition, the subsidy offered by the government starting in 1994 only applies to households earning less than 3,500 rand per month. Thus, there was no housing solution for households above this threshold; these households could neither receive the subsidy nor take out loans from private banks. This phenomenon is called gap housing and found a partial solution through the growing social involvement of banks and a proportional extension of government assistance.

The limits of this policy and the growth in the number of households (population growth and smaller household size) perpetuated, even worsened, the **housing crisis**. The number of households without formal housing grew from 1.45 million in 1996 to

26. Source: Quantec.

27. Percentage calculated from the *State of the Cities Report 2006*, South African Cities Network.

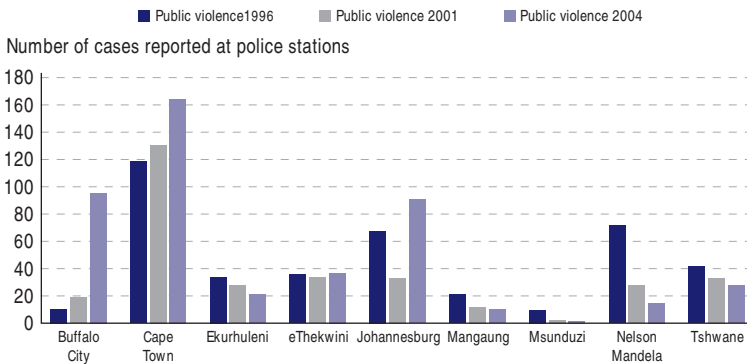
1.84 million in 2001 and then to 2.4 million in 2006. Thus, more and more families live in shacks (makeshift housing in shantytowns) or in backyards, and the issue of informal housing has become primordial.

2.1.5. Insecurity

Crime rates are very high in South Africa, although the statistics for South Africa as a whole have been falling every year (crime fell by approximately 5% between 2006 and 2007). For instance, for the 2007/2008 financial year, crime frequency per 100,000 inhabitants was 38.6 murders, 247.3 burglaries with violence, and 75.6 rapes.²⁸ The feeling of insecurity is particularly strong in the former townships and dilapidated city centres, such as Johannesburg's.

Protection measures in residential areas are more and more frequent, and protected settlements and even gated communities have emerged massively.

Graph 6.
Public Violence



Source: State of the cities 2006.

2.2. Urban Landscapes and Spatial Disparities

Apartheid's legacy of inequalities is still very present, and it is particularly interesting to see how today's urban landscapes bear witness to this.

28. Figures taken from the South African Police Stations crime report.

Progressively since the 1980s, and clearly since the end of apartheid, residential neighbourhoods and commercial and business districts have been opened to the entire population. This allowed a slight re-balancing of the territory, but it is often thought that **economic segregation** has overtaken racial segregation.

2.2.1. Dilapidation of City Centres

A major change in South African cities²⁹ has taken place in the city centres, also called **Central Business Districts** (CBD). Toward the end of the 1980s, most of the white population that lived in city centres feared the massive arrival of black populations and moved to less accessible, more protected areas. Thus, the large buildings in the city centres were often abandoned by the owners and stopped being kept up. Some of these buildings were even managed by false owners who collected rents without taking care of the buildings.

This evolution was particularly striking in **Johannesburg**. The phenomenon had even started in the 1960s when the municipality moved out of the CBD and parking was considerably restricted.³⁰ Numerous investors decided at that time to leave the city centre and move notably to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, Sandton for example. This evolution was sped up by the massive arrival of non-white populations, that were relatively poor and had not been allowed to live in the cities during apartheid. In addition, the paralysis of the municipality further accentuated the desertion of the city centre by the private sector and well-off populations.

Indeed, immediately after apartheid, the various municipalities' areas of administrative authority were unclear. Uncertainty reigned in local public management, and the capacity to counteract, or foster, specific types of urban development was not sufficient. Private promoters were the ones who primarily played this role and shaped the urban landscape until the 2000s. Private capital was invested to create new protected business districts and numerous shopping malls.

29. See Appendix 2: Map of South Africa's principal urban areas.

30. The municipality wanted to build a ring road around the city centre and crisscross the centre with public transit to limit automobile use in the city. Parking spaces were eliminated but public transit was not set up as initially planned.

Photos 3 and 4.
Hilbrow, Johannesburg



Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

The large cities have elaborated **strategies to prevent the dilapidation** of their city centres, notably after the merger of various municipal councils. This worked particularly well in Cape Town. In Johannesburg, several public and semi-public bodies have succeeded one another since 1991, carrying a determination to rehabilitate the city centre. However, because of the size of the CBD and the magnitude of the phenomenon, and even though they are being reconverted, the various districts in the city centre are still seen as dangerous and many buildings still contain squatters.

2.2.2. Accentuated Fragmentation: A Perpetuation of Apartheid?

One of the government's objectives starting in 1994 was to re-build post-apartheid cities to destroy the territorial traces of apartheid. However, as Fabrice Folio shows in his article "Villes post-apartheid au Kwazulu-Natal : une déclinaison du modèle de Davies" (post-apartheid cities in Kwazulu-Natal: a version of the Davies model), the general shape of cities and the distribution of populations have not evolved as desired (Graph 7).

According to many authors, the **house grant policy** has even reproduced urban landscapes similar to those under apartheid (Harrison *et al.*, 2003). Indeed, the municipalities chose to build RDP houses on land that was inexpensive and therefore

difficult to reach from the city centre. Here too, one can see the parallel with the *politique des grand ensembles* in France that led, for the same reasons, to massive construction in distant and isolated settlements.

2.2.3. Urban Sprawl and Transportation Challenges

Given the availability of land in South Africa, urban sprawl has further increased since the end of apartheid in two ways.

City Growth and Private Promotion

The first type of urban sprawl deals with the growth of cities due to the construction by **private promoters** of both residences for well-off populations that want space and single-family homes, and business districts, large shopping malls and mixed-use centres (leisure, commerce, offices, etc.). This type of expansion follows a rather Anglo-Saxon model of urban development and resembles what the French call “urbanisme de rocade” (bypass urbanism) generated by the tri-fold development of single-family homes, shopping malls, and large road networks. As is the case in France, this concerns middle-classes and even the wealthy, who mainly use their **cars** for transportation. It is not a type of compact city allowing populations to travel easily by public transit and fostering low individual energy consumption. **Urban sprawl** comes at a cost and in the very short term generates traffic problems and lengthy commute times. Nevertheless, the government authorities are still making little effort to limit this type of urban growth.

Outlying Residential Areas for Poor Populations

The second form of urban sprawl — clearly more problematic for the populations concerned — deals with the **installation of poor populations far from city centres**. Since 1994, **RDP houses** have primarily been built on outlying plots of land, which shores up the township model. In addition, **informal housing** gets built where land is available and extends these poor residential zones. In this way, these zones grow without being economically integrated. Indeed, these zones are not only primarily residential but also located far from centres of activity. In addition, the lack of large-scale public transit does not make it possible to break the isolation of these settlements. Daily

commutes are done mostly in what are called collective taxis, private minibuses that connect residential zones with the city centre. For very poor households, transportation costs can account for up to half their spending (for a household earning 800 rand per month, transportation costs average 375 rand³¹),³² This situation is problematic because it hinders the integration of the poorest populations, and is the subject of political reflections to develop cities with integrated settlements and facilitate links to these outlying areas. The same types of debates were held in France on how to integrate the neighbourhoods created by the *politique des grand ensembles*. These residential areas are far from the centres of employment and very difficult to reach by public transit. This situation led to the establishment of economic, social and urban policies to attempt to reduce disparities. The government is trying to reintegrate these neighbourhoods by breaking their isolation, de-stigmatizing them, and redeveloping them to create mixed-use, more agreeable living spaces.

31. 800 rand = 72 euros; 375 rand = 33.5 euros.

32. Data taken from the *State of the Cities Report 2006*, "Understanding the Household Budget", SACN.

Urban Development Policies in a Unique Political and Institutional Context

3

3.1. A Political Situation in the Hands of the African National Congress

South African political life, heavily marked by the history of apartheid, is entirely dominated by the African National Congress (ANC) party.

3.1.1. The ANC's Predominance

Historical Importance

The ANC is a political party born in 1912 following the creation of the Union of South Africa; it represented the different African peoples in the face of white power. **Nelson Mandela**, Walter Sisulu and Olivier Tambo founded the ANC Youth League in 1944, and counted on the power of demonstration to bring change to the political government. After the National Party took power and apartheid was established, the ANC frequently joined other **anti-apartheid** organizations to boycott the system in place. The ANC was banned in 1960 but continued to be active from other countries (England, Tanzania then Zambia) and carry out large sabotage operations: the ANC played a decisive role in the uprisings in the townships. In 1990, Nelson Mandela, who had been given a life

sentence for high treason along with other leaders of the opposition, was freed. He took over as head of the ANC, which was recognized as the primordial political actor in the struggle against apartheid and the defence of non-white populations.

Predominance in Post-Apartheid Political Life

In April 1994, the first **multi-racial elections** were held, and the ANC won these elections with 62.6% of votes. Nelson Mandela then became the president of South Africa. National elections are held every five years and, in 1999, the ANC won 66.4% of votes, which brought the former vice-president, **Thabo Mbeki**, to power. Finally, during the national elections in 2004, the ANC received 69.7% of votes and Thabo Mbeki began his second term of office. The 2009 elections gave the ANC another victory, and Jacob Zuma became president.

3.1.2. The Other Political Parties

The **Democratic Alliance** (DA) is the primary opposition party, followed closely by the Inkhata Freedom Party (IFP). The DA, a mostly white party, was created in 2000 from a political merger and is currently led by Helen Zille, who is also mayor of Cape Town. The IFP is a mainly Zulu party born in 1975 in Natal Province in reaction to apartheid. The IFP and the ANC progressively began to clash, and the apartheid government sought to maintain this political, even ethnic, rivalry. Today, the IFP accounts for only 6% to 7% of votes in national elections.

Nationally and in the provinces, the ANC completely dominates the political stage. It is on the municipal level that the opposition parties, and more specifically the DA, play a significant role. The DA won back power in the city of Cape Town during the last **municipal elections** in March 2006, after having lost in 2002, in large part thanks to coloured voters in the townships. Several other smaller (rather working-class) municipalities have elected political representatives that do not belong to the ANC. This is a sort of questioning of the ANC's local management and a criticism of still not very effective local governments. One should note that, for historical and other reasons, the public administration in South Africa is extremely **politicized**, and political considerations play a huge role in determining which programmes are developed at all levels of government.

3.1.3. *The Latest Political Evolutions*

There have recently been several political upheavals. In October 2008, Thabo Mbeki, disowned by his party, was obliged to resign his position as President of South Africa. The ANC has been controlled by Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki's political rival, since 2005. Thabo Mbeki was also highly criticized by the people. Among other things, he was implicated in a corruption scandal and has been attacked for his conciliatory position on Zimbabwe as well as for his AIDS policy, his handling of the violence against immigrants in August 2008, and the electricity shortage. Following Thabo Mbeki's resignation, the National Assembly elected the ANC's number two, Kgalema Motlanthe, to act as interim president until the elections in April 2009. These elections were won by the ANC with 65.9% of votes and led to Jacob Zuma's election. He became democratic South Africa's fourth president on 9 May 2009. When Thabo Mbeki resigned, a certain number of his ministers also resigned, including the Minister of Finance and the Vice-President, which increased political **instability** and caused a disruption in the implementation of public policies. Following these political changes, a dissident branch of the ANC formed a new party, Congress of the People (COPE).

3.2. **The Public Authorities and Urban Development: Three Spheres of Government**

According to the new South African constitution of 1996, the government is made up of an independent judicial branch, and three **executive** and **legislative** spheres of government: the national government, the provincial governments, and local governments.

3.2.1. *The National Government*

Multi-Sectoral Governance: The Presidency and the National Treasury

Two national bodies have a key role in urban development and in all other fields of policy intervention. The first is the **Presidency** which consists of the President, the head of the National Assembly, and the Minister of the Presidency. This body's aim is to facilitate an integrated and coordinated approach to governance. It sets overall guidelines

and can draft policy programmes that are then imposed upon all government departments so as to ensure overall and multi-sectoral implementation. The **National Treasury** is a division of the Ministry of Finance and manages national government finances. It must ensure the budget is viable and to do so determines spending and the various subsidies granted, notably in regard to housing.

Three Departments with Key Responsibilities for City Planning

These are the Department of Housing, the Department of Provincial and Local Government, and the Department of Land Affairs. Other Departments have less central, collaborative roles: the Department of Transport, the Department of Public Service and Administration, and the Department of Social Development.

The Department of Housing

Given the proactive policy since 1994 favouring the construction of housing for low-income populations, the Department of Housing (DoH) is clearly behind most public spatial development actions in favour of the poorest. In other words, the Department of Housing's programme makes up the lion's share of public contracting authority in the field of urban development. This is why the Department of Housing felt that it was its duty to expand its reflection to include the production of integrated urban spaces, and not merely focus on the provision of rudimentary housing. In 2004, this led to the drafting of the new national plan, the Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlement, also called **Breaking New Ground**.

The Department of Provincial and Local Government

The second department with crucial responsibilities in the government's influence on the shape of cities and the creation of integrated living spaces is the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG). Its role is to create and apply all regulations that define the provincial and local governments' intervention modalities. It assists these governments and facilitates coordination between the three spheres of government. In terms of urban development, two of its programmes are of capital importance. The first is the **integrated strategic planning** programme for local

governments: the communes must produce Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), which are strategic and budgetary documents that allow municipalities to plan and implement their development programmes. The second is the **Urban Renewal Programme** (URP) launched in 2001 that concerns eight townships throughout South Africa and aims to reintegrate these “under-developed” zones.

The Department of Land Affairs

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) is primarily responsible for the land reform that is supposed to re-balance the national territory and return (mainly rural) land to historically disadvantaged populations. The DLA is also in charge of the **land regulation** system. What is more, a new law is currently being drafted to clearly identify the appropriate authorities and zoning mechanisms.

3.2.2. The Provincial Sphere

South Africa is made up of nine provinces: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West Province, and Western Cape (Map 3).

Each provincial government has both legislative and executive powers, and is made up of several departments that generally follow the same organization as the national departments. The local governments are organized in the same way. There is often a department of housing and a department of planning. The provinces are in charge of planning strategic development within their borders and helping the municipalities elaborate their own strategies. The provinces also have **jurisdiction over housing**: they authorize the use of certain plots of land to establish public housing, and are in charge of subsidy distribution.

3.2.3. The Local Governments

Three Levels

There are 284 municipalities in South Africa, and three types of municipalities: **Metropolitan Municipalities** [Category A, of which there are six: Johannesburg (pop.

Map 3.
Provinces



Source: aboutSouthAfrica.com.

3.3 million), Tswane (Pretoria, pop. 2 million), Cape Town (pop. 3 million), Ekurhuleni (pop. 2.5 million), Ethekwini (Durban, pop. 3.2 million), and Nelson Mandela (Port Elizabeth, pop. 1.1 million)], **Local Municipalities** (Category B), and **District Municipalities** (Category C) that each contain several local municipalities. After apartheid, a process of merging white and black municipalities was launched. It has now been finalized and has notably led to the emergence of the metropolitan municipalities (also called Metros or Unicities), each of which covers an urban area in a uniform and coherent manner.

Financial Resources

Municipalities depend on the **sale of water and electricity to households** for more than half their revenues, on government grants for 20%, and on property taxes for 20%.

Urban Development Responsibilities

Since the Municipal System Act of 2000, the municipalities have been responsible for setting **development objectives** with the help of the available financial resources.

The overall strategy for all sectors makes up the Integrated Development Plan. In regard to housing, the municipalities initiate and manage projects by identifying land and operators. They then need the agreement of the province in question.

Box 2.

Political Management of Urban Development: A Comparison with France

In France, two Ministries share responsibility for urban development: the Ministère de l'Écologie, de l'Énergie, du Développement Durable et de l'Aménagement du territoire (MEEDDAT, ministry of ecology, energy, sustainable development and territorial planning), and the Ministère du Logement et de la Ville (ministry of housing and the city), which focuses on housing policy and the renovation of struggling settlements. The role of the national level is, like in South Africa, primarily legislative and provides national guidance. The regions and departments have distinct roles and are largely responsible for public facilities (schools, hospitals, etc.). Finally, since the **decentralization** in 1982/1983, the communes have had urban development responsibilities: producing the *Plans Locaux d'Urbanisme* (local urbanism plans), allocating construction permits, and managing development operations. There are more than 36,000 communes; many of them have grouped together to form a higher level locally: the *Etablissement public de coopération intercommunale* (EPCI, public inter-communal cooperation establishment). When an EPCI exists, it is in charge of elaborating a strategic planning blueprint for the entire zone — a *Schéma de cohérence territoriale* (SCOT, territorial coherency blueprint).

Structural Differences with South Africa

There are **two major differences** with how the South African authorities tackle urban development stakes. First, South Africa does not have a national department in charge of city planning challenges. Most programmes are addressed from the angle of providing services to poor populations, notably housing for which the Department of Housing is responsible. In France, the MEEDDAT plays in some sense this role of centralizing sustainable development challenges and thereby urban stakes. However, the MEEDDAT does not handle housing policy and neighbourhoods classified as *Zones Urbaines Sensibles* (sensitive urban zones). These questions are handled by the Ministère des Villes et du Logement, which

takes a more sectoral approach, and are seen as a response to specific urban problems. Furthermore, operational responsibilities in South Africa are shared between the provinces and municipalities. The municipalities find themselves responsible for the consequences within their borders but, like in France, do not necessarily have all the leverage needed to conduct effective development strategies.

PART TWO

An Uncertain Determination to Plan the Urban Landscape

It is important to understand how the government of South Africa plans its territory and the difficulties it encounters in doing so. Planning is often viewed as a **potentially very powerful tool** to develop urban areas. Indeed, anticipating and regulating urban development seems to be one of the government's important prerogatives with crucial consequences. Planning and managing human settlements (whether residential, economic, industrial, etc.) should provide a way of influencing the urban landscape and city development. Planning is an essential tool to manage urban sprawl, develop fair cities, spread out the various types of activities, consider travel on the scale of the agglomeration, and take into account environmental constraints. The aim is to foster a crosscutting approach and avoid approaches that are guided by short-term visions or generated by actors' interests, which diverge in the case of territories.

However, planning the urban landscape presents a very **large number of difficulties** and is a particularly tricky aspect of public policy in developing countries, as it is in emerging and developed countries. It requires one to consider several territorial scales and several urban functions, and above all to have a government that is sufficiently powerful and has considerable and clearly identified responsibilities.

Planning as Implemented in South Africa Today

4

4.1. An Ambiguous National Context

4.1.1. The Difficult Rebirth of Planning at the End of Apartheid

Apartheid was set up in large part via spatial planning so as to ensure separate spatial development. Thus, when apartheid ended, authoritarian planning methods had a bad reputation and it was difficult for the government to use these tools to manage and control urban development. However, many urban planners saw planning as a way to “reverse” apartheid’s territorial consequences and create post-apartheid cities. Faced with this paradoxical view, planning seemed to be a relevant and particularly necessary tool in general policy programmes, but a real revision of all planning methods was slow to take shape. Indeed, the other public policies — such as housing or access to essential services — had, after the end of apartheid, been the subject of massive restructuring and took radically different directions than those they had had under the apartheid government. Planning was presented as being necessary. However, the restructuring of implementation mechanisms only emerged near the 2000s, and then as a practical and local matter but not as part of national strategy.

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4.1.2. The Timid Presence of Urban Stakes in the Political Agenda

As early as 1994, the government drafted a policy paper addressing urban issues.³³ However, this document did not have concrete implications and served only as a framework for reflection. In 2003, the Presidency published the **National Spatial Development Perspective** (NSDP). This document addresses the challenges facing all national policies: ensure economic growth, provide basic services to the entire population, invest in and produce facilities in areas with high economic potential, concentrate action in disadvantaged areas on education and health. The NSDP does not distinguish between urban and rural stakes, and proposes economic development and human development guidelines — that is to say it focuses on populations. Thus, no document currently proposes real, specific actions for cities, and urban stakes do not seem to be seen as priorities. Given the history of apartheid, the government undoubtedly wishes to avoid “favouring” one geographic area over another, and would prefer to act in favour of people directly:

“Efforts to address past and current social inequalities should focus on people, **not places.**”

Excerpt from the National Spatial Development Perspective

Nevertheless, this lack of specific urban development action has been noted, and an **Urban Development Perspective for the 2nd Decade of Democracy in South Africa** was written in May 2005. It has yet to be approved. This document clearly identified the challenges facing cities and their importance in national development. It proposes increasing the government’s acknowledgement of urban issues, developing participation mechanisms for all residents, making all urban-related policies coherent, setting up instruments and incentives to conduct this urban reform, and finally fostering intellectual production on urban issues.

It seems politically tricky to favour certain territories over others and concentrate on urban areas. The ANC would find it difficult to advocate an urban policy to its voters. Therefore, there is currently no national guideline indicating the type of development

33. This document was the *Urban Development Strategy*, reused in 1996 in the form of the *Urban Development Framework*.

desired for cities in a normative and holistic manner. The department in charge of urban planning is, what is more, only represented on the provincial and local levels and does not appear on the national level. This differs from most sectoral departments as they are all represented on all three levels of government. In France, planning issues appeared late. Following the *politique des grand ensembles*, the government decided to intervene and re-establish a more general policy in favour of city development. The first strategic planning blueprints appeared at this time, notably for the Paris region. The planning system evolved progressively to integrate environmental considerations and social equity issues more fully. Today, national guidance is provided by the ***Loi Solidarité et Renouveau Urbain*** (Loi SRU of 2000, solidarity and urban renewal law). This law defines planning documents for the various scales and introduces the concepts of sustainable urban development, and functional and social diversity (a mandatory 20% social housing in each commune).

The lack of a national perspective on urban development has not prevented new planning tools from being developed. In order to present these new tools, one must first distinguish between two types of planning that complement each other. Planning first means to strategically and spatially **plan** the development of a territory, and predict the medium- and long-term evolutions desired for urban areas. In English, the expression 'forward planning' is used for this. Second, planning can also designate the **regulation** and control of land use. In theory, this land regulation comes after strategic planning and aims to implement it. South Africans call this 'land use management' and see it as a type of planning.

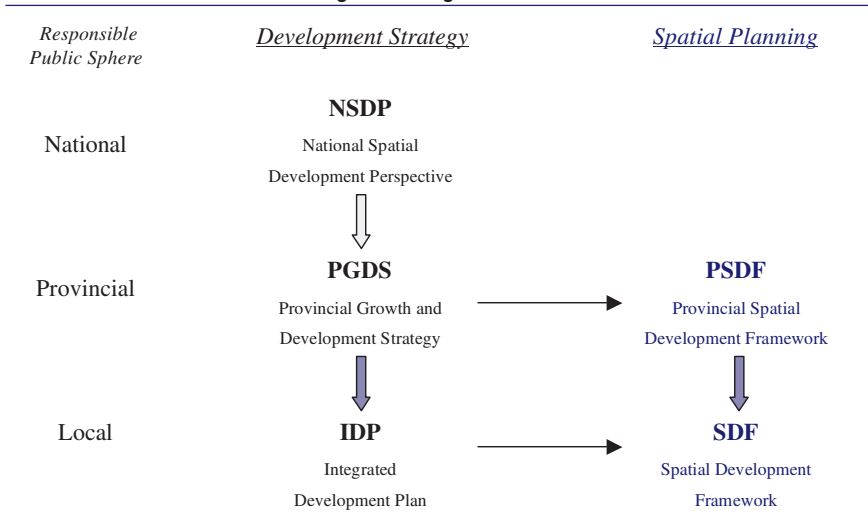
4.2. Strategic Spatial Planning

Below is a chart presenting the various strategic and spatial planning documents elaborated by the government authorities.

4.2.1. The First Level of Planning: The Provinces

The process of rebuilding various municipalities was obviously not instantaneous, and post-apartheid planning was set up on the provincial scale first. Thus, the **Development Facilitation Act** (DFA, 1995) entrusted most planning powers to the

Table 1.
Strategic Planning in South Africa



provinces, and merely obliged the communes to produce their own Land Development Objectives (LDO).

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Today, each province is in charge of elaborating an overall strategy for action in the form of a Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (PGDS). This strategy includes a **Provincial Spatial Development Framework** (PSDF), which specifically addresses spatial development prospects on the provincial scale and for all sectors. The PSDF includes both normative principles, a report on the province's situation, policy proposals, and territorial development blueprints.

4.2.2. Recent Planning on Municipal Scale

The municipalities were first given planning responsibilities in 1995 via the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) under which the communes must elaborate Land Development Objectives. It is difficult for the municipalities to produce these LDOs as they were recently formed and have but little influence over real urban development.

The appearance of new strategic documents rapidly made them obsolete. Indeed, starting in 1996, the communes were obliged to elaborate **Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)**. The IDP or “strategic programme plan” is the essential element in current strategic planning in South Africa. It must allow the municipality to compare, for the coming five years, the city’s (economic, social, environmental, etc.) development objectives with the municipality’s **financial capacities**. This document guides the municipality’s development decisions and brings them into line with the city budget. The IDP also attempts to establish greater consistency between the various sectors of urban development, which are managed by different municipal departments. Each department is, what is more, in charge of elaborating a five-year sectoral plan that sets forth the major projects and lines of development. These sectoral plans (such as the Housing Plan) are an integral part of the IDP.

Since 2000,³⁴ each IDP must obligatorily be consolidated by a **Spatial Development Framework (SDF)**. The SDF is a section of the IDP that must visualize and **spatially** project the city’s development. The notion of spatial strategic planning is therefore now present on the municipal scale. This measure is relatively recent and the provinces have an important role to play in providing the municipalities with financial and technical support for the elaboration of their SDFs. The provinces thus ensure that the municipalities’ SDFs are in line with their Provincial Spatial Development Frameworks. Cape Town is currently elaborating its SDF and the document is currently undergoing a participatory process. The city of Johannesburg has completed its SDF. In addition, as the country’s economic capital, Johannesburg rapidly felt the need to formalize development strategies. In 2001, the *Joburg 2030* was approved. It is a long-term strategy focusing mainly on the city’s economic development. The South African Cities Network (SACN), an association that brings together the nine biggest cities in South Africa and produces reports on the urban situation and good practices, promotes the production, following Johannesburg’s example, of long-term strategies called City Development Strategies (IDPs and SDFs are five-year plans). Most of the big cities in South Africa are in the process of elaborating their City Development Strategies, independently of the national legal framework centred around IDPs.

34. The Municipal systems Act (2000) made it mandatory to produce a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) within each IDP.

Because of its strong budget orientation, the IDPs have made it possible to ensure greater speed in the provision of services to low-income groups. In addition, supplemented by a spatial approach in the SDFs, the IDPs have allowed municipalities to **give priority** to certain projects and focus municipal efforts on **areas that are struggling**. A section in the IDPs titled “Area-Based Initiatives and Projects” emphasizes the areas impacted by the envisaged projects and thus ensures greater equity in the distribution of municipal programmes.

Box 3. Urban Planning in France

To grasp the South African system, it is interesting to review how planning operates in France. In France, planning emerged in a centralized manner at the end of the 1960s, and was formalized by the *Loi d’Orientation Foncière* (land orientation law) of 1967. This law introduced the *Schémas directeurs d’aménagement et d’urbanisme* (SDAUs), which are produced by deconcentrated state offices, and the commune-scale *Plans d’occupation des sols* (POSs). With the *Solidarité et Renouveau Urbain* (SRU) law of 2000, these documents became the *Schémas de cohérence territoriale* (SCOTs) and the *Plans locaux d’urbanisme* (PLUs) respectively.

The SCOTs are purely strategic planning documents that aim to coordinate coherent development within a given territory. The **SCOTs** are created by inter-commune establishments (that is to say by several communes), and not by government offices. The **PLUs** are the communes’ individual urbanism plans. They contain both the communes’ strategic development plans (the PADD: *Projet d’Aménagement et de Développement Durable*, or development and sustainable development plan) and their land use regulation plans. This combination of strategy and regulation, recently instigated by the SRU law, is supposed to place zoning and land regulation at the service of the communes’ development strategies. The PLUs must be compatible with the other urbanism documents for the same territory, generally the SCOTs.

Other documents can apply to a given territory. First, on regional scale, the **Schémas d’aménagement régionaux** (regional development blueprints) apply to the Ile-de-France

region, Corsica, and the overseas departments and regions. They are produced by the corresponding Regional Councils. **Sectoral documents** are elaborated by the communes or by inter-commune establishments: the *Plans de Déplacements Urbains* (PDU, urban travel plans), and the *Plans Locaux de l'Habitat* (PLH, local housing plans). When these plans exist, they must be taken into account in the PLUs. The latest urban planning rules are the ones produced by the government offices for **Zones d'Intérêt National** (areas of national interest): the *Directives Territoriales d'Aménagement* (**DTA**, territorial development directive) — for instance, the DTA for the Seine River estuary includes the development of the Port of Le Havre) — and “coastal” and “mountain” laws.

4.3. Land Regulation and Use: Parallel Allocation Systems

The second type of planning, which in theory supports strategic planning, is **land use regulation**. This corresponds to regulating the type of development authorized in function of the area, which is then transcribed in the form of a corresponding zoning map.

4.3.1. Authorizations Determined by the Provinces

Land regulation and law, like strategic planning, already existed and were heavily utilized during apartheid. In order to ban any distribution of land based on racial criteria, the post-apartheid government created new modalities by which to attribute development rights (the equivalent of building permits). Through the **Development Facilitation Act** (DFA, 1995), the government entrusted most duties to the provinces via **tribunals** that have the power to make decisions independently of all other existing regulations.

More generally, the provinces also have jurisdiction over authorizations of an **environmental** nature. This is the subject of an additional form submitted to the province to build on a given plot of land.

4.3.2. Municipal Zoning

Despite these overriding powers granted to the provinces, the municipalities are responsible for general land regulation and zoning, discussed in a document titled the **Town Planning Scheme** or Zoning Scheme. However, these documents were not restructured or modified when apartheid ended. In most municipalities, the old plans are still in use and for this reason it is primarily the provinces that have decision-making power.

However, the **metros**, that is to say the six largest cities in South Africa, must rely on several old town planning schemes that date from the apartheid years; these schemes correspond to the former municipal borders and are not consistent with each other. The city of Johannesburg is currently working to grant building permits with seven zoning plans that date from before apartheid ended and therefore do not at all fit the city's current development strategy. Thus, the city of Johannesburg has undertaken the long process of **updating** and **integrating** these thirteen former documents into one document. This new town planning scheme is not yet in force. Similarly, the city of Cape Town currently utilizes twenty-seven zoning schemes and is in the process of elaborating a single, coherent document covering the entire municipality: the Cape Town Zoning Scheme, which should come into force at the end of 2009. Two other metros — Ekurhuleni and Ethekewini (formerly Durban) — have undertaken the same revision process.

4.3.3. A Complex Building Permit Application Processes

The mechanisms by which to grant building permits for land are multiple and relatively **complex**. Several forms must be filled out and sent to the province, one of which is relatively complicated and covers environmental aspects. In addition, ownership conditions for each plot are grouped together in the Title Deed³⁵ system, which is old but relatively complete and organized. All of this, added to the weakness of municipal staff in charge of land management, generates long response times and long appeals

35. Title deeds are property deeds that specify the owner and a certain number of conditions that need to be met depending on the land in question.

procedures. What is more, private parties who wish to develop a plot of land almost systematically call on planners' offices to conduct all of these steps.

The land use regulation system was not, strictly speaking, reformed when apartheid ended; overriding powers were simply granted to the provinces. Today, there are **two parallel allocation systems**, which creates confusion: applications can be addressed to either the municipality or the province — two government spheres whose interests can diverge and who will not necessarily authorize the same type of development. The city of Johannesburg is currently party to a legal battle with Gauteng Province because it accuses the latter of granting permits that go against the municipality's spatial strategy. In France, building permit requests are addressed to the municipality that, according to its PLU, grants the permits or denies the application. If the commune does not have the means to process this type of application, it can call on the government's deconcentrated offices (the Direction Départementale de l'Équipement) whose duty it is to assist and advise small communes.

The Hindrances to the Effectiveness of Planning Methods

5

This study is primarily interested in public policies in terms of equity and urban landscapes allowing all people to have acceptable modes of life. From this angle, the **goal** of urban planning for the government seems to be to reflect on the desired development of cities and, depending on the policy chosen, to influence it. To **influence city development**, the government can first define a strategy that is then used as a guideline for decisions by all actors. Then, it can establish land regulations so as to apply the urban development policy, both by elaborating a land strategy and reserving land for public policies and by guiding and managing private investment. An improper shortcut would be to say that, for the moment, South Africa's public authorities use planning to identify property and spatially direct public policies, but are not really developing a land management strategy. They have great difficulty directing private investment. Zoning documents are still obsolete and do not at all support a territorial strategy. Numerous obstacles currently prevent planning from fulfilling these objectives. It should be noted here that planning is a tool that is very often idealized and whose execution difficulties are shared by the entire country.

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5.1. Strategy Elaboration Is Tricky

The **lack of a national strategic framework** addressing city development is obviously a handicap for the emergence of coordinated local actions aiming to plan urban landscapes. This explains the diversity of measures taken by the provinces and municipalities. However, as we have seen, it became mandatory for municipalities to establish development strategies (IDPs) near the end of the 1990s. The cities must, thereby, plan which investments to make and where; this allows for better coordination and more specific targeting of projects on struggling areas (Harrison *et al.*, 2008).

Nevertheless, the IDP concept is still relatively new and many municipalities are facing **capacity-related** difficulties. These new strategic planning tools have been imposed, but it is difficult for municipalities — especially for medium and small municipalities — to not merely endure these new instruments but rather truly take advantage of them to plan their actions. Indeed, most communes (with the exception of the metros) call on private consultants to produce their IDPs. In this way, the municipalities fulfil their legal obligations but do not take advantage of this mode of strategic management. In a certain manner, one can see the same phenomenon in small communes in metropolitan France and overseas France. The municipal offices are overwhelmed by day-to-day management tasks and do not necessarily have the necessary time and personnel to elaborate a development plan for the commune. Thus, the *Projet d'Aménagement et de Développement Durable* (PADD), which is supposed to come before and determine the regulatory section of the PLU, is often produced after the land use regulations and does not truly play a role in projection.

Another aspect that makes the elaboration of strategic planning documents more complex is the need to ensure **compatibility between different territorial scales**. South Africa's constitutional system of coordination between the three spheres of government — which are not thirds but rather spheres that share certain responsibilities and that must work together in an integrated manner — is particularly complex in practice, and this makes itself felt in the management of planning. Indeed, cities' Spatial Development Frameworks must be consistent with the Provincial Spatial Development Frameworks. Most communes still find it difficult to take into account this requirement of consistency. Among other things, less than half of the provinces in South Africa have produced their PSDFs as yet. Gauteng Province produced its Gauteng Spatial Development Plan in 2000 and revised it recently, but it seems that in practice it is rather the development of Johannesburg, as the main city, that guides overall development directions. Once again, French municipalities face the same difficulty. Let us look at Reunion Island, for example: all of the island's territory must be covered by the *Schéma d'Aménagement Régional* (SAR, regional development blueprint), which must then apply to all the SCOTs and PLUs. The SAR dates from 1995 and has been being revised since 2004. Thus, some communes are elaborating their own PLUs but cannot yet base them on regional principles. They will even probably have to modify their PLUs retroactively. One can clearly see here the difficulties involved in the long-term coordination of different levels of government and in establishing inter-governmental planning.

5.2. Urban Development Strategies Are Still Limited

In South Africa, planning is greatly inspired by the Anglo-Saxon model and follows a very functional logic. The IDP proposes to move slightly away from this **sectoral vision** by imposing the geographic grouping of different budgets. However, on the municipal and provincial levels, performance is measured by sector (housing, infrastructure, essential services, transportation, etc.) and in mostly quantitative terms. These sectoral public policies also find their justification in the reconstruction approach taken in the period following apartheid.

A second hindrance to the effectiveness of development strategies is linked to **participation** issues. One of the major planning innovations in the IDP was to promote the need for municipal offices to share the elaboration of their strategies with other actors and submit their drafts for open consultation. This openness notably pushed the municipalities to focus their investment projects primarily on struggling areas. However, this consultation is limited; discussions on the IDPs are relatively technical and do not address all informal actors (associations, political or ethnic networks, communities of inhabitants, etc.). The participation process seems extremely tricky to implement given the diversity of actors and can considerably slow decisions. Collecting diverse opinions is crucial to building a coherent strategy and is a very rich source; at the same time, it is the government's role to make certain decisions and reach certain compromises in the general well-being.

The IDPs allow **better management** but do not yet form a strategic vision of urban development in all cities.

5.3. Regulations Cannot Yet Serve Municipal Development Strategies

The land use regulation system, now in use by the municipalities, is outdated and does not in any case serve as a tool to implement urban development strategies. It is not a land management tool for municipalities that would like to develop a land strategy, nor is it an instrument to guide and develop private investment. The current urban planning documents (Town Planning Schemes or Zoning Schemes) do not reflect the

strategic and spatial development blueprints contained in the SDFs. **Revising** these documents is a laborious, time-consuming process that requires considerable skills. In addition, modifying an urban planning document interferes directly with individuals' **private interests**. Indeed, altering land development rights penalizes some actors but not others and hinders the deployment of certain projects. This is why, on Reunion Island, some mayors have not been able to revise their PLUs because of individuals' competing demands; this is one type of clientelism. In the same way, and given the weight of the private sector in South Africa, the municipalities do not and cannot necessarily revise zoning and the assorted regulations. Being unwilling to overhaul urban planning documents amounts to depriving oneself of a tool and allowing the past to continue to operate. This maintains a grey zone conducive to urban development that the government has a hard time managing and creates a considerable hindrance to the application of the desired spatial strategy.

Paths Toward More Profitable Planning

6

6.1. Effective Awareness

Despite all of these difficulties, one should note that strategic planning, like regulatory planning, has evolved greatly since 1994. Numerous articles have been written on this subject by the scientific community, and the three spheres of government now seem to view planning as a powerful tool to take advantage of in order to build South African cities in a more anticipated manner. The example of Philip Harrison is revealing: former researcher with the University of the Witwatersrand, co-author with Alisson Todes and Vanessa Watson of *Planning and Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*, he was hired at the start of 2007 by the municipality of Johannesburg to run the Development Planning & Urban Management Department.

The appearance of IDPs and their spatial configuration with the SDFs appear to be significant and designate the municipalities as the central link in strategic and spatial reflection on public policy implementation. In Johannesburg, attention to public transit, and especially a rapid bus system has, among other things, taken form with Johannesburg's SDF.

6.2. Determined Local and Provincial Governments

The provinces and large municipalities have taken true initiatives to make the best use of the various urban planning instruments. In Cape Town, for example, Western Cape Province drafted a **law to facilitate land regulation**, but it has yet to pass. In addition, the city of Cape Town, which also has legislative powers, is reflecting on the elaboration of a new law to govern planning. The municipalities are progressively being designated to manage development and planning stakes. The metros are even being proactive in doing so: the elaboration of various strategic plans, of which the IDP is but one element, shows their determination to master their own urban development. For instance, the city of Johannesburg has the intention of taking full control of land regulation, as one can see with its recent court case against Gauteng Province for having distributed building permits independently of the municipality's opinion.

Finally, the **new zoning plans** elaborated by some metros such as Johannesburg and Cape Town show their determination to update them and make them more relevant. There are numerous former zoning plans and they all utilize different terminology. The new urban planning schemes are above all a reunification of all the former plans covering the municipal territory. The zoning is very functional — residential, economic activities, public spaces — when compared to France's zoning which divides plots of land according to their status — urbanized, to urbanize, natural — and then provides the dominant uses. For the moment, the goal is not yet to bring the zoning into alignment with more schematic **development strategies**, but simply to make them usable. However, if we examine the proposed future urban plan for Cape Town,³⁶ we can first note a new category — “Mixed Use” — and two powerful tools giving the government authorities a larger role in urban development. The first is Performance Zoning, which allows the government to impose a certain number of conditions on the development of a plot of land. The second is the Overlay Zone that allows the municipality to rapidly modify zoning to apply a development strategy expressed in the SDF and IDP. These future tools should allow the city to ensure greater consistency between its spatial strategy and land use regulation.

36. Cape Town Zoning Scheme.

6.3. A New Law to Unify Land Use Regulation Modalities

Finally, the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) has drafted a new bill to unify regulation processes on the national scale and revive regulatory urban planning in South Africa.

Excerpt from the Directive Principles in the **Land Use Management Bill**:

“When performing a function in terms of this Act or any other legislation regulating land use management, an organ of state must be guided by the following directive principles:

- (a) The principle of equity resulting in access to and the use of land in a manner that redresses past imbalances;*
- (b) the principle of efficiency to —*
 - (i) promote the best use of available resources;*
 - (ii) promote balanced economic development;*
 - (iii) promote compact sustainable human settlements;*
 - (iv) discourage urban sprawl; and*
 - (v) promote close proximity between residential and work-places, taking into account the health and well-being of affected persons;”*

This bill aims, sometimes paradoxically, to overturn the other laws on land regulation (notably the DFA). It also aims to provide all government authorities in South Africa with shared guidelines on land regulation and development principles. The Land Use Management Bill proposes to clearly entrust most responsibility to the **municipalities**. They would then become key actors in planning. Cities would be obliged to revise their zoning (Town Planning Schemes or Zoning Schemes) so as to elaborate unified Land Use Schemes. The bill presents a shared zoning scheme and advocates functional diversity. In addition, the Land Use Schemes must be consistent with the IDPs. This bill has not yet passed, and numerous criticisms have been raised. It is notably accused of not being sufficiently elaborate and of overturning other laws in use without taking into account practical modalities. Although it will surely be modified and completed, this bill shows the government’s determination to take into hand urban planning tools, clearly display this attitude on national level, and place regulatory planning instruments at the service of cities — that is to say, allow for coordination, even synergy, between

strategic principles and regulation mechanisms. This would allow cities to take full ownership of land regulation tools and be able to apply their development strategies. The provinces' role would thus be clarified to become primarily that of management on a larger territorial scale.

PART THREE

Develop Living Spaces for Poor Populations

Successfully integrating struggling populations in society is an integral part of the government's mission. In order to integrate poor populations in the city and allow them access to basic utilities, the government can intervene in several ways. Planning the urban landscape and reflecting on population settlements is one way to anticipate and allow for balanced and egalitarian city development. This corresponds to taking action upstream by spatially visualizing the challenges and meeting them while taking into account the various urban functions. The government can also become **operationally** involved in **building suitable living spaces for low-income populations** — that is to say allowing access to essential services, jobs and other regular activities. The South African authorities aim to insert disadvantaged populations in the urban fabric as best as possible; determination to do so was initiated at the end of apartheid. This is particularly important because it corresponds to a dynamic of supporting historically disadvantaged populations.

Access to Housing: The Main End Goal of Urban Development Policies

7

Since 1994, the South African government has emphasized the desire to intervene in favour of disinherited populations and has set up several national programmes to do so. The primary direction taken has been the provision of **decent housing** for all needy populations — that is to say, access to basic utilities (water, electricity, sanitation) and **housing grants**. To attain this objective, the government has established an operational housing provision system that assigns implementation responsibilities to the provinces and cities. It has made considerable progress in improving the quality of life for a large number of South Africans. This mechanism is the cornerstone of public efforts to creating living spaces for all people. The government has built this type of housing massively and repeatedly on plots of land far from city centres. In light of the limits that have been reached and new challenges — the growth of informal housing, rising social disparities, and the effects of globalization — this policy is evolving. The various stages in the production of social housing settlements currently underway are the search for land, the installation of utilities networks, and the construction of housing and public facilities.

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7.1. Land Management

In order to take operational steps and build homes for South Africans unable to do so themselves, the first requirement is to select and reserve plots of land.

7.1.1. Public Land Acquired under Apartheid

The land owned by the government was primarily purchased during apartheid, and is located alongside the townships. Publicly-owned land is mostly held by the Department of Land Affairs, the provinces, and municipalities. This land available to the government to host struggling populations is extensive and located around the edges of cities. Much of the land in the Soweto township has, for example, continued to be developed after apartheid.

7.1.2. Municipal Responsibility and the Purchase of Land

When it comes to producing housing for poor households, the **municipalities** have been responsible for identifying and providing appropriate land since 1994. In the first possible situation, publicly-owned land is available and fits the project's characteristics. When this is the case, either the national and provincial governments cede land to the municipality or the municipality itself owns the land. If no publicly-owned land is available, the municipality must attempt to acquire land, which it can buy from the private sector. **Land prices** are such that the land purchased is very often located quite far from cities' centres of activity.

One must also note that, even when it is municipal land, the municipality may deliberately chose **outlying and difficultly accessible tracts of land**. First, there is the constraint of promoters who wish to take advantage of economies of scale and therefore build on near-industrial scale. Then, the municipalities need to manage their budgets, and there is no short-term financial advantage for the city in giving away land in a good location rather than exploiting it and selling it to private investors. Thus, the municipalities' financial strategies often push them to sell land in good locations that could have been used for the production of settlements for disadvantaged people in the middle of urban activity.

7.1.3. The First Stirrings of Land Acquisition Strategies

Despite land selection that seems rather unplanned because it relies on instantaneous selection criteria, the government seems to be aware of the need to continue to acquire land so as to foster the inclusion of struggling populations. With

this aim, the government created **Servcon** in 1995. Servcon is a national agency whose mission is to buy and manage land so as to enable appropriate settlements for poor families to be created. Since 2004, the government has displayed a real determination to integrate these households as well as possible and is therefore envisaging merging Servcon with other national housing agencies in the near future to create a Housing Development Agency. This should make it possible to better rise to the development stakes for disadvantaged populations by tackling them in a holistic and integrated manner. On the municipal level, we can also see this determination to get involved and better tackle land issues. The municipality of Johannesburg created the **Johannesburg Property Company (JPC)** in 2000. The JPC is the municipality's right arm when it comes to buying and managing all of the city's real estate for commercial, business or residential development. The JPC's acquisition strategy was heavily inspired by the objectives set forth in the city's Spatial Development Framework. Elaborating new land regulation tools in the metros also shows the local authorities' determination to reflect on coherent and effective land strategies.

In **France**, the government has **powerful land management tools** to establish its urban development strategy. The government is able to expropriate occupants, pre-empt land and buildings, and utilize declarations of public utility to justify their methods. Acting in the direction of the general interest allows it to acquire land and private property at reasonable prices and control speculation. In **South Africa**, the government can only expropriate land under exceptional conditions, notably if the building presents a danger for public safety. Therefore, the legal tool of expropriation is not commonly used as a tool to serve land strategies. At the end of apartheid, there was no real overhaul of the land ownership system and existing property rights were maintained. In addition, given the expulsions and forced displacements during apartheid, it is almost unthinkable for the post-apartheid government to utilize these processes. In this way, occupation — whether by owners or illegal inhabitants — holds a great deal of legitimacy, and civil associations³⁷ defend this legitimacy.

37. Civics, and notably the SANCO federation (on which the ANC depends for voters), strongly defend the rights of populations illegally occupying public and private lands.

Thus, land management tools do not truly exist today. Some tools are in the process of being elaborated such as the Overlay Zone in the Cape Town Zoning Scheme; and the desire to develop a land strategy is present and seems to be progressively evolving.

7.2. Infrastructure and Services: A Municipal Responsibility

Since the end of apartheid, the government has made it a point of honour to provide all South Africans with access to water and electricity. **Considerable effort** has been made, and the results are convincing even though a non-negligible segment of the population living in informal housing does not yet have access to these essential utilities. Utility delivery is one of the responsibilities assigned to the municipalities. They are in charge of installing networks and then sell, through the intermediary of municipal agencies or specialized companies, utilities to populations. What is more, most municipal revenues come from this income.

In regard to struggling populations, the municipalities have a duty to connect all residential zones within the municipal boundaries to the utilities networks. In order to service land, the Municipal Infrastructure Grant fund (**MIG Funding**) was transferred from the state to the municipalities. However, this fund only truly covers the most **basic** form of **infrastructure**: outdoor electricity lines, dirt roads, etc. This notably prevents the creation of socially diverse neighbourhoods. Indeed, obtaining higher-quality infrastructure is not part of the municipality's mission, and one must call on the private sector. The future inhabitants pay for the infrastructure through the promoter. These infrastructure cannot therefore be produced in a continuous manner in residential zones created by the government for poor populations. Next, the municipalities must provide a **minimum** water³⁸ and electricity **service** for free. This policy aiming to connect the entire population to water networks has allowed considerable improvements to be made. It is nevertheless noteworthy that, in middle-class and wealthy areas, most services are provided by private companies: supplementary waste removal, road maintenance, additional security services, etc.

38. Two hundred litres of water per day per household.

In **France**, land servicing is handled by **development companies** that balance their financial statements by turning a profit with the sale of land. Thus, all land is serviced according to the same standards and the semi-public company (SPC) offsets its losses on land it sells at low cost (notably land destined for social housing) with the sale of office or residential land at market prices. On Reunion Island and in France's overseas regions, some operations are mostly destined to house poor populations. In this case, the municipality or the development company receives a government subsidy called the *Fonds Régional d'Aménagement Foncier Urbain* (**FRAFU**, regional urban land development grant). An operation can receive the FRAFU if it consists of more than 60% assisted housing and if it is consistent with the objectives outlined in the *Schéma d'Aménagement Régional* (regional development blueprint). Next, when it comes to basic utilities (water, electricity), the households or businesses that occupy the area are in charge of paying for them. Households without incomes or with very low incomes receive financial assistance that allows them, among other things, to pay for these utilities. Thanks to these development grants and individual assistance, the equipment and common infrastructure level is the same in each neighbourhood for all inhabitants.

7.3. Public Facilities

7.3.1. Different Sectors Acting Independently

Once land has been serviced, it can then be developed. Public facilities are one of the urban functions that must be handled by the government: daycares, schools, hospitals, sporting facilities, libraries, public areas, green areas, etc. Each sector intervenes in accordance with the standards established in the land regulations: depending on the number of households, a certain number of facilities are mandatory. This makes it possible to ensure equity in access to public facilities, and the financial efforts to provide public facilities are considerable. As in France, each category of facilities is managed by the department in charge of the **sector** concerned and at the mandated **level of government**. For example, hospitals and clinics are managed by the Department of Health, hospitals at the national level and clinics at the provincial level.

7.3.2. Considerable Investment but Little Maintenance and Coordination

This system has several limitations. First, the construction of facilities is rarely followed by all the necessary maintenance. The national and provincial departments all have rather quantitative reasoning on their delivery in function of the subsidies available and think less in terms of day-to-day follow-up. Next, locations are selected mostly according to the availability of publicly-owned land (belonging primarily to the provinces or municipalities) and are not determined by the human flows and local needs connected to the development project and settlement concerned. Finally, there is little coordination between the various departments. It is very rare to see two facilities that depend on different sectors share land and infrastructure.

7.4. The Production of Different Types of Housing: A Provincial Responsibility

The aim here is to identify public sector actions in the field of housing for poor populations. **Housing delivery** is one of the most costly policies and is presented, with access to basic services, as the government's main effort for marginalized households. Reducing the number of families without decent housing has been a major part of the ANC's political platform since 1994. In order to succeed in doing so, the South African government has been building free houses for needy families since 1994. In ten years, this free home delivery programme has made it possible to house nearly two million families. Outside the houses provided for free, other solutions exist in a more marginal manner. This approach rapidly reached its limits. House construction projects were criticized, notably for the houses' rudimentary quality, their distance from centres of employment, and the uniformity of the solution proposed for disadvantaged populations. Thus, ten years after this policy was launched, the Department of Housing decided to **assess** it. In 2004, this re-examination led to the elaboration of a **new housing policy, Breaking New Ground (BNG)** or A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements. This new approach by the Department of Housing aims to improve construction standards and, above all, diversify housing solutions for poor populations. Breaking New Ground seeks to evolve from **a housing policy to a territorial development programme that integrates low-income populations**. In theory, BNG advocates the principles of sustainable settlements for populations, the

consideration of all inhabitants' needs, and social diversity. On the operational front, BNG seeks to **improve and diversify existing tools**. It is important to note that housing is under the **jurisdiction of the provinces** and this has not changed since 1994. Indeed, under the Constitution, the most major housing responsibilities are assigned to the provincial governments. The National Department of Housing sets policy, amounts and subsidy allocation conditions; the provinces receive all of the funds allocated to housing and then distribute the subsidies according to the projects they approve. Here is a table of the primary instruments elaborated by the Department of Housing to allow struggling populations to house themselves. Each is discussed in greater detail below.

Table 2.
The Different Types of Housing Offered by the Government

Product Name	Description
<i>RDP/BNG Houses</i>	Houses given to households earning less than 3,500 rand
<i>People's Housing Process (PHP)</i>	Improved housing and self-promotion grant for poor communities
<i>Credit-Linked and Bonded Houses</i>	Houses obtained via loans with (credit-linked houses) or without (bonded houses) additional public financial assistance
<i>Social Housing</i>	Social rental housing for households earning between 1,500 and 7,500 rand per month

7.4.1. Distribution of Single-Family Homes

Since 1994, the free distribution of houses has been, and is largely still today, the principal element in the government's efforts to accommodate needy populations. These houses are fully subsidized by the government. They were formerly called RDP houses in reference to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and are now called BNG houses after the new housing policy. This programme, often called a housing delivery programme, targets households earning **between 0 and 3,500 rand per month**. South African households that meet this income criteria are eligible for the subsidy³⁹ and can, within the limit of available houses, become the owners of small homes. These houses are built by private promoters that use the subsidies indirectly

39. The most frequent is the project-linked subsidy, which allows households to acquire subsidized houses as part of large-scale construction projects.

to build entire neighbourhoods of BNG houses. To allow **promoters** to invest in this area of construction, a financial institution, the NURCHA, has the role of offering loans at advantageous rates to promoters that get involved in building houses for the poorest. The new BNG houses (photo 5) are slightly larger and are somewhat better made. Indeed, the **amount of the subsidy** was increased to allow for this improved quality and rose progressively from 12,500 rand to nearly 40,000 rand in 2004.⁴⁰

Photo 5.
BNG Houses



Photo credit: Tamlyn Little and Dylan Little, Tyme Photography.

Thus, this policy of providing home **ownership** is the most **widespread** in South Africa and corresponds to the solution most frequently utilized by the government to house populations that are unable to acquire a home with their own funds. A large percentage of the population expresses the desire to obtain this type of housing. There are two primary reasons for this desire. First, this housing policy has become part of the culture, and the people still living in informal conditions want to benefit from it. Second, the homeowner model attracts a large number of households. The **taste for**

40. 12,500 rand = 957 euros; 40,000 rand = 3,060 euros.

single-family homes can be found uniformly across most of the country. In overseas France, a home ownership solution is also offered to poor populations. Indeed, in addition to France's classic social housing solution, the government elaborated the **Logement Évolutif Social** (LES, progressive social housing) solution. These houses are built in large part with the help of French government subsidies and possible loans thanks to the assistance that is given to the families concerned. A small part of the cost remains to be covered directly by the households. These houses, which are "progressive" because they can be built or expanded through self-construction, worked well in Reunion Island (but much less easily in the other overseas departments – DOMs) but are now being built less often by property development companies because they are too expensive. Indeed, the cost of construction varies between 50 and 70 thousand euros and the number of households that can receive them is shrinking. This is why the only LES houses still built are built on land already owned by the households (in the case of households that own land or as part of slum clearance operations)⁴¹ and are in this case called grouped LESs.

7.4.2. Improved Housing and Self-Promotion

Starting in 1998, a new instrument was developed by the Department of Housing, the **People's Housing Process** (PHP). It is an alternative solution that allows groups of inhabitants to benefit from housing subsidies without necessarily becoming RDP home owners. Indeed, if a community of inhabitants undertakes this process, the PHP mechanism allows them to have serviced land and obtain subsidies and technical and logistic support to allow them to build their own houses. This subsidy mechanism is relatively flexible and often used by communities supported by NGOs or by local authorities. Indeed, the subsidy application process has quite a bit of red tape and also requires a very well-organized **community**. This subsidy cannot be applied to single households who wish to build their own homes with assistance. Since it was created, the PHP has become more and more frequently used by local governments. For this reason, BNG seeks to facilitate the generalization of this mechanism, notably by communicating more about its implementation resources and possible results. Although they are few in number compared to the single-family house grants, these PHP operations are appreciated because, as a community initiative, they are born from a

41. See section 7.5 below.

participation mechanism and ensure households' ownership and attachment to their homes. A parallel can again be drawn with the *Logements Évolutifs Sociaux* (LES) in overseas France: they are basic housing that must then be improved via self-construction. All planning authorities in Reunion Island agree that LES housing is a success because the families take ownership of them very well and the self-construction mechanisms function as planned or, for some households, better. However, the financial conditions that need to be met to build LES housing are difficult to fulfil.⁴² Reunion Island is nearly the only place where LES projects are still being built, and they are tending to disappear little by little.

7.4.3. Credit-Linked and Bonded Houses

The last type of housing proposed for ownership by the government is houses, built to slightly higher specifications than the RDP/BNG houses, that households can purchase with the help of home loans. Following the massive policy of RDP house delivery, actors in the real estate sector realized that this distorted the market and that households earning slightly more than the 3,500 rand cut-off were unable to find affordable houses. The households that earn more than 3,500 rand and for which the market does not spontaneously offer solutions make up the public for what the South African government calls **gap housing**. Spontaneously, in the **Financial Sector Charter** of 2003, and then in partnership with the authorities in a Memorandum of Understanding signed in May 2005, **private banks** committed to investing 42 billion rand⁴³ in mortgage financing for households that are unable to buy homes but do not receive government subsidies. There are two types of such houses in the construction projects initiated by the government: **credit-linked houses** and **bonded houses**. For both, the banking sector intervenes to provide loans and allow households to buy property. For credit-linked houses, the households targeted must earn between 3,500 and 7,500 rand; the government provides in addition a direct subsidy to act as a guarantee, thus covering part of the risk due to the financial weakness of the households concerned. Bonded houses (photo 6) are sold only with the help of the loans offered by the banking sector as part of its social commitments and without additional government assistance.

42. Notably, the households must have sufficient steady income (salary and/or government assistance).

43. 42 billion rand = 3.2 billion euros.

In this way, the government seeks, whether through entirely, partially or not subsidized houses, to promote **home ownership** among low- and middle-income households. Since the 1970s, the French government has also favoured home ownership for households with modest incomes through the intermediary of tax exemptions. In France as in South Africa, this corresponds to a desire among a segment of the population to become home owners. However, these public policies favour single-family homes and contribute to not very dense urban landscapes that are difficultly compatible with public transit.

Photo 6.

Bonded Houses in the Cosmo City Project in Johannesburg



Photo credit: Tamlyn and Dylan Little, Tyme Photography.

7.4.4. Public Rental Housing

Historical Background and Lack of Rental Solutions

When apartheid ended, the rental model was banished and the post-apartheid government favoured the ownership model. This political decision is understandable given the country's history. Under apartheid, black populations were housed as renters

in townships, and this was a particularly effective method of control. Thus, to break with this image of apartheid and restore dignity to historically disadvantaged populations, private property was promoted and spread by the government. However, the need for rental solutions emerged equally for households that cannot afford the upkeep on their houses, those who have sold their houses and can no longer receive government subsidies, those who would prefer to rent in locations better suited to their jobs (notably in the city centres), those who have already received an RDP house in a rural area and wish to work in cities, and finally all those who are not eligible for the subsidies (mainly single people and foreigners). Thus, in response to the uniformity of the national housing policy advocating private property, diverse forms of rental housing have emerged. Rental solutions have developed spontaneously both in city centres, via organizations legally recognized by the government, and in outlying areas in the form of cottages in gardens and backyard shacks (built in backyards in the townships).

Rental Housing: A Difficult Start

Official organizations, often born from NGOs, were initially very few in number and their beginnings were uncertain. Indeed, they were small organizations with diverse initiatives offering **experimental** rental solutions. Capacities were limited and public funding nearly inexistent. Numerous institutions went bankrupt, and others had to be drastically redressed. This was the case with the Cape Town Community Housing Company (CTCHC), whose entire staff was renewed between 2004 and 2006, and that must now renovate a large part of the housing stock that it had built. Indeed, the construction was done too rapidly and without the necessary skills; the buildings ended up being faulty and fell into disuse.

Social Housing Institutions

Progressively becoming aware of this need for rental solutions, the Department of Housing wanted to formalize and stabilize existing initiatives, grouping them together under the denomination of **Social Housing Institutions** (SHIs). In South Africa, the expression 'social housing' designates rental solutions for households earning more than 1,500 rand per month (or even 3,500 rand for certain institutions). The **Social Housing Foundation (SHF)** was created in 1997 to bring together all social housing institutions and analyze and document know-how and best practices for the

construction and management of rental housing stock. There are currently about twenty social housing institutions working in the main South African cities. These institutions are also grouped together within the National Association of Housing Organisations (NASHO), which helps build a community of professionals. In addition, national subsidies distributed by the provincial departments in charge of housing have been specifically created to allow SHIs to develop projects. Social housing institutions are either **Section 21 companies** (that is to say, non-profit organizations), or municipal bodies or **municipal-owned companies (MOCs)**. Today, most institutions no longer belong to the municipalities because the recent Municipal Finance and Management Act (MFMA) imposes very demanding statutory and budgetary conditions on municipal-owned companies. For this reason, many are no longer owned by municipalities, such as the CTCHC which had previously belonged 50% to the city of Cape Town and 50% to the National Housing Finance Corporation (NHFC) and is now held solely by the NHFC. However, most land on which SHIs' projects can be built are still municipal in origin.

Financing for Social Housing: Very Diverse Sources

The principal sources of financing on which SHIs can rely are the social housing **subsidies** distributed by the provinces, loans from public financial institutions such as the National Housing Finance Corporation (**NHFC**) and the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), **international funds** (such as the Dutch International Guarantees for Housing), loans from **private banks** or other private financial institutions, and subsidies from cities in the case of municipal campaigns. The NHFC is a public financial institution under the authority of the Department of Housing. Its mandate is to provide loans with advantageous rates to institutions sometimes viewed as risky. Another financial institution, private this time, that has a particularly large role in Johannesburg is the Trust for Urban Housing Finance (**TUHF**). Its aim is to help finance housing rehabilitation projects in the Johannesburg city centre. For this reason, it does not finance only SHIs but also private companies such as AFHCO, which renovates buildings in the city centre to offer rental housing for workers with small and medium salaries. Generally speaking, the existing SHIs are partially stabilized and some are even very innovative in how they manage their capital. However, they are few in number and must elaborate their operations as they go along and using non-standardized financing.

Example Institutions and Projects

To illustrate SHIs' diversity and types of projects, here are three example institutions in Johannesburg:

The **Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC)** is a Section 21 company. It is known as the best managed social housing institution and is often cited as an example. JHC builds many housing projects in the city centre. The households that can access them must have fixed salaries. There is considerable demand for this type of housing, and demand is managed independently by JHC and other institutions: there is no centralized waiting list.

Photos 7, 8 and 9.

JHC Model Apartment in the City Centre



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Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

The **Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO)** is a municipal-owned company (MOC) created by the city of Johannesburg in 2004. It builds and manages, for the municipality, rental housing (photo 10) in the city centre (projects to develop empty plots of land) and housing following the renovation of former hostels. The products offered by JOSHCO target in part poorer households than those targeted by JHC. JOSHCO notably manages communal housing with shared facilities.

The **Madulamoho Housing Association** is a recent institution whose vocation is to provide rental solutions in the city centre for the poorest (photos 11 and 12). These solutions copy the market by offering a range of products: beds in dormitories (transitional

Photo 10.
Housing Managed by JOSHCO in Alexandra



Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

Photos 11 and 12.
Buildings Renovated by the Madulamoho Housing Association in the Centre
of Johannesburg



Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

housing) (photo 13), rooms with shared bathrooms (communal housing), and single-family apartments. This allows it to offer city-centre housing for people and households earning between 800 and 7,500 rand per month.⁴⁴

Photo 13.

Transitional Housing in a Building Renovated by the Madulamoho Housing Association.



Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

Recent Evolutions

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Social housing institutions thus offer a variety of rental products in buildings of one or more floors in the city centre and in the townships. However, this production only accounts for a small proportion of the public housing supply for low-income households. Not all the institutions are equally efficient, the procedures to obtain subsidies are still seen as very cumbersome, and the other modes of financing are not standardized. The new housing policy, Breaking New Ground (BNG), insists on the importance of offering rental solutions and helping institutions operate so that rental solutions can become more widespread. BNG notably created a new tool, **restructuring zones**. Municipalities can identify certain strategic development zones and classify them as restructuring zones. Then, in the case of social housing projects in these zones, institutions can receive an

44. 800 rand = 71 euros; 7,500 rand = 672 euros.

additional subsidy, the National Social Housing Restructuring Grant. To receive the grant, the project must target 30% households earning less than 3,500 rand and 70% households earning between 3,500 and 7,500 rand. In this way, the government wishes to foster densification and ensure residential solutions for needy populations in urban areas, for example within neighbourhoods near transit hubs. The Department of Housing drafted a bill to foster the development of social housing. The **Social Housing Bill** was finally passed in November 2008. This law recommends the creation of a regulatory body, the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA), to manage the various subsidies and supervise the institutions' activities. In addition, it recommends giving the municipalities greater responsibilities and powers. This law should provide greater recognition of the stakes behind and challenges facing social housing and make it possible to position rental housing as a national concern and thereby foster its connection to economic development activities.

Box 4.

The Social Housing System in France

Origins

In France, social housing is **rental housing** offered by the collectivity at below-market prices to all households with incomes below a certain threshold. Starting in the end of the 19th century, the notion of "assisted housing" emerged with the aim of housing the working classes.

Target

France follows a rather **generalist concept** of social housing whose mission is to provide housing to households that find themselves below maximum income thresholds: in all, 19% of French households live in social rental apartments.

The Actors

In France, social housing management is organized in a precise way by the law, and all management organizations are subject to the rules of the construction and housing code. **Management organizations** are social housing companies (non-profit public limited companies), public housing offices (local public establishments), cooperatives, public limited real estate lending companies, and semi-public companies. These organizations'

responsibilities are specified in the SRU law and are social rental housing, access to home ownership, development, and service provision.

Financial Mechanisms

The funding supply devoted to financing the social housing commodity chain in France depends greatly on deposits in 'livret A' savings accounts. Indeed, the loans granted by social donors are financed from the funds collected via the 'livret A' through the intermediary of the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations (bank of deposits and escrow). The loan for social donors is the *Prêt Locatif à Usage Social* (PLUS, rental loan for social uses). It can be used to buy land and for construction, as well as to acquire and improve housing. Housing renovation or construction operations break even with the help of not only these 'livret A' loans but also of the "1% for housing", assistance from local governments, state subsidies, and tax advantages. The 1% for housing corresponds to a levy of 0.45% on the payrolls of companies employing more than twenty staff. It enables the granting of subsidies or construction loans. The subsidies from local governments can be investment grants or balancing and operating subsidies. In this last case, the local government may reserve up to 20% of the housing units concerned for its own use.

There are several types of assistance in the field of social housing: building grants, individual assistance, and tax assistance that corresponds to investment assistance and can often be likened to a building grant. The **building grants** are destined for housing producers and lower the cost of investment during the operation. The **individual assistance** is destined for recipient households and depends on household income. Concretely, donors utilize a minimum building grant to build housing in order to optimize resources because the financing is costly.

Finally, individual assistance makes it possible to bridge the gap between the rent at which equilibrium would be attained and the amount the households are able to devote to paying rent. In France, as in most European countries, building grants have been used massively because they make it possible to ensure a certain level of production, notably during quantitative crises. However, they have turned out to be inequitable and costly, and they were reduced when the state backed away from them in favour of individual assistance that makes it possible to introduce more flexibility and equity. Individual assistance is more

redistributive because better targeted and more flexible, but it can also have unwanted effects such as, for example, pushing up rents.

Social housing is currently encountering a financing problem linked, among other things, to state withdrawal. Government subsidies to finance operations are progressively dropping, and social housing operators are finding it more and more difficult to maintain financial balance.

The Major Difference in Social Housing

The system of social rental housing in France is very different from the South African system because it is the government's principal response in favour of needy populations. Social rental housing in South Africa is more marginal, as the home ownership solutions are favoured in the majority. The French system has existed for a long time and benefits from a production and financing mechanism that is quasi-industrial and automatic. What is more, the French system relies in part on individual assistance, which does not exist in South Africa for housing.

7.5. Slum Management: A Crucial Stake

In South Africa, one of the major challenges for public policies aiming to integrate poor populations is informal housing. Despite the government's efforts to produce housing for struggling populations, shantytowns have continued to grow. The South African government's position on informal settlements is relatively ambiguous and vacillates between eradication and in-situ improvement. The full range of housing solutions described above is used to respond to households living in highly unsanitary conditions and extreme poverty. Several texts and principles govern public action in regard to these informal settlements: the right to decent housing, the prohibition on expelling and forcibly displacing populations, the government's responsibility for safety conditions, and the provision of emergency housing. The Breaking New Ground programme proposes a new national plan of action for informal housing, the **Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme (ISUP)**. This programme takes full measure of the phenomenon and recommends determined action to improve the situation. The coming soccer World Cup probably has something to do with the consideration of the

phenomenon. This programme does not only tackle housing, but also speaks of eradicating poverty and proposes grouped solutions for entire settled communities. Indeed, not all the households earning less than 3,500 rand per month and living in informal housing are eligible for the RDP house subsidies.⁴⁵ In this way, the programme proposes **improvement projects focusing on given geographic zones**. It also insists heavily on the need to maintain social ties as much as possible by keeping households in place. **Pilot projects** have been launched in each region to test these principles for improving informal housing. This subject is highly controversial because of the forced re-housing and displacements, and it is still difficult to determine what impact the programme will have. Although on a different scale, Reunion Island must face the same challenge. To meet the challenge, the municipalities on Reunion Island can launch **slum clearance operations** (SC operations), implemented in the vast majority of cases by public development companies. These slum clearance operations consists of drawing the borders of an informal settlement and improving housing conditions for all the households living within the borders. The project team is multidisciplinary and includes one or several social affairs agents in charge of meeting with all the inhabitants and identifying financial possibilities and re-housing desires. In so far as possible, the households are re-housed, if they wish, on site in social housing buildings or in progressive social housing (LES). The success of these operations depends on the dialogue with the inhabitants and the possibility for conserving, even increasing, diversity and settlement density with buildings. The financing of such operations, which are by definition not profitable, is covered in part by government subsidies and also by the municipality.

7.6. In Parallel, Private Housing Production

The government considerably shapes the urban landscape through its housing policy for struggling populations. Private promoters also heavily influence the urban development of cities and are but little constrained by the municipalities, notably for financial reasons. Indeed, whether for residences for wealthy populations or for premises for economic and commercial activities, large-scale private developments are emerging and benefit only rarely the settlements built by the government for low-income

45. Primarily foreigners and single people.

populations. One of the most remarkable phenomena in South Africa is the emergence of a large number of closed urban spaces (still called gated communities). Melrose Arch in Johannesburg is one example. The project began in 2002, already contains 4,000 residents, and ultimately envisages to host 22,000. It is a protected multi-functional space (apartments, offices, shops, restaurants, etc.) with the presentation slogan of:

“Melrose Arch mixed-use precinct brings you the ideal urban lifestyle. An environment where all your needs — personal and professional — can be met in a consolidated, harmonious environment.”

Generally speaking, expansion constraints and property taxes are only very little dissuasive for private developments (both residential and business/commercial).

The Limits of the Government's Actions

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8.1. The Weaknesses of the Housing Delivery Approach

In regard to the presentation of South Africa's housing policy, it is undeniable that the government of South Africa wants to provide needy populations with housing and, to a certain extent, is doing so. The post-apartheid policies have made it possible to provide roofs and access to essential services to a very large number of households. However, the developments that have been made — that is to say primarily forms of housing built by the government for poor populations — have definite inconveniences. They do not help accomplish the government's goal of building post-apartheid cities, that is to say cities that are accessible for all and integrate the various populations within the urban landscape. Following the self-criticism and assessment of the housing policy and then the official publication of *Breaking New Ground*, the Department of Housing now advocates the construction of living spaces and not merely housing.

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8.1.1. A Housing Supply that Does Not Meet All Needs

One limitation concerns the housing policy as such, that is to say the production of housing solutions. Indeed, the various types of housing offered by the government do not make it possible to meet all needs. The fact that each household earning less

than 3,500 rand can in theory become the owner of a small house for free⁴⁶ creates several disparities. First, the problem of **gap housing**, while it has been identified, is having difficulty being resolved. Indeed, households that earn more than 3,500 rand must use their own funds to buy homes (albeit with government assistance now), and can find the situation unfair: they work, earn a living, and are not any better off than the unemployed. They must also sometimes rent a room or apartment, or in other words pay for a small space while others receive houses for free. In addition, there are only a very **few alternatives for people earning less than 3,500 rand per month**. Some people earning less than 3,500 rand per month are not eligible for the subsidies and therefore can only rent or live in informal housing. The same is true for those who need to be close to centres of economic activity.

8.1.2. A National Sectoral Approach

Beyond the flaws in the housing solutions, the fact that integrating urban and poor populations was not conceived as part of the approach to housing is, perhaps, an even more problematic limitation. Given the determination, at the end of apartheid, to provide roofs to all historically disadvantaged populations, the urban developments made today for struggling households are entirely **guided by the housing policy**. No other national policies address the issue of cities and urban facilities for low-income populations. This is the reason that the Department of Housing revised its policy in 2004 and felt obliged to address the issue of sustainable human settlements rather than merely housing. This led to the drafting of the new housing policy, BNG, that recommends a holistic approach integrating people's various urban needs.

This sectoral vision is still dominant and is detrimental to the successful creation of integrated living spaces. South Africans use the expression "**silos mentality**" to designate this attitude. Here is a significant example: the new housing subsidy for BNG houses does not include the cost of land⁴⁷ and esteems that it is the responsibility of the local and provincial departments in charge of planning to find and cover the cost

46. Becoming a home owner for free is, however, an illusion in the sense that one must then pay for the upkeep on the house and utilities.

47. In the previous subsidy, the percentage to cover the cost of the land was in any case very small and did not allow for the acquisition of land in good locations.

of land. This sectoral policy leads to a division of tasks and a lack of coordination among the various sectors: education, health, green spaces, the economy, transportation, housing, planning. **Functional diversity** is therefore difficult to attain in construction projects.

It is interesting to note that this housing-based approach is in part due to the history of South Africa but also to the fact that housing is often seen by both the government and the population as a national priority. In 2006, the Ministry of Housing and Cities in France developed a ***Pacte National pour le Logement*** (national pact for housing), which bears witness to the importance of housing issues, sometimes tackled independently of the other fields of public action.

8.1.3. Limited Economic Integration

For needy populations, one consequence of this housing-based response is the lack of economic integration possibilities on the spatial level. Indeed, with the exception of the buildings renovated in city centres by social housing institutions, the housing solutions offered by the government are located in outlying areas, notably because of the availability of public land in relatively poor locations. Thus, social construction projects are very little diverse socially, and are not really integrated into the urban fabric. Generally speaking, and even though this is changing, the housing actors do not seek locations near **job basins** or reflect in terms of accessibility and transportation. Given the lack of public transit in South Africa, social housing zones can only be reached by collective taxis, and travel times can be long. This same error was made with the *politique des grand ensembles* in France. In order to remedy this, several policies were established and several actions taken. When it comes to proximity to job basins, we can cite the *Zones Franches Urbaines* (ZFU, urban free zones). They are struggling neighbourhoods that are classified as ZFUs to attract businesses. If a company decides to move to a ZFU, it can receive considerable tax incentives. Another primordial line in the urban renovation policy, currently carried by the Agence Nationale de la Rénovation Urbaine (national urban renovation agency), is transportation and the accessibility of sensitive neighbourhoods. Considerable efforts are underway to make these neighbourhoods accessible, increase roads, and extend public transit lines (buses, tramways).

8.2. The Obstacles Responsible for this Sectoral Approach

Two principal reasons seem to explain the approach based on the housing sector.

8.2.1. A Well-Enconced Catch-Up Policy

The housing policy represents one of the foundations of the post-apartheid government's catch-up policy for low-income populations. The massive development of small, single-family homes is a strong symbol, one that has been embraced and demanded by populations. The Department of Housing finds it difficult to exit this single-product schema, and is attempting to diversify it and overcome its failings without for all that really challenging it.

8.2.2. A Facilitator Government

More generally speaking, the government of South Africa poses as a facilitator government, proposing action for poor populations but not intervening any further in the production of urban space. The **neo-liberal discourse** results in part from the compromises made by the ANC at the end of apartheid, and aims to keep investors from fleeing and gives them a great degree of autonomy. The government of South Africa thus contents itself with providing services to poor populations but in no case seeks to control or utilize the private sector to create functionally and socially diverse living spaces.

8.3. Territory-Based Reasoning Difficult to Implement

Another hindrance to the design of integrated settlements in the urban landscape for low-income populations can be seen in the difficulty of favouring, identifying and developing one settlement over another. This **rejection of territorialization** comes in large part from the history of apartheid, which consisted precisely of favouring certain areas and penalizing other settlements reserved for non-white populations.

8.3.1. The Lack of Planning

This desire to avoid favouring certain territories over others shows through in how difficult it has been for planning to re-emerge in public policies. The desire to let the market

partially guide re-development has not favoured the advancement of planning either. To take an abusive shortcut, planning does not exist on the national level, can be seen on the provincial level but does very little guiding, and is mandatory on the local level with the elaboration of Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). However, local governments do not yet use these strategic planning tools to their full potential. In addition, these IDPs are in large part made up of sectoral plans that do not necessarily emanate from a spatial vision. In August 2006, the city of Tshwane (more commonly known by the name of Pretoria) asked a team of consultants to reflect on a strategy to implement the Breaking New Ground principles within the metro. The team submitted its report⁴⁸ in November 2007 and notably specified that a Human Settlement Plan should be included in the IDP to take into account, for each urban development zone concerned, the various sectors necessary for balanced development. It recommended a mapped strategy identifying the various urban projects necessary for the city's equitable development. Such a strategy is difficult for the municipality to implement because it requires a crosscutting team. However, the city does not have a municipal office in charge of these spatial reflections targeting a long-term objective. This example shows the lack of operational urban development strategies that make it possible to integrate the economic considerations and transportation issues vital to the creation of equitable urban spaces.

8.3.2. Limited Participation in the Implementation of Development Projects

Another mechanism that makes it possible to take into account **territorial stakes** and the **diversity** of difficulties encountered is participation by civil society. Given its history, post-apartheid South Africa places a great deal of importance on consulting the population. There are institutional mechanisms for this designed by the government to ensure a form of local representativity, and social movements that emerge spontaneously from civil society.

The Institutional Mechanisms

The South African municipalities' governance mechanisms were defined in the Municipal Structures Act of 1998. The municipalities are divided into wards.⁴⁹ Each ward

48. This document was titled the *Tshwane Comprehensive Sustainable Human Settlement Strategy*.

49. For instance, Johannesburg contains 109 wards.

elects a ward councillor. Then, ten Ward Committees are elected. They make up the political level closest to the people. Each Ward Committee can represent a community of individuals (women, employers, etc.), a sector of the municipality (housing, water, transportation, etc.), or more rarely a geographic area. The **Ward Committees** make up the primary participation mechanism. The IDPs are, for example, discussed with the Ward Committees. These mechanisms function relatively well as a source of information but one must note that the Ward Committees have little influence on the Ward Councillor and that the Ward Councillor has no real operational power. The municipalities also implement other participation mechanisms: IDPs are often available on line and, in Cape Town, comments on the IDP can even be made on line by all inhabitants. Development projects such as Cato Manor in Durban or Alexandra in Johannesburg have specific Internet forums to allow for discussion and participation by inhabitants.

The Social Movements

Historically, the manifestations of civil society have played an important role. The **civics**, which correspond to civil society associations that emerged in the townships, played a considerable role in the struggle against apartheid. However, at the end of apartheid, many of the important figures in the civics were hired by the government. There are still civics today — neighbourhood associations. The most powerful associations are **social movements**, fairly large associations grouping together militants around specific themes (evictions, AIDS, etc.) that have considerable protest power.

Complex Implementation and Management of Urban Projects

Local representation structures exist and are relatively well constituted. However, succeeding in having balanced and representative participation in the design and then **implementation of urban projects** is still difficult and not systematic. Numerous housing projects have been undertaken to re-house the inhabitants of various shantytowns, without in-depth consultation of the populations concerned and with **waiting lists** for the allocation of housing managed in an opaque manner and at different levels (provinces, municipalities, neighbourhood associations, etc.). In South Africa, it is not habitual to consider an urban project in regard to the territory concerned and populations affected. Projects are seen, rather, from the angle

of a quantitative approach to service delivery. Some of the Peoples' Housing Process projects managed by NGOs show, on the contrary, **real involvement by communities** of inhabitants. In the same way, the Alexandra Renewal Programme⁵⁰ systematically involves the Alexandra Development Forum (an organization made up of several social movements) in the discussions to represent the various communities in Alexandra.

Participation in France

The importance of participation in designing and conducting urban development projects is relatively recent in France. It was primarily the 2002 law on “**démocratie de proximité**” (“democracy close to home”) that imposed systematic participation mechanisms (meeting frequency, publication of information, etc.). These mechanisms are varied and not all actors use them in the same way: some had already been using them to ensure project appropriation, while others merely fulfil the legal obligation to inform without taking advantage of it. When it comes to projects with a social vocation, the populations are theoretically more and more consulted. In the case of projects in inhabited zones, the consultation makes it possible to foster appropriation of the project and its success but is also, in the case of struggling populations, a way to address issues that go beyond housing. For **slum clearance operations** (SC operations), social project management is primordial and constitutes a way of including the economic dimension of **inclusion**. All of the studies and interviews conducted with the households improve project relevance and allow for social monitoring throughout and after the project.

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A Tricky Scale to Determine but also a Major Advantage

The same participation-related difficulties are encountered in France and South Africa. It is difficult to determine the **relevant scale** and **appropriate interlocutors**. It is very frequent that some associations express themselves more powerfully than others, or that some populations are little represented, or even that the interests of different communities are contradictory. One of the most difficult phenomena to manage is “Not In My Back Yard” (**NIMBY**). This attitude often appears among certain actors,

50. See Part Three, section 9.2.1.

especially in the case of general interest or social vocation projects, and necessarily goes against the interests of other actors. In South Africa, in the Johannesburg city centre and elsewhere, xenophobic reactions are frequent and particularly difficult to integrate in an open consultation and participation process. Getting people to participate, benefiting from their ideas, and at the same time convincing all of the communities concerned of the validity of a project requires a **delicate balance**. Despite these implementation difficulties, and based on South African and French examples of participatory projects in which the populations are fully integrated, consulting and working with populations appears to be fundamental. This is especially the case for projects in inhabited areas or when re-housing is necessary. Inhabitants can then feel a form of **urban belonging** that connects them to their neighbourhoods. Participation processes are above all essential to develop a territorial identity and generate peoples' involvement within the urban fabric.

8.4. The Municipalities' Involvement in Urban Development for Disadvantaged Populations: A Still Uncertain Role

When one examines the government's role in producing quality urban spaces for populations with modest incomes, municipalities' territory and the scope of their responsibilities receive the closest attention. Cities represent the public level responsible for planning and implementing urban development programmes to integrate all of their inhabitants as harmoniously as possible. South African municipalities' — and more specifically metros' — responsibilities have evolved considerably since 1994, and cities seem designated to guide their urban development. Furthermore, South Africa is often cited as a model of decentralization in Africa. However, cities must overcome non-negligible difficulties.

8.4.1. Municipalities' Current Difficulties

Recent and Ambiguous Responsibilities for Managing Urban Development

Immediately after the end of apartheid, the national and then provincial governments were rapidly defined and set up. It took longer to successfully **democratize** local governments. The municipalities were powerful and well-structured (notably fiscally)

during apartheid, and this is why local governments were able to remain an important level in the post-apartheid strategy. However, after the end of the 1990s, most decision-making and investment powers were entrusted to the **national and provincial departments**. Responsibility for housing delivery is, what is more, currently managed by the provinces. Indeed, starting in the early 1990s, the municipalities entered a **transitional period**. Many municipalities encounter budget problems, notably Johannesburg that went bankrupt in 1997 and was consequently restructured and entrusted a large part of its services to municipal companies so as to separate operations and ensure healthy balance sheets. The status of local governments only became official in government documents in 1998, in the *White Paper on Local Government* (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 1998) and the Municipal Structures Act (1998). Throughout this period, the municipalities had ambiguous responsibilities, having to rebuild post-apartheid cities while sometimes being seen only as a level of implementation. In 2000, the **Integrated Development Plans** were set up to allow local authorities to plan and manage all of their activities. Thus, there is still no post-apartheid tradition of truly guiding urban development on city scale, and the metros seem to be assuming this role progressively. The authorities of Ethekwini (known under the name of Durban) are fully invested in taking on this responsibility. The city of Johannesburg shows the same determination and is putting it into practice in a still mixed manner as can be seen with the hiring of Philip Harisson, formerly a very renowned researcher, as the head of the Planning Department. This type of initiative is taking longer in some cities, and is generally compromised by electoral changes that slow planning over time.

A Sectoral Approach

In the national logic of post-apartheid catch-up, the various sectors are clearly separate, and objectives are announced in terms of **service delivery**. This same sectoral division can be found on municipal scale. The municipalities' various departments are placed in charge of delivering a certain quantity of services and find themselves confined to their numerical objectives. This search for **quantitative performance** does not facilitate coordination among the various sectors. The funds from national and provincial governments also come through sectoral channels. Depending on the city, the IDPs have slightly attenuated this sectoral approach but synchronization and sharing objectives are still very difficult to attain.

Planning Still Experimental

In theory, the role of planning is to coordinate and spatially project the various sectors and corresponding departments. However, primarily because of apartheid, planning is struggling to find its place within governments. Some metros are more innovative and involved than others, such as the city of Ethekwini that is spontaneously trying to plan its development for the next seventy years and then relay this vision through the 5-year IDPs. In Johannesburg, the planning department has recently grown in importance but is still having trouble mobilizing and working with all the departments.

Awkward Inter-Governmental Management

The **distribution of roles** among the three spheres of government is extremely delicate. In 1994, responsibility for delivery was entrusted to the provinces because the local governments were still fragile. Today, decentralization continues but there is still room for ambiguity. The subject of housing is one of the responsibilities whose contours are still fuzzy. Constitutionally, the provinces have jurisdiction but the local governments are in charge of implementation and land selection. The Breaking New Ground policy envisages shoring up municipalities' decision-making power and proposes an accreditation process that allows responsibility to be transferred to municipalities at the request of the provinces and municipalities in question. In this way, determining each party's roles is a delicate task and cooperation is difficult. This situation is even more marked in Cape Town where the municipal authorities belong to the Democratic Alliance while Western Cape Province (like all the provinces) is run by the ANC.

Real Capacity Issues

Finally, the difficulty perhaps most difficult to overcome pertains to questions of **capacities** and **skills**. All of the public sphere is having difficulty hiring. This situation is problematic in the municipalities as they are progressively being placed in charge of larger segments of public policies and are having trouble mobilizing the necessary skills. The Black Economic Empowerment policy has, to a certain degree, caused the flight of some white technical skills. In addition, the skills within other populations, in large part recently trained, are often snatched up by the private sector. Thus, skills are rare within municipalities and the staff often has trouble managing all the subjects. It

should, however, be noted that many municipalities often call on teams of **consultants** to temporarily increase their capacities. This is relatively expensive and produces disparate studies and results that are then difficult for municipal staff to capitalize on.

Lack of skills can also be felt in French municipalities, in particular in small communes such as those in overseas France. Some tools exist to establish satisfactory urban developments, but they are not always used by the municipalities. **Planning agencies** — such as APUR⁵¹ for the city of Paris or AGORAH⁵² for all of Reunion Island — serve as support for municipalities to carry a strategic vision of urban development. They ensure continuity of action and are fully at the service of the public authorities; their capital is often shared among several levels of government.

8.4.2. Parallel with the Management of Municipalities in France and Reunion Island

A Municipal Initiative

In France, responsibility for urban development and building housing for low-income populations belongs to the municipalities. Since the wave of decentralization in 1982/83, cities have been in charge of managing and planning their own development. In some cases, communities of agglomerations or inter-commune groups can be assigned development responsibilities for reasons of capacities and above all adequacy with the urban territory.

Semi-Public Development Companies

To fulfil their responsibilities, municipalities may rely on their staff and also on the planning agency when one exists for the strategic vision. For more operational aspects, they may rely on development companies and more specifically on semi-public companies (SPCs) specialized in urban development. SPCs emerged in France at the start of the twentieth century, notably to allow for housing construction. Starting in the

51. Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (Paris urbanism workshop).

52. Agence pour l'Observation de La Réunion, l'Aménagement et de l'Habitat (agency for the observation of Reunion Island, development and housing).

1950s, and in a more complete manner since the decentralization in 1982, many SPCs have specialized in the field of urban policy and development. Many SPCs are also used to manage specific urban services, such as public transit. SPCs are companies whose capital is mostly public but also includes a share of private investment. The majority of shareholders remains public, often the city or the state or other public governments. On Reunion Island, there are numerous property development companies initially specialized in the construction of social housing that now have more general urban development activities, as well as semi-public development companies.

A Territorial Approach

When a municipality wishes to develop a neighbourhood — renovate an old neighbourhood or build a new urban project — it can do so itself or produce specifications (95% of cases) and entrust the project to a development company. It has recently become mandatory to open its offer to competition but it is still generally the SPCs, used to working in the territory, that take charge of implementing the project. It is frequent that the municipality classifies the zone concerned as a **Zone d'Aménagement Concertée** (ZAC, concerted development zone). This classification is a legal tool that gives the municipality greater freedom in subdividing the land and in fund management. In the case of general interest projects, ZAC classification is often combined with a **Déclaration d'Utilité Publique** (DUP, declaration of public usefulness), which gives the commune large expropriation powers. This territorial approach to urban development that consists of identifying a territory and reflecting on its development makes it possible to analyze how the surrounding settlements operate, determine urban needs, and integrate the various urban functions.

Functional Diversity and the Search for a Balanced Bottom Line

Thus, the city or development company is in charge of the urban development of a zone as a whole: from the acquisition of land to planning the various types of housing, public spaces, economic activities, and the sale of land. In financial terms, this notably allows for multiple financing. The development operation must be financially balanced. For instance, if the commune wishes to produce social housing, it can sell land to social donors at low cost, and then pay itself by selling land at higher prices for shops, economic activities or even high-end housing. This technique in some way echoes what

the South Africans call **cross-subsidies**, a term used to designate the construction of RDP and bonded houses within the same project, notably to improve the level of infrastructure.⁵³

Manage Urban Development

When it comes to urban development, entrusting one body over the long term with conducting an urban project as a whole theoretically allows for reflection on urban design and allows one to coordinate all urban functions necessary for the settlement to function properly. When it is not a municipal urban development initiative, the commune must decide whether or not to deliver the building permit. This allows it, if it wishes, to guide its development, apply a strategy, and control development and construction.

8.4.3. A Pertinent Scale for a Multi-Sector Approach

The municipal government seems to be the appropriate public link to manage city development and city shape. In South Africa, a tendency to transfer more responsibility to large municipalities to allow them to conduct their own development and best integrate poor populations in the city seems to be emerging.

53. See the Cosmo City project (Part Three, section 9.3.5.).

Toward Greater Integration of Public Policy

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The new housing policy, *Breaking New Ground*, shows a determination by the government to lean toward “sustainable”, “integrated” and “compact” urban landscapes. In his article “Unravelling the Different Meanings of Integration: The Urban Development Framework of the South African Government” (Harrison *et al.*, 2003, chapter 8), Edgar Pieterse defines the various meanings of the word ‘**integration**’ in South African public policy. According to him, it can designate:

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- either a more coordinated and cross-cutting method of governance;
- or greater attention given to participation by populations;
- or the three pillars of sustainable urban development — social, economic and environmental aspects;
- or finally, consideration of different urban functions.

The South African government shows, at several levels and through various initiatives, the determination to allow struggling populations to enter the urban space and not remain excluded as they were during apartheid. To succeed in this, it is

developing urban development initiatives that are integrated in all meanings of the word. Here are some of these initiatives,⁵⁴ presented according to the level of government concerned.

9.1. An Increasingly Favourable National Framework

When apartheid ended, the government of South Africa wished to set up relatively ambitious programmes to favour populations that had suffered during apartheid and be able to completely modify the way cities developed. Fourteen years after the end of apartheid, development schemas have not lived up to expectations in regard to the integration of low-income populations in cities. As soon as the major public policy decisions were made, criticisms emerged from university researchers, think tanks, and NGOs. It is interesting to see that in South Africa the world of research and the government interact heavily, and that governments often call on academia to evaluate and improve their public policies.⁵⁵ For several years now, the first results of public policies have been visible and can be analyzed. For this reason, we are now seeing a new dynamic within the government authorities who are seeking to learn the lessons from past years.

9.1.1. *Breaking New Ground*

Despite the lack of a national urban policy, urban stakes can clearly be seen in intellectual debate and show through in other policies. One must first mention, yet again, *Breaking New Ground* (BNG), a Department of Housing initiative that aims to produce living spaces and not merely housing. BNG insists on the importance of developing rental solutions, creating more social facilities, and densifying human settlements. In some provinces, BNG has been transposed on the provincial level in the form of more operational documents. Western Cape Province has drafted *Isidama*, a document applying the principles in BNG to Western Cape Province. *Isidama* proposes eight

54. See Appendices 3, 4 and 5 for the location of the various projects.

55. Either to conduct studies and propose possible improvements, or as direct hires. For instance, the city of Johannesburg recently recruited Philip Harisson, a reputed researcher in the field of urban planning.

concrete objectives including clarifying existing programmes, developing municipal capacities, and coordination among the various sectoral departments. The municipality of Tshwane (Pretoria) has also wished to apply BNG's principles: this has led to the elaboration of a strategy that is not yet being implemented because it is innovative and too difficult to integrate in the municipal teams' operations.

Generally speaking, BNG proposes to diversify the use of current housing production tools and improve them. To do so, it created **new mechanisms** such as the Restructuring Grants and the Restructuring Zones for social housing, the generalization of in-situ upgrading for informal housing. But above all, BNG made it possible to disseminate widely among all public actors a criticism of past policies and **principles** for harmonious and more calculated urban development.

9.1.2. Inclusionary Housing

The Department of Housing is currently working to draft a policy that seeks to foster **social diversity**, the Inclusionary Housing Policy. This policy advocates the development of residential zones for a wider variety of households. Two new instruments are proposed. The first mechanism is **incentive** in nature and relies on initiative by the government that decides to make public land available and asks a private promoter to develop a residential project that includes a high percentage of affordable housing (for ownership or rental). The second mechanism is **regulatory** in nature and obliges, via development rights and zoning, all promoters of residential zones to include a minimum (between 10% and 30%) of affordable housing. It is still only a draft policy that relies, notably for the regulatory provision, on the draft of the Land Use Management Act currently under revision.

France also has a regulatory obligation in regard to social housing. Each commune must have a territory-wide total of at least **20% social housing**. This way of imposing social diversity differs from inclusionary housing in that it applies on the scale of the commune. It is up to the municipality to determine a strategy to attain this 20% social housing and decide how and where it wants to develop it. One should also note that some communes come closer to 60% or 70% social housing, such as the city of Trappes in the Yvelines department southwest of Paris, while other communes still have less than 20%.

9.2. Operational Initiatives by National and Provincial Governments

9.2.1. Strengthening Centralities in the Townships: The Urban Renewal Programme

Objectives

In 2001, the Department of Provincial and Local Governments⁵⁶ launched a programme to improve the **urban environment** in the townships, the Urban Renewal Programme. This **ten-year presidential programme** aims to reduce poverty in disadvantaged zones by improving coordination in terms of urban investments. Eight urban hubs were selected throughout South Africa, including Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town, I-N-K (Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwa-Mashu) in Ethekwini, and Alexandra in Johannesburg.

The Alexandra Renewal Programme (ARP)

The project began in 2001 and was taken over by a new team in 2005, directed by Julian Baskin, and bringing together in the same office the **provincial and municipal teams**. This way of running the project makes it possible to better coordinate the levels of government and have only one team in charge of all aspects of urban development: roads, networks, schools, public spaces, housing, etc.

In addition, the project relies on an association of various communities, the Alexandra Development Forum, and on the ward councillors to ensure **ongoing dialogue with the populations**. This notably allowed the project team to get the population to accept re-housing priorities: in order to build a school accessible for all, the households occupying informal housing on the land chosen for the school were displaced and re-housed in priority. In terms of housing, **innovative solutions** are used in large part to eradicate informal housing in the area. First, it is a “block by block” approach to different informal groups. Then, the housing solutions built and offered to the populations are

56. The National Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG).

Photo 14.
School Built as Part of the Alexandra Renewal Programme



Photo credit: Alexandra Renewal Project.

Photo 15.
Two-Story RDP House with an Additional Room to Rent Out



Photo credit: Alexandra Renewal Project.

diverse and original: rental housing ensembles (individual rooms with shared bathrooms), two-story RDP houses to increase density, and even groups of RDP houses with additional rooms to rent out.

Follow-Up and Generalization

The first aim of the Urban Renewal Programme is to improve the urban environment and have an impact on people. This is, to a certain degree and depending on the location, in the process of being accomplished. The funds specially available for this programme are considerable and allow numerous investments in urban facilities. The second objective of the programme is to propose and test new forms of governance that integrate all sectors to avoid the silo mentality and adopt a geographic approach. This second objective seems to have functioned more or less well depending on the location. The ARP is very encouraging, in part thanks to the project team, but the echoes from the Khayelitsha project are more measured: a lot of financing and facilities built but little coordination and urban connection to existing settlements. This is probably due in part to the political disagreement between Western Cape Province, in charge of distributing the funds in various sectors, and the city of Cape Town, supposed to more territorially implement the project. In addition, the financial mobilization around these projects is strong and difficult to make widespread. That fact that these zones continue to be favoured in this way also generates much debate. Because of this, it is currently difficult to say whether these projects can serve as models and be replicated on a larger scale.

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9.2.2. An Ambitious and Controversial Residential Project: The N2 Gateway in Cape Town

Objectives of the Pilot Project

Pilot projects were launched to implement Breaking New Ground and more specifically the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme sub-section. The N2 Gateway site was chosen because it contained a large stretch of shacks located along the N2 highway from the airport to the Cape Town city centre. The aim with this project was also to test **informal housing improvement** mechanisms by adopting a geographic approach. The project began in January 2005.

Implementation

The N2 Gateway was supposed to be the occasion to implement **operational cooperation between the three spheres of government**. The Department of Housing was supposed to provide support and general guidelines, Western Cape Province was supposed to provide financing and take charge of construction, and finally the city of Cape Town was supposed to be the project's contracting authority. However, for legal reasons, the municipality was not able to manage the entire project, notably when it came to the balance sheet and financial flows. Since it was a national project that was supposed to serve as an example and be executed as **rapidly** as possible, the municipality was pushed aside and the project was entrusted to Thubelisha Homes, a national body in charge of developing RDP and then BNG houses for the Department of Housing. At this time, the project is still underway: for now, the first housing segments, notably social housing, have been built (photos 16, 17, 18 and 19).

Difficulties Encountered and Debates Raised

The initial idea was to re-house some of the inhabitants on site by offering dense housing solutions and displacing some inhabitants to a zone called Delft located a little way away. The objective was to develop Delft as written in the city's Spatial Development Framework to strengthen a second city centre in Cape Town and thus create a multi-hub city. However, with the change of the municipal team, the city's development strategy evolved and Delft was no longer seen as a development potential but rather as a zone even further from the city centre. Generally speaking, the fact that the **municipality** was not involved as had initially been planned worked against the project. It found itself torn between scheduling imperatives, Thubelisha Homes' search for financial balance, and a lack of local relays to ensure proper implementation of the programme.

This highly publicized project is presented as an example of an integrated development operation, but also generates a great deal of discontent. There have been numerous **protests** by the inhabitants from the informal housing zone targeted by the project: some refused to be moved far from their jobs and others already installed in social housing boycotted their rents. The project was launched rapidly and probably lacked a long people's **consultation** phase and a search for suitable solutions.

Photos 16, 17, 18 and 19.
N2 Gateway Project



- 1: BNG row houses
- 2: two-story BNG house
- 3: social housing
- 4: temporary transitional housing

Photo credit: Fanny Hervé.

Warren Smit, who wrote the article “Le grand projet N2 Gateway, une exclusion des pauvres” in Alain Dubresson and Sylvly Jaglin’s book *Le Cap après l’apartheid. Gouvernance métropolitaines et changement urbain* explains some of the project’s difficulties by the ambiguous nature of its objectives: “**The policies implemented in South Africa are hybrid, combining neo-liberalism and social democracy**”.

9.3. Municipal Initiatives

9.3.1. An Original Type of Municipal Management: Area-Based Management

On the municipal level, strategic reflection on the development of each city is imposed by the Integrated Development Plan. It must ensure inter-sector collaboration

and a comparison of objectives and financial resources. Not all cities make the same use of their IDPs. Some cities, like Ethekewini (Durban), have relatively elaborate urban development management strategies; the city of Ethekewini is working to plan its urban development on several timelines, from a 70-year reflection to a 5-year plan in the IDP. This municipality is one of the cities that has recently implemented an experimental management programme: Area-Based Management (ABM). The programme identifies **specific municipal teams** for five test zones (making up 50% of the city). Each team is responsible for the urban development of a coherent territory and must manage all the services in that territory in a coordinated manner over the long term. Each zone was chosen according to the specific challenges that it must face.

One of the zones is **I-N-K** (Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwa-Mashu), named after three neighbouring townships east of the city centre. This zone also corresponds to one of the projects in the Urban Renewal Programme, whose funds and actions are directed by the same municipal team of approximately ten people in all. This type of management allows the municipality to reflect on the scale of the project's territory, which is adapted to the stakes. Furthermore, this makes it possible to manage the various urban services in a coordinated manner.

Another zone is **Cato Manor**, located barely seven kilometres from the city centre. The population in this zone had been chased away during apartheid and, in the 1980s, the zone was invaded by informal housing. Cato Manor is also the site of another pilot project in the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme. The municipal team must ensure the improvement of shantytowns and must systematically find suitable re-housing solutions within Cato Manor. The same team is in charge of the development of new land, facilities and public spaces, and housing programmes; this allows for continuity of action. The area-based management approach is also being tested in other smaller cities, and represents the municipalities' determination to improve the integration of areas and struggling populations.

9.3.2. Geographically-Targeted, Long-Term Rehabilitation Programmes: The Renewal of Urban City Centres

Since the 1960s and more particularly throughout the 1980s and 1990s, city centres have been declining; populations fled the city centres and this flight was

followed by the arrival of illegal squatters. This reality in the largest South African cities has generated renovation actions by various actors and has mobilized over time and in specific geographic zones community and municipal organizations. The examples of Johannesburg and Cape Town illustrate this.

In 1991, property values in the **Johannesburg city centre** had dropped considerably and this worried several of the actors concerned. The municipality, inhabitants' communities and private investors came together in a large workshop, which resulted in 1992 in the creation of the **Central Joburg Partnership (CJP)**, a tri-lateral organization. CJP concentrates on research on the economic and sociological causes of urban decay. After this, various bodies successively carried the city centre's interests⁵⁷ until the creation of the **Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)**, an independent municipal body that took care of the city centre only for two years and now intervenes throughout the municipality. In terms of production, large infrastructure projects were first launched with public funds, such as Mandela Bridge. Then, the private sector invested in improving the urban environment (notably Gandhi Square, a transit platform) and generated larger investments in certain neighbourhoods. Today, the city centre zone is once again managed by a municipal team that seeks, notably via Social Housing Institutions, to renovate rundown buildings and create affordable housing in the city centre. Unfortunately, these renovations have often led to the expulsion of squatters; the municipality was recently brought before the courts, and for the past year, it has been obliged to offer re-housing solutions in the city centre.

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In **Cape Town**, the **City Improvement District (CID)** mechanism is mostly used.⁵⁸ The CID is a (legally supervised) group of private investors that pay additional taxes to ensure better maintenance of the surroundings in a given zone (more waste removal, more security police, additional parking systems, etc.). There are fifteen CIDs in the city of Cape Town. The city centre CID, the **Cape Town Partnership (CTP)**, was created in 1999 and is the largest. In nearly ten years, approximately 170 buildings in the city

57. The Inner-City Development Forum, created as a consultative body for the three communes concerned, worked to elaborate a re-development strategy that all the actors would share and accept. Then, in 1996, an agency in charge of production and operational implementation was created within the municipality, the Inner City Office.

58. The CID mechanism is also used in Johannesburg's city centre and other neighbourhoods where there is economic activity.

centre have been renovated and a degree of functional diversity (residential, economic and tourism) has been created. CIDs have the status of coordination agency belonging to the city, province and community of owners. The Cape Town city centre now has a fairly good reputation. The Johannesburg city centre is much larger and the stakes are more complex but the improvements are visible. Many hope to be able to circulate freely throughout the city centre soon.

9.3.3. A Programme Focusing on the Urban Environment

An interesting initiative was launched by the city of Cape Town and KfW⁵⁹ in the city's largest township, Khayelitsha. A project team was formed with consultants and municipal employees to improve the urban environment in more than one third of Khayelitsha and seeks to lower violence there. The project is called **Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU)**. In 2002, a feasibility study was launched for the entire zone concerned. According to the project leader, Michael Krause, enough money and subsidies were available and the challenge was above all to **coordinate the various sectors** among themselves to invest in facilities and build on relevant sites in function of the existing urban landscape (traffic flows, spontaneous public spaces, etc.) and to generate **ongoing dialogue** with and sustained mobilization by inhabitants.

9.3.4. A Motivating Public Transit Policy

The lack of public transit in large South African cities has long been worrisome. For this reason, and spurred on by the arrival of the soccer World Cup in 2010, **Gauteng Province** recently began to implement a public rail transit system, the **Gautrain**, to connect the city centre to the northern section of Johannesburg. In addition, the **city of Johannesburg** is building an extensive bus network (the **Bus Rapid Transit system**, BRT) for the entire metropolitan area. This project is carried by a special unit of the municipality. Numerous actors still doubt the feasibility of this BRT system because the collective taxi lobby is very powerful. Nevertheless, these two initiatives should in theory irrigate the city of Johannesburg with public transit. Two years ago, the municipality of Johannesburg's **planning department**, strongly supported by City

59. KfW: Germany's financial cooperation agency.

Hall, initiated the elaboration of **precinct plans** for approximately twenty “challenged” zones in Johannesburg. Two types of zones are primarily studied: future urban hubs due to the arrival of public transit, and disadvantaged zones. These precinct plans are very detailed and make it possible to amend the current planning scheme (zoning) rapidly. In addition, these documents then apply to all **other sectoral departments** (transportation, housing, the environment, economic development). In theory, the precinct plans are elaborated jointly with the other municipal departments. However, the various departments’ differing priorities and capability problems sometimes complicate coordination. Despite these difficulties, this initiative reveals coordination between a transportation policy and settlement development with social objectives.

9.3.5. Municipal Initiatives Managed and Financially Balanced by Private Promoters

Several consequential public-private partnerships have recently emerged in the field of urban development. In Johannesburg, **Cosmo City** is a pilot project under Breaking New Ground and has received considerable media attention.

“Cosmo City is the first fully integrated housing development in South Africa, providing housing for the full economic spectrum group in the same human settlement.”
Basil Read Developments Advertisement

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It is a partnership between the city of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, and several private promoters including Basil Read Developments. The land was acquired by the government and then entrusted as a whole to the private sector to develop a mostly residential project for different categories of households. The aim was to re-house two informal settlements located near Cosmo City, Zevenfontein and Riverbend. Thus, one project is building the various forms of housing offered by the government: BNG houses, credit-linked houses, bonded houses and social housing.

All the types of housing are represented but they are grouped by category and the various blocks are separated by roads and green spaces. Combining the various types of housing and seeing project management be carried throughout the territory and duration of the project by one private actor is a noteworthy innovation in how spaces are created for low-income populations. In this way, the promoter can generate cross-

Photos 20, 21, 22 and 23.

Cosmo City



Photo credit: Tamlyn and Dylan Little, Tyme Photography.

subsidies — that is to say take advantage of the construction of a large number of bonded houses sold at non-negligible prices to prepare land and develop infrastructure of equivalent levels in the BNG house zones, which habitually only receive the minimum level. The public facilities are also designed and planned by the same private team. Cosmo City is located very close to two former informal housing zones, but activity zones are not being built alongside it as it is a residential project.

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A public-private partnership has also begun in Ethekwini. **Bridge City** consists of public land allocated to a private promoter to build an economic development zone between townships. The project is located between several townships including I-N-K (Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwa-Mashu) and aims to create a centre point and economic opportunities in the zone. The Bridge City programme consists of a large shopping mall, offices, and fairly high-end rental apartments. It is clearly not in the promoter's financial interest to develop social diversity; however, this project — and this is the municipality's desire — should help vitalize this area mostly utilized to house populations with low and very low incomes. This same type of debate arose somewhat in France with the recent opening of development concessions to competition. For all these development

operations, municipalities must issue a call for tender open to SPCs and private development companies. It seems logical that the objectives will not be attained in the same way, but it is up to the municipality to make that call in function of the specific situation and urban needs.

Despite the housing-based approach mostly used by the government in how it builds living spaces for needy populations, initiatives to offer mixed-use solutions focusing on the populations' needs and on territorial coherency are emerging at various levels of government. This is happening thanks to the new direction in the national housing policy, but also thanks to increased assumption of responsibility by the municipalities and the determination to create integrated settlements.

Conclusion

Nearly fifteen years ago, a new democratic government took the head of South Africa with its heavy legacy on the spatial and notably urban level. The public policies that have been conducted until now to provide urban solutions for disadvantaged populations have not managed to reverse apartheid's separate development. The shape of large South African cities may seem worrying in regard to the objectives of social cohesion. Some authors even go so far as to say that the post-apartheid policies have increased the urban fragmentation apartheid created. As for the primary reasons for this failure, one must, among other things, emphasize the lack of spatial planning, the sectoral approach to the delivery of services including housing, the limited involvement of the state to control urban development, and finally the complexity of the relationships between the three spheres of government. In addition, the weakness of participatory mechanisms for projects involving poor populations and above all the municipalities' difficulty carrying the long-term urban development strategies to envisage for poor populations — not only the granting of decent housing, but rather functional settlements integrated in the urban fabric — are major handicaps.

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Planning and restructuring cities requires a long-term vision, and policies are continuously evolving. South Africa is a recently democratized society that has a vitality and spirit of initiative aiming to improve the situation for numerous poor households in the cities. The lack of a national framework determining urban policies and the large role of the private sector in building the urban landscape have not prevented the emergence of very promising initiatives. Several policies and projects build on what is already in place — multi-centre city, evolution of urban centrality in townships and informal settlements — and seek to re-balance these settlements when it comes to urban facilities, transportation and sometimes jobs.

Only strong political commitment, relayed on the municipal level and by civil society, will make it possible to generate solidarity and urban cohesion. Although numerous difficulties remain to be overcome and the timelines considered are long, it appears that initiatives carry a vitality and determination to allow suitable urban settlements for poor populations and create more inclusive cities. Additional research is therefore necessary, in particular on public policies targeting the economic integration of disadvantaged populations.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABM	Area-Based Management
AFD	Agence Française de Développement
AGORAH	Agence pour l'Observation de la Réunion, l'Aménagement et de l'Habitat (agency for the observation of Reunion Island, development and housing)
ANC	African National Congress
ANRU	Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (national urban renovation agency)
ARP	Alexandra Renewal Programme
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BNG	Breaking New Ground
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CBD	Central Business District
CDC	Caisse des Dépôts et des Consignations (bank of deposits and escrow)
CID	City Improvement District
CJP	Central Joburg Partnership
COPE	Congress of the People
CTCHC	Cape Town Community Housing Company
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DA	Democratic Alliance
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DoH	Department of Housing
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government

DTA	Directive Territoriale d'Aménagement (territorial development directive)
DUP	Déclaration d'Utilité Publique (declaration of public usefulness)
EPCI	Etablissement Public de Coopération Intercommunale (public inter-communal cooperation establishment)
FRAFU	Fonds Régional d'Aménagement Foncier Urbain (regional urban land development grant)
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GPU	Grand Projets Urbains (large urban projects)
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkhata Freedom Party
INK	Inanda, Ntuzuma, Kwa-Mashu
ISUP	Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JHC	Johannesburg Housing Company
JOSHCO	Johannesburg Social Housing Company
JPC	Johannesburg Property Company
LDO	Land Development Objectives
LES	Logement Evolutif Social (progressive social housing)
MEEDAT	French Ministry of the Ecology, Energy, Sustainable Development and Territorial Planning
MFMA	Municipal Finance and Management Act
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
MOC	Municipal-Owned Company
NASHO	National Association of Housing Organisations
NHFC	National Housing Finance Corporation
NIMBY	Not in My Back Yard
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
PADD	Projet d'Aménagement et de Développement Durable (development and sustainable development plan)
PGDS	Provincial Growth and Development Strategy
PHP	People's Housing Process
PLU	Plan Local d'Urbanisme (local urbanism plan)
POS	Plan d'Occupation des Sols (land occupation plan)
PSDF	Provincial Spatial Development Framework
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme

RZ	Restructuring Zones
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAR	Schéma d'Aménagement Régional (regional development blueprint)
SC	Slum Clearance
SCOT	Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale (territorial coherency blueprint)
SDAU	Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement et d'Urbanisme (development and urbanism blueprints)
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SHI	Social Housing Institutions
SPC	Semi-Public Company
SRU	Solidarité et Renouvellement Urbain (solidarity and urban renewal)
TUHF	Trust for Urban Housing Finance
UDF	Urban Development Framework
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading
ZAC	Zone d'Aménagement Concertée (concerted development zone)
ZFU	Zone Franche Urbaine (urban free zone)
ZUP	Zone à Urbaniser en Priorité (zone to urbanize in priority)

Appendices

Appendix 1 : Interviews

Interviews Conducted at AFD from July to August 2008

- Maelis Borghese, Sub-Saharan Africa Division
- Anne Chapalain, Financial Sector and Private Sector Support Division
- Valérie Driot, Local Authorities and Urban Development Division
- Christian Forest, Overseas France Division
- Marie-Laure Garnier, Financial Sector and Private Sector Support Division
- Mustapha Kleiche, Overseas France Division
- Robert de La Rochefoucauld, External Relations Division
- Samuel Lefèvre, Local Authorities and Urban Development Division

Interviews Conducted in Other Structures in France from September to December 2008

- Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, lecturer in geography, Ecole Normale Supérieure Lettres et Sciences Humaines (by telephone)
- Marianne Morange, lecturer, University of Paris 13
- Céline Vacchiani-Marcuzzo, lecturer, University of Reims, UMR Geography-Cities
- Barbara Lipietz-Vidakovic, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), PhD in “Development Studies: ‘Building a “World-Class African city”’: The Politics of World City Making in Johannesburg”

Interviews Conducted on Reunion Island at the End of September 2008

- Laurent Condomines, Head of the Housing, Development and Town Planning Office, Direction Départementale de l'Équipement
- Attila Cheyzzial, Architect
- Jean-Paul Dauber, Director of Development
SIDR (Société Immobilière du Département de La Réunion)

- Jean-Claude Futhazar, Director of the Environment, Development and Major Works Regional Council
- Philippe Jean-Pierre, Director
AGORAH (Agence pour l'Observation de La Réunion, l'Aménagement et de l'Habitat)
- Philippe Lapierre, Chief Executive Officer
SEDRE (Société d'Équipement du Département de la Réunion)
- Jean Massip, Deputy Director General – Infrastructure – Development
CIREST (Communauté Intercommunale Réunion Est)
- Alain Moreau, Deputy Director General of Services; and Florence Desnot, Territorial Development Unit
Le Port City Hall
- Catherine Morel, Director
CAUE (Conseil d'Architecture, d'Urbanisme et d'Environnement)
- Patrice Nairance, Associate
Société Foncière de la Plaine
- Michel Oberlé, Director
ARMOS Indian Ocean (Association Régionale de Maîtres d'Ouvrages Sociaux)
- Christian Papoussamy, Director General of Services
TCO (Territoire de la Côte Ouest)
- Claudine Pounoussamy, Director of Development
Saint-Denis City Hall
- Emmanuel Souffrin
ESOI (Etudes Ethnosociologiques de l'Océan Indien)
- Jismy Soupraynemestry, Chief Executive Officer
SICA Habitat Réunion
- Michel Watin, Professor
University of La Réunion

Interviews Conducted in South Africa in Early October 2008

Johannesburg

- Cedric de Beer, Managing Director; and Jill Strelitz, Business Development Director
NURCHA

- Claire Bénéit-Gaffou, Researcher
University of Witwatersrand
- Adrienne Egbers, COO
NHFC (National Housing Finance Corporation)
- Rory Gallocher, CEO
JOSHCO (Johannesburg Social Housing Company)
- Kirsten Harrison, Executive Manager
Johannesburg Development Association
- Philip Harrison, Executive Director, Development Planning & Urban Management
City of Johannesburg
- Paul Jackson, CEO
TUHF (Trust for Urban Housing Finance)
- Chris Lund
Madulamoho Housing Association
- Alan Mabin, Professor and Head of the School of Architecture and Planning
University of Witwatersrand
- Lebo Mashego, Urban Development Manager
AFHCO
- Sthembiso Mntungwa, Development Officer
City of Joburg Property Company (JPC)
- Mike Mohase, Development Officer; and Juanita Prinsloo, Corporate Affairs Officer
Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC)
- Lindikhaya Mpambani, Acting Executive officer
Servcon Housing Solutions
- Margot Rubin, Researcher and Head for CUBES (Centre for Urban Built Environment
Studies)
University of Witwatersrand
- Joan Stow, Administrator
National Association of Housing Associations (NASHO)
- Danny Vengedasamy, Researcher
Social Housing Foundation
- Edouard van der Linde, Town Planner
Edouard van der Linde & Associates

Cape Town

- Anthony Barnes, Director; and Tania de Waal, Spatial Planning, Environmental Management & Development Planning, Provincial & Local Government
Western Cape Province
- Andrew Boraine, Chief Executive
Cape Town Partnership
- Wynand Ferreira, Project Development Manager
Cape Town Community Housing Company (CTCHC)
- Craig Haskins, Manager, Strategic Information, Strategic Development Information & GIS
City of Cape Town
- Michael Krause, Team Leader
Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU)
- Sophie Oldfield, Researcher, Department of Geographical and Environmental Science
University of Cape Town
- Raynita Robertson, Department of Local Government & Housing
Western Cape Province
- Nazeer Rahbeeni, Operations Manager N2 Gateway Project
Thubelisha Homes
- Warren Smit, Researcher
- Mauritz van den Heever, Associate
Planning Partners
- Myriam van Donk, Director
Isandla Institute

Durban

- Ismail Khalib, CEO
First Metro Housing Company
- Njabulo Maseko, Communications Manager, Cato Manor Area-Based Management Project
City of Ethekwini
- Linda Mbonambi, Area Manager, INK Urban Renewal Programme
City of Ethekwini

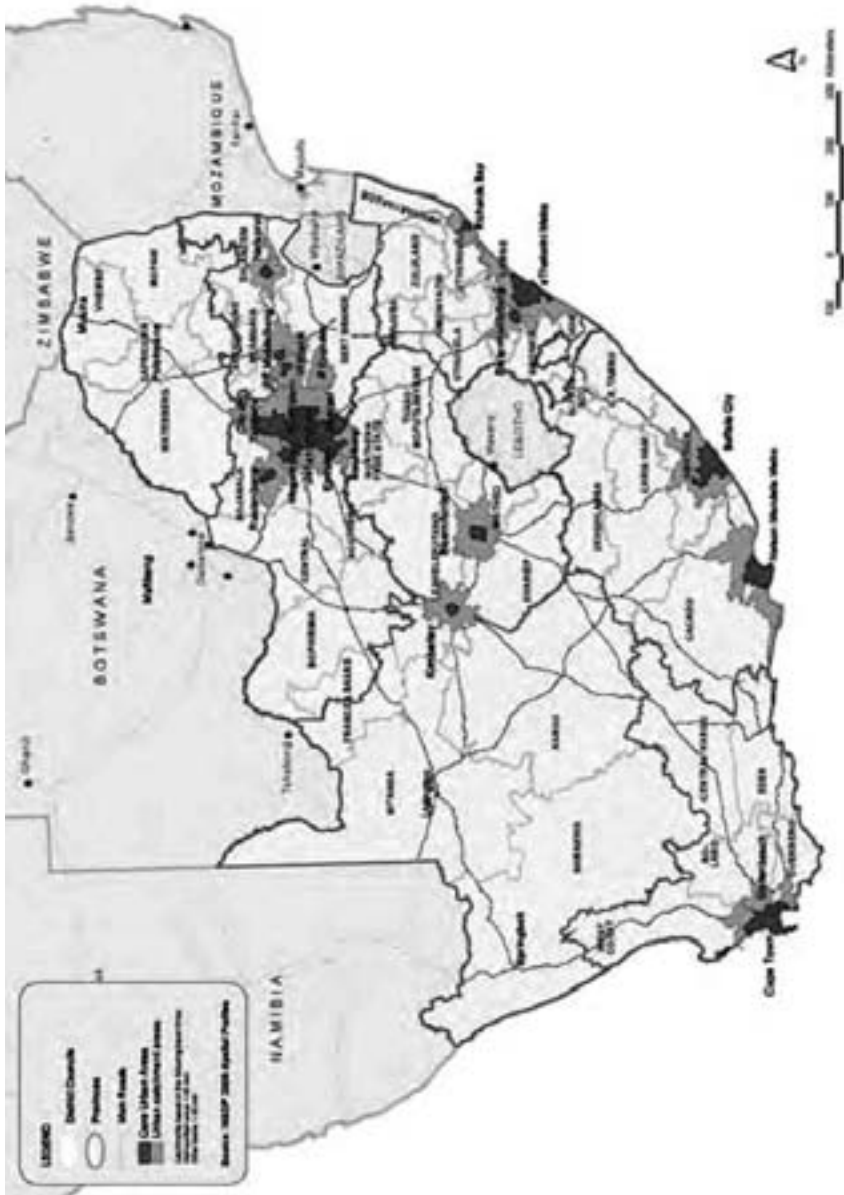
Pretoria

- Revelation Modisenyane, Fund Mobilisation; A. Arendse, Human Settlements Planning; NSS Mahura, Policy; N. Tembani, Rental Housing; M. Nhlapo, Monitoring and Evaluation; Francois Sakata, Fund Mobilisation
National Department of Housing
- Sunday Ogunronbi, Chief Director, Urban Planning & Development
National Department of Land Affairs

Interviews Conducted in South Africa at the End of November 2008**Johannesburg**

- Julian Baskin
Alexander Renewal Programme (ARP)
- Claire Bénit-Gaffou, Researcher
University of Witwatersrand
- Neil Fraser
Urban Inc.
- Graeme Gotz, Central Strategy Unit
City of Johannesburg
- Seana Nkhahke
South African Cities Network (SACN)
- Margot Rubin, Researcher and Head for CUBES (Centre for Urban Built Environment Studies)
University of Witwatersrand
- Kecia Rust
FinMark Trust
- Liana Strydom, Development Planning & Facilitation
City of Johannesburg
- Ahmedi Vawda, Thubelisha Homes
National Department of Housing

Appendix 2: Map of the Principal Urban Areas



Source: State of the Cities Report, 2006.

Appendix 3: Map of Johannesburg and Projects



Source: johannesburg-venues.co.za.

Appendix 4: Map of Cape Town and Projects



Source: www.welt-atlas.de.

Appendix 5: Map of Ethekewini and Projects



Source: safarinow.com.

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