

Inclusive African Cities

Mapping challenges and opportunities in contemporary urban Africa

Overview

The rate of urbanisation has reached unprecedented proportions in the late 20th century getting into the 21st century. 50 % of the world's population will live in cities by 2008. The rate of urbanisation has been the highest in Africa where it has been projected that 46% of Africa's population will live in cities by 2020. Others though have argued that the 50% mark will be reached by 2050. This rapid process has brought about a mixture of opportunities and challenges. On the one hand cities are seen as great places of socio-economic opportunity and it makes it easier for governments to reach a lot of people concentrated in one area with services. There are however huge challenges related to this; Despite been seen as places of opportunity, African cities are currently marked by high levels of inequality, low levels of infrastructure development, slow service delivery and declining job opportunities. Rapid urbanisation is both putting pressure on already scarce resources and bringing diverse groups of people together, making it difficult to manage differing interests and expectations.

Efforts to try to understand the challenges brought about by urbanisation led to the organisation of the 'Inclusive African Cities Conference' which was held on 6 and 7 March 2007 at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. The event was jointly hosted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Human Sciences Research Council, the South African Cities Network, the University of the Witwatersrand, the City of Johannesburg and Urban Land Mark.

Over 150 delegates including city councillors, city officials, development specialists, academics and representatives from non-governmental organisations (NGOs) attended the conference. The conference was held with a view to deepening understanding of how to make rapidly urbanising African cities more inclusive, and how to provide the basis for developing locally appropriate tools for doing so.

The conference saw presentations of international and local discourses on challenges and responses towards addressing the challenges resulting from rapid urbanisation which has led to many urban dwellers feeling excluded from the opportunities presented by the cities. There was also an emphasis on moving beyond dialogue to address just how possible interventions can be implemented by provincial and local government departments, city managers and municipalities. Many presentations were drawn from elsewhere in Africa so as to supplement current development models that often overlook the broader realities of cities across the continent.

The conference aimed to explore inclusion and exclusion through three broad themes:

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

From these diverse presentations, the organisers set out to initiate a process of consolidating concrete criteria and common indicators for inclusion in African cities. These will be published in a book that formalises the outcomes of the conference and strengthens the comparative African approach.

Defining the inclusive city

An “inclusive city” can be defined as:

- A city in which all its people have access to basic services.
- A city where people have access to employment opportunities to engage in productive livelihoods.
- A city that recognises people's cultural rights and provides amenities and public spaces for people to express these rights.
- A city where people can find creative expression in arts and heritage.
- A city where people can showcase their talents and sports and take part in community activities.
- A city that recognises the human capital of all its people and strives to actively enhance this through appropriate programmes.
- A city that cherishes and propagates human rights.
- A city that's proactive in meeting development challenges as well as having the foresight to plan ahead to militate against new challenges.
- A city where people have political freedom and political expression.
- An inclusive city is not only socially cohesive but spatially integrated as well.
- Everyone feels welcome regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, socioeconomic background.

Day One

Tuesday 6 March 2007

In the introductory session, Sithole Mbanga, CEO of the South African Cities Network, described the conference as an interrogation of trends in transformation, particularly an interrogation of the degree to which cities are divided or consolidated. He spoke of the post-apartheid South African experience, which has seen the 2 000 or so former municipalities merged into 284. These new structures have a legislated obligation to develop integrated development plans to integrate the lives of their citizens.

The first day of the conference was designed to give an overview of access to urban resources and infrastructure. Many people migrate to cities to take advantage of the range of services they offer, but these are often difficult for the urban poor to access. The poor are usually confined to the periphery of the city, and so are inadequately connected to opportunities and services.

Presentations explored the extent of material inclusion and exclusion: what strategies do poor households use to access the resources, and what policy responses can increase the urban poor's access to these resources? Themes of discussion included land and housing, security of tenure and spatial integration, and the role of customary law. The economically productive activity of the poor was appraised, as were weaknesses in existing policy models in adapting to and integrating the circuits and linkages of the informal sector. People's lived experiences and narratives were examined, so as to understand different physical, political and cultural spaces. The common meanings and interactions of groups were analysed, as well as the outcomes of these places of diversity – from confrontation, to conflict, to fear, avoidance and exchange. Also discussed were the reasons for the exclusion of certain groups, from those lacking access to or voices in state mechanisms, to marginalised women and migrants.

In the evening there was a tour of Constitution Hill as an example of an urban space with an oppressive history that has been reclaimed for the public. It was also indicated that the accessibility of such spaces and facilities needs to be further enhanced. Cocktails and a light supper followed.

Conference opening and welcome

Session chair: Sithole Mbanga, CEO of the South African Cities Network

Jay Naidoo, chair of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) made the opening remarks, followed by a keynote address on behalf of the executive mayor of Johannesburg by Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza, the member of the city's Mayoral Committee responsible for Community Development.

Introduction and opening remarks: Jay Naidoo

Chair of the Development Bank of Southern Africa

In his opening remarks Jay Naidoo, chair of the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), explained that his institution operates in the entire region of *Southern Africa* - not only South Africa. It focuses on the delivery of basic infrastructure, particularly at a municipal level, but increasingly looks at innovative ways, of providing both communities and the private sector into investments they ordinarily would not have met.

The bank has an interesting model of developing a framework for public-private partnerships in which to get institutions, particularly financial institutions, to invest in public good, using innovate market-based models.

During the 1970s, Naidoo said, "we in the anti-apartheid movement had this debate: What is the site of struggle?" Students saw themselves as the vanguard of the struggle but, in reality, when exams came, the students all went home.

"The proper site of struggle, we discovered, was the community. In the late 1970s we realised that for the struggle to be sustainable we needed to organise communities around bread-and-butter issues, use those issues to politicise the people, and so build a strong community-based movement."

This new focus led to the emergence of civic movements, youth movements, women's movements, and rural movements. "The community became a very, very formidable site of struggle", forming the foundation of the United Democratic Front and the resulting mass mobilisation of people.

The power to change a community lies in the community itself, Naidoo said. "It's not in a bunch of intellectuals sitting in nice executive offices", implying that intellectual debates and policies must be informed by and translate into positive action at community level thus building better communities.

He stressed that the business of the DBSA is social banking - development banking, which should engage communities. Financiers' incentives should not be how many loans they have provided, but how many communities they have helped achieve self-sufficiency. The real issue is "the capacity and the skills we transfer, not how much money we've lent", he said. He further argues however that development banking has to be sustainable banking to avoid running down the institution.

Naidoo then asked: "How did we arrive at where we did arrive, and what are the challenges we still face? What are the lessons we have learned from our past, or may learn from others in the rest of the continent, or the world?"

By 2050 three-quarters of the planet's eight-billion people will live in cities; only a century ago 90% of humanity lived in villages and fields. This dramatic societal shift will shape the character of human relations, our economies, and the environment in which we live and work, Naidoo said. And nowhere else is this shift more significant than in the developing world.

This is the century of urbanisation in the developing world. The 19th and most of the 20th centuries saw migrants flooding cities such as London, New York or Paris. Today, in the 21st century, an average of 64 new residents enter the city of Delhi every hour - more than a person a minute. In Mumbai it's 49 new people an hour, and in Lagos it's 67. London, by contrast, gets a single new migrant every hour.

According to the World Bank, Africa has experienced the most rapid urbanisation in the history of the planet. The bank projects that, by 2020, 50% of Africans will live in cities.

"These statistics are alarming," Naidoo said, "but they could be exciting as well."

Naidoo then addressed the challenge of the apartheid structure of South African cities. "Have we changed the cities?" he asked. "Are the poor living in Houghton? No, they're not. They're still living in Soweto or in Alex and other similarly depressed areas. The majority still live in poverty."

The work of the DBSA must therefore be more than delivering bricks and mortar, Naidoo said. The bank's lending policy is that the money must go to projects that improve infrastructure in areas where the poor live, and it must help create jobs. To get this done, the bank has to consult both its own experts and the communities themselves: "We've got to roll up our sleeves and go into these communities, sit with people, design the projects with them and then provide the technical expertise."

The DBSA created a grant-making fund of some R450-million to help communities and local government develop capacity to write up their integrated development plans. But it soon realised that it was simply funding well-paid consultants who were the ones develop[ing] the plans for local government and its communities. To ensure sustainability the DBSA, in partnership with the National Treasury and the Department of Local Government, launched an initiative called *Siyenza Manje* ("Let's do it now"), which employs project managers, engineers, and financial experts who work systematically over a long period with crisis-hit municipalities, to develop capital projects and systems that ensure sustainability.

The spatial impact of cities on the environment was also highlighted: Naidoo said cities' massive ecological footprint is helping the world self-destruct. He raised the example of the significant intervention of the Supreme Court of India in Delhi into the environmental crisis there. To combat high levels of air pollution, the court ruled that from a set date no cars older than a certain age could run on the roads. There was a huge drive for cars to switch to gas as an alternative and cleaner energy source. He suggested that South Africa's Constitutional Court could function in the same way, and used by social movements to uphold socioeconomic rights. In order to counter high pollution levels, we must regard ourselves as temporary to safeguards of the future.

Jay Naidoo closed by stressing the importance of examining the conference dialogue against the backdrop of the global challenge to the environment. All of us - from communities to academics - should look for solutions, and view the conference as a

platform for multiple perspectives, an opportunity for innovative solutions, bearing in mind that important changes would only be visible in 10 years time, or even longer.

“The access to information and knowledge helped us win the anti-apartheid struggle, and so we must continue this noble tradition so that knowledge can serve our communities and people,” he said.

Keynote address: Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza

Community Development portfolio, City of Johannesburg Mayoral Committee

In welcoming delegates Councillor Nandi Mayathula-Khoza said it was an honour to co-host such an important conference, which she saw as a basis for developing locally appropriate tools for creating more inclusive African cities. She hoped that the reflection on African urban experiences shared at the conference would enrich the global debate around inclusive cities.

Mayathula-Khoza said that in unpacking the term “inclusive city” it should be understood as a place where all residents have access to basic services and employment opportunities; a place where people can find creative expression in arts and heritage, that both recognises and allows space for the expression of cultural rights; and where people can showcase their talents and sports and take part in community activities.

An inclusive city also recognises the human capital of all its people and strives to actively enhance it; is a place where people have political freedom and political expression, no matter what their race, ethnicity, nationality or socioeconomic background; and a place that cherishes and propagates human rights. It is also a city that’s proactive in meeting development challenges, and has the foresight to plan ahead to militate against new challenges.

Given this broad definition, Mayathula-Khoza said it is not the sole responsibility of any city government department to make a city inclusive; it is the responsibility of all social actors and citizens, with local government, as the most accessible institutional sphere of government, being the key driver. She said local government must also be committed to sustainable human development by ensuring that all those who live within its jurisdiction abide by its laws and have a decent quality of life. A significant development challenge to be overcome in this regard is the legacy of apartheid and colonialism. Without inclusive development, cities will remain socially and socioeconomically fragmented. Building an inclusive city is an ongoing process, not an end in itself, she said.

Mayathula-Khoza stressed the importance of strong political leadership in building social cohesion. She cited South African President Thabo Mbeki’s State of the Nation address, which highlighted the need to build social cohesion and the essential need for service delivery. To this end, the South African government has committed itself to finalising a comprehensive and integrated anti-poverty strategy, as well as fostering national unity, value systems, and identity.

The City of Johannesburg which councillor Mayathula-Khoza referred to by way of example has begun implementing a human development strategy in order to fight poverty and inequality, and build social cohesion. The strategy has three directions:

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

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

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

Mayathula-Khoza called on delegates to address critical questions in the course of their conference deliberations:

- How can we collectively and more effectively harness economic growth and build social cohesion in our cities?
- What are the common challenges in harnessing this potential, and how do we address these?
- What lessons can be learned through interventions that have sought to promote diversity and yet address poverty and inequality in the city?

She concluded by encouraging delegates to make their contributions to the conference freely, so that all could benefit from collective experience.

Discussion

Questions from the floor raised the following concerns: Who is leading the process of integration in the cities? How do you move from theory to practice? A participant observed that the market moves much faster than planned initiatives, and so access to land is not resulting in desegregated patterns. Another raised the huge costs of the densification of housing. He argued that in most South African cities, political imperatives to deliver housing rapidly were driving the development of inappropriately designed dwellings that were often expensive and not supported by social services such as health centres.

Councillor Mayathula-Khoza described the flow from theory to practice in her department: Feedback from forums such as this conference, mayoral imbizos and other stakeholder engagement platforms are reported back to the mayoral committee. Responses are fed into the IDP document, as well as the growth and development strategy. Councillors will in turn take these issues back to their communities, NGOs and CBOs, to see if the city can take them forward. And Johannesburg hosts a once-a-year stakeholders' forum to facilitate such input."

Naidoo stressed the private sector's role in implementing projects. He specified banking as an example and how it is obliged to support implementation by the financial services charter. The DBSA is a catalyst for this private sector investment, as it provides a financial model where it acts as an anchor and provides security on returns. He used a project example where DBSA collaborates with other banks and proposes a rate of return lower than the commercial bank and both parties put in money to finance the project. Naidoo said the state could help with incentives such as supply-side measures, or by going into partnerships with the private sector, as with the Gautrain. "We must crowd in the private sector," he said. He proposed that an innovative solution to the high cost of housing development could be to put the huge pension fund surpluses in a housing bond, to bring down costs.

Session 1: Plenary

Inclusion and exclusion in post-apartheid and post-colonial cities

Session chair: Seana Nkhahle

Seana Nkhahle, national programmes coordinator of the South African Cities Network (SACN), began by outlining the two main principles of the session:

- The first is to give a South African perspective. The main input was based primarily on the South African State of Cities Report and aimed to demonstrate what the country's cities have done to try to facilitate inclusivity;
- Secondly a reflection on the state of what other cities on the continent have been doing to achieve inclusivity, in the context of Africa's rapid urbanisation in the post colonial era.

Noting that rapid urbanisation adds complexity to existing challenges, he asked: Are we ready for such challenges? Do we know the perceptions and expectations of urban dwellers? What have we done about issues of social cohesion?

Nkhahle pointed out that even though African cities are growing rapidly in terms of their economies and services which are primarily responsible for attracting migrants in the first place, they are also places of exclusion. South Africa's economic growth rate is almost 5% a year. Cities contribute 70% to this growth; yet over a quarter of their residents live below the minimum standards, leading many migrants to ask, "Where is this gold?" for which Johannesburg is so famous.

"Maybe we can hold each other's hands to make sure that all of us are able to understand and benefit from all this prosperity," Nkhahle said.

Presentation: Sithole Mbanga

CEO of the South African Cities Network

Sithole Mbanga, CEO of the South African Cities Network, presented a summary of the South African Cities Report 2006 as well as other observations from members of the network, which brings together South Africa's nine biggest city municipalities. The report addressed a number of key questions.

Why focus on cities, not municipalities?

A city should be defined by its footprint, which goes beyond its municipal jurisdiction to the areas that provide it with resources and labour. In these terms Mbanga defined a city as an area that collaborates to produce something. While the nine cities in the SACN occupy about 2% of South Africa's land area, they were responsible for about 70% of the gross value add. If you add some secondary cities such as Rustenburg, Mbombela (Nelspruit), Polokwane (Pietersburg) and George, cities make up almost all of South Africa's productivity.

Why a State of the Cities Report?

The State of the Cities Report provides a comprehensive analytical framework, which helps assess the global competitiveness of cities. It also provides a map of the interactions between cities, regions and countries.

One of the shortcomings of the report is its incoherent assessment of changes particularly due to inconsistencies in cities approaches to inclusivity and hence how they all report on it.

The report notes that South African cities have replicated apartheid urban design, in that growth is away from the city centre. Houses are not being built near to places of work and play, so the poor cannot interact with the central places of opportunity in the city. Mbanga noted that the development of inner city housing was a “pocket” of change in this pattern.

In response to this inappropriate rate of change, the report identifies three critical areas which should go a long way in assisting city municipalities to get a firmer grip on tools that can integrate cities and make them serve all their people:

- Availability and use of land to bring people closer to the city
- The ability to deliver sustainable human settlements with access to services
- Mobility of citizens in accessing socioeconomic opportunities

The report revealed that, in comparison to the previous report covering the years 2001 to 2004, the rate of urbanisation has been slower than anticipated, reflected in the fact that major cities are shedding their population to secondary cities.

Mbanga cautioned that the strength of cities is built on the backs of rural migrants, which poses a challenge: urbanising people must have access to economic and social space. City growth currently benefits only certain people, while the vast majority remain trapped in poverty. Mbanga said a key challenge was to ensure that the poor people were able to access this new affluence.

The report reflects a decline in the urban unemployment rate, yet the affluent minority still live alongside the poor majority – evidence of cities' lack of inclusivity. Mbanga said people are not being included in the economic system: while the household Gini Coefficient has been high since 2001, this is not reflected across all areas, and access to banking and insurance is uneven.

In terms of basic services delivery, Mbanga expressed confidence that with the policies and systems that South Africa has put in place the Millennium Development Goals will largely be met, but he cautioned that if people cannot pay for their newly acquired services, the sustainability of the goals will be severely compromised.

Other report findings are that safety and security is uneven from city to city; that there has been a slow increase in confidence in how cities were managed; and that in the 2006 elections, voter turnout under 50% in most cities.

In addition, although townhouse development has increased markedly, and is a form of densification, it has mostly taken the form of sprawl and social polarisation. It is questionable whether it encourages social cohesion.

Turning to transport, the report finds there is minimal use of public transport in cities, probably due to declining quality and increased use of private vehicles. More people have taken to walking and cycling, but this is more from inadequate transport facilities than choice.

The report posed an Emerging Strategic Agenda, with five critical agendas for urban development. All these five areas have a direct bearing towards facilitating inclusive cities. They are: 1) development, 2) growth, 3) finance, 4) services and 5) governance.

Presentation: Makhuku Mampuru

Representing Jean-Pierre Elong Mbassi, secretary-general of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa

Makhuku Mampuru began by explaining the background to the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA), an organisation founded in May 2005 in Tshwane to provide professional support for African cities, towns, villages and regions, with the main objective of ensuring the recognition of local government as a distinct governmental sphere. UCLGA's areas of focus are the post-colonial and post-dual city, the poor city, and the impact of globalisation.

Colonial cities are still stuck with us and unless there are some drastic changes in approach they will not be overcome in the near future Mampuru argued. They should properly be referred to as, colonial and not post-colonial cities. The colonial city centre is still the exclusive preserve of the former colonial class's descendants. The further you move from the city centre the less affluent, more populous, poor and African it becomes. This poses three challenges: how to develop the "African" part, how to retain the "development" of the colonial centre, and how to help the African city compete globally.

Mampuru pointed to the contradiction in African urbanisation: poor people are attracted to the city because they believe they will find of a better life there, yet the African post-colonial city is poor. Most of the urban poor are self-employed in the informal sector; most do not have the wage earnings of formal employment. But unlike their European counterparts, the African urban poor are not in a desperate situation, as their day-to-day survival is not dependent on education and skills.

For African cities to compete on a global scale, regional blocks have developed sometimes at the expense of other blocks. Mampuru suggested that perhaps the Nepad framework could be used to develop five blocks of cities that can force themselves into the global arena.

Presentation: Steven Friedman

Research associate for the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa)

Steven Friedman first responded to Mampuru's presentation, before expounding on the importance of "voice and participation" in the city. Although Friedman agrees that there is a colonial city legacy, the "post-colonial" city does not exist because despite the political changes, the cities that the newly independent state inherited were cities built by colonisers for colonisers. There are "African" and "colonial" parts to these cities, however, even the African parts were built by colonisers. For example, SOWETO is an acronym for South West Townships. This colonial city legacy thus poses a challenge for

new democracies in Africa and its solution lies in “the unleashing of voice and voices in the city”.

Friedman identified various “speaking disabilities” that prevent inhabitants of the post-colonial city from being heard:

- There is a muzzling of voices – Africans are not supposed to speak in the city because they are considered migrants;
- Language is a restriction – it is possible to live on the margins of an African city without being able to have a voice in the city due to language. For example, the dominant languages of Cape Town are English and Afrikaans, while most residents of Khayelitsha only speak isiXhosa.
- Voices are muted – people’s capacity to organise and access public officials and power holders is compromised because they don’t have the common phrases of middle class people.
- Voices are stalled – in order to include people and for them to speak up, they must feel that cities are a space where they can feel at home and where they feel they can speak and be heard.

Therefore, in order to move to non-colonial cities such voices need to be freed and an incremental process needs to be developed whereby such “voiceless” people can influence the progress of cities. He said that the colonial centre of cities can only be retained if there is a process of free political engagement and negotiation, which requires more than simply sitting around a table, but it requires an engagement in open process where the clash of ideas can provide enrichment and deepening of democracy in the city. Friedman said that this is where the quantitative method of social research is inadequate and where a qualitative method is preferable because it captures and understands the many voices. In order to do this, local discussions with people must become the prime method for finding out how to change the city.

Friedman then outlined three approaches for expanding voices in the city: the Community Approach, the Civil Society Approach and the Active Citizenship Approach. He favours the latter.

1. The Community Approach

Much participatory and governance literature stresses the need to include communities in decision-making. The benefit of this approach is that it recognises that if voices are to be heard, people must not be perceived as a collection of individuals who cannot come together and speak. The weakness of this approach is that it ignores extreme differences between people, some of the most fundamental of which are gender and social class. Often the sexes do not share an idea of what is needed. This approach also ignores the fact that there are highly unequal relations of power in communities, and there are people who are dominated and those who dominate: this approach silences those who do not present themselves as spokespersons of the community.

2. The Civil Society Approach

This encourages the different sectors of society that oppose government to come forward and present their different voices. The problem with this approach is that it assumes that voice is available whenever we want it to be, that we can access people whenever we want to. Friedman claimed that it is only those who have resources to get in on the civil society game that have these voices. The other problem with this

approach is that it has a particular way of wanting to hear voices and there is overwhelming evidence that forums muzzle people – this is in terms of who gets onto forums and who does not; it assumes that you can put people in a room for a limited amount of time and get consensus.

3. The Active Citizenship Approach

Friedman acknowledged that the name of this approach is problematic because it assumes you are a citizen if you are born here and therefore can vote, and that this is a form of exclusion since many residents of cities are not citizens with voting rights. There are only four countries in the world that allow non-citizens to vote, Malawi being one on the African continent. Friedman's assumption is that every resident of the city has a right to speak and so the challenge remains to ensure that all who want to speak will be heard. So it is important not to tell people the conditions under which they will be heard, and people must be allowed to speak in a manner in which they want – it is the duty of local government to ensure this.

Presentation: Abdou Maliq Simone

Department of Sociology, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Abdou Maliq Simone criticised the current approach to urbanisation for assuming that cities are run like states when they are in fact different entities altogether. In contrast, Simone called attention to the need to define the relationships between people, places and spaces as a way to find out exactly how urbanisation deploys itself. The prevailing “overarching map” idea of city design overlooks the fact that people are part of multiple networks that cannot be steered in a particular way that designers think is appropriate. For this reason, even when urban planners have clear plans, they seldom work because they are not capturing the essential nature in which people organise themselves through their networks in a city.

Basically the point of this here is that overarching definitions undertaken to attain stability in cities often do precisely the opposite. They're actually producers of instability rather than of stability itself and therefore, rather than conveying stability, often times major urban developments in terms of regulation, in terms of infrastructure, the built environment impart a sense of their own transience and their own constant insufficiency. That is, what's resounding is the sense that they're never good enough, never enough, always increasingly short-lived and having to be changed and renovated again.

He said that there will always remain prolific in-between spaces: always pushing, always under threat, but always a platform for doing something else, always a platform for exceeding the kinds of identities and futures that seem to be incumbent within that particular place, and that they make the urban residents that reside and operate there feel out of place. But feeling out of place is often a useful thing. We give too much emphasis to notions of belonging and emplacement when often times the condemnation of people into a certain place gives them a very limited horizon of what they think they can and can't do. And one thing that has been very evident within many African cities is the way in which urban Africans use the mentality of being out of place, to their advantage.

For this reason, in order to ensure inclusion, the following must be taken into account:

- The ambivalence of density – while this can create fear, avoidance and anxiety, the mingling of different people with different identities also offers dynamism. People can ignore each other in too dense areas and hence hide behind this ambivalence. And for those operating outside of regulations, this is a desirable option. There are always “in-between” spaces and platforms for “doing something else” – while this may make certain urban residents feel out of place, sometimes it is necessary and can be used to advantage of those seeking to operate outside of formal social arrangements.
- There is a clear engineering of constraints in most cities – this takes the form of encampments or being frozen in particular territories. This enables an interweaving of Diasporas and the field gets flooded with intentional ambiguity because if people speak in a language that is misunderstood, they can avoid confinement. Such people embrace speaking the language of flexibility.
- Street economies have affectations, routines, ways of paying attention and sussing out what is a complex environment and these are often the only resources that people have, and it forces people to interact and talk to each other. This is the way such people make a contribution in the built environment; it signals a way or availability for re-making that is not fixed. The issue is whether such actors feel like they can contribute this and whether such skills and activities are recognised and included or not.
- Cities have significant amounts of spaces and infrastructure and services that are under-utilised. It is worth paying attention to how these spaces are being appropriated and used, not by big real estate, but by locals: cellphone battery booths, used cars, pens for sale... Such activities represent economic actors pursuing different deals and trades, and the way they use tactics to connect their own expertise to the multiple activities and identities of others.
- The notion of “intersecting economies” should be used to analyse elaborate and very productive middle-sector economies. It should take cognisance of the many different degrees of licit and illicitness, illegal/legal; and the network of actors who move across these networks.
- “Speculation from below” should be acknowledged – instead of just concentrating on the actions of “big money” people, look at the speculative activities of people on the street. Likewise, planners should pay attention to the high incidence of lateral movement between low-skilled jobs, which are an indication that people are not just trying to earn more money, but are in fact establishing themselves in a repository of different networks. It’s precarious employment, so often people have to move, but equally many move by their own volition as a way of speculating.
- Economically it’s better for the rich and poor to share the same space, so planners must intervene when people are getting too far apart and when they’re in conflict. Strategies should look at how one uses seduction, violence, incentives etc to modulate these situations.

Questions and comments

As chair, Seana Nkhahle noted that Abdou Maliq Simone’s paper raises the question of how we engage in the often complex organic evolution of cities and associated activities encouraging lawlessness, because organic evolution will happen anyway? How do you get the different groups of stakeholders to engage with one another, but how does one translate policy into meaningful action at this kind of coalface on the ground?

Another participant noted that Simone and Friedman's papers seem to be calling for contradictory approaches: Simone points out how people are speaking a different language from policy makers, while Friedman calls for a confident voice. Where does the practitioner go?

Another participant asked that since rural areas finance urban areas, should we not look at a form of affirmative action for rural areas which will ensure that development happens in these rural areas.

A question was posed to Friedman: "If voices must be heard, then by whom – how does voice fit into the broader issues of transformation?"

Simone was asked since he emphasises that people function outside of local government, what must local government do? Which people are brought together? And as a point of clarity, Simone was asked if he was suggesting an all-or-nothing approach: do people want to be heard or not? Don't people want both?

Another participant pointed out that the organic and chaotic nature of cities that Simone described appears peaceful and cohesive, when in fact African cities are characterised by conflict and violence.

A participant observed that since people's activities seem to be beyond planners, where is the place of the planner and the governor? Where does the active citizen sit? If this economy of the poor is not being linked to urban planning, do planning models as they exist now need an overhaul with a healthy dose of anarchy? Perhaps we should speak of villages within cities?

Mbanga suggested that there needs to be a reciprocal relationship between rural and urban. He argued that most city municipalities have to manage a significant rural component too, and he used eThekweni and Buffalo City as examples to demonstrate this. "Make the village and rural inclusive too." He also noted that since cities are places for the contestation of ideas, no one idea should dominate and that there was no place for absolutes. People are different in different spaces because they have different tools and therefore Friedman's differentiation risks being too rigid. Instead he called for a mix of different approaches to maximise responses. "At the end of the day someone has to govern and someone has to take decisions," he said. "There is a place for the planner – rather try to identify the mutual roles they all play. The issue is rather that the planners tend to dominate without acknowledging people's voices and their varied interests"

Friedman observed that presentations such as Simone's are designed to make planners uncomfortable because they have a notion that people are just categories that can be tweaked. He said it's important to realise that politics is chaotic, and that although leaders are important in a democracy, the planning process leaves people out by using specific concepts, and then planners cannot understand why people behave differently. Many approaches erroneously try to straightjacket collective action and local government often has no idea of its impact on processes, so the key for planners is to find out what is going on. "We're not advocating that things descend into anarchy; planners should attempt to be far more attuned to the unpredictability," he said.

He said that he saw no contradiction between his paper and Simone's. He believes that Simone is describing how people are adapting in the only way possible given the unequal positions they have in society because they have no choice. "We're not exalting survivalist strategies. I am saying that victims of social inequality cannot speak or be

heard and therefore voice is important since you cannot address the social inequalities without voice. Obviously there are situations where people do not want to be heard too and we must respect them, but most people do want to be heard – there were 1000 protests in South Africa last year alone,” said Friedman. Regarding violence in African cities, he claimed that contestation is a potential antidote for violence, and cautioned against saying that some people are ready for democracy and others are not.

Simone elaborated on his presentation: “Things are not clear cut and urban residents feel and behave differently about the concrete prospects available for them. Some resist fixed locality, others jump at it. I am not suggesting that we don’t have government, rather that urban spaces are more and more discordant which makes regimes for government difficult since they are unavailable to existing planning methods and discourses. Survival is oversold, the informal sector is oversold, but it is important to realise how important the lower middle classes are ... they wheel and deal all over the place to make a living. So I am suggesting we rather look at how they operate, not as a solution, but to inform planning. It is the adamant holding onto particular planning approach that leads to conflict and violence; an insistence on following a particular model. I worry about our loyalty to certain dispositions in government that do not allow for the real contestation going on. For example, in Kinshasa, the conflict between leading politicians became a money-making scam.” He pointed out that street economies become good at circulating what is already there but not at accessing goods from the outside.

Session 2A

Inclusionary access to land

Session chair: Mark Napier

Discussant: Steven Berrisford

Mark Napier from Urban Land Mark opened the session with a definition of an inclusive city based on the previous day's presentations: an excellent short definition is it's a city in which residents and visitors feel welcome and can identify with its social and economic fabric. He then noted that a quarter of South Africans do not have permanent tenure.

Napier summarised the Development Bank's outlining of inclusivity as being about stimulating economic growth with a social agenda, and crowding the private sector into that social agenda. He noted that, inclusive cities for Steven Friedman was about hearing voices and responding to those voices and letting people express themselves in ways which they found best, and then designing government to be responsive to that.

He paraphrased Abdou Maliq Simone's definition of inclusive cities as being about utilising opportunities that are presented by density and chaos. He noted the Namibian examples of how inclusive cities are about civil society groups demanding and getting better land. He said it's about recognising local institutions, about the ways that people do things themselves, and then trying to incorporate that into the legal system. And he said it's about recognising the contribution of the poor so that you don't just give the poor cheap land because you view them as unproductive. Overall, inclusive cities are about coping with the multiple layers of land management and exchange. He cautioned against the dangers of stereotyping identities for consumer purposes and said he preferred to see the development of a cultural harmony as people form new ways of seeing themselves in an urban situation. He concluded that inclusivity is also about socially acceptable ways of earning a living.

The first paper presented a case study of the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia. Based on rural community-based savings scheme, it has empowered very poor people, women in particular, politically and economically. The success of the savings scheme has provided the members with leverage to obtain government funding, and they have linked up with trans-national organisations doing similar things. It is an impressive model of public-private partnerships happening on a national scale and it has influenced law reform in Namibia. The second paper posited that state and market-based land markets do not work for the poor, but that poor people still access and transfer land in a variety of ways that are unregistered and unsanctioned by the state, that do not follow "the rules of the game". This points to a grey area between inclusion and exclusion where many people find themselves, and conceptually the existing binary classification is inadequate (formal/informal; legal/illegal) for harnessing this active part of the economy. The presenter called for planners to bring the two different approaches together rather than try to "integrate" existing practice into state institutions that are currently not pro-poor. A Nigerian speaker described the situation in Lagos whereby access to land is vested in a dominant class, including the rulers of the country, who gained the land through patrilineal inheritance based on "who was there first", and that a customary ownership exists alongside a private ownership system, often leading to

confusion that is exploited by spurious land vendors who sometimes employ violent means. He described a range of illegal activities at every level of the society and government leading to vigilantism and extortion in extreme cases. It was an example of what happens when there is not formalisation of property and when regulations are not enforced. The final speaker drew attention to the many ways in which township houses have additions and investments as a way of illustrating that poor people use land very productively and exercise high consumption patterns despite falling outside of the official classifications of what is productive activity. The speaker suggested that the contribution of the poor to the economy is undervalued or not recognised at all, and as a result, the government does not apportion land to the poor. He described various theoretical frameworks of economies that reinforce this misconception. He also expressed concern as to whether markets could work for the poor since they are by definition competitive and result in the poor being apportioned smaller units far away from the city centre. Strategies for inclusion of the poor must include their contribution to economic growth.

Paper 1: Securing inclusion: strategies for community empowerment and state redistribution

by Anna Muller and Dorothy Zeazo

Dorothy Zeazo presented her experiences as a representative of the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia. She described how she hails from an impoverished area in the Caprivi area where she and fellow community members started building houses in June last year for themselves and for pensioners who previously lived in shacks. They have designed savings schemes that involve women collecting small amounts of money – anything from five cents to N\$5 – depending on what the household can offer. This money is then pooled to buy land and build houses.

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

Anna Muller explained that while aspects of self-help are present, the importance of this success story lies in its changing relationship with the state and in initiating pro-poor policies that the government now uses as a model. Both speakers stressed the role of learning and networking with local and international groups offered by this initiative, and that all shack dwellers organisations benefited from the exchange. Muller states that this strategy falls outside of the either the market or the traditional welfare approach and demands serious attention.

Paper 2: Land market exclusion? Local land access and transfer institutions

by Lauren Royston

Lauren Royston based her research on work undertaken by two organisations: Development Works and LEAP – Learning Approach to Tenure. Based on an analysis of the many different ways in which urban poor people access land despite having no tenure, and since informality persists, Royston posits that informality is an expression of both market and state failure. She then posed the question: “how functional are local institutions?” She cautioned against ignoring the actions of the poor in accessing land since this would undermine their actions, as would applying the existing “rules of the game” to the lives of the poor, especially for households that earn less than R3500 per month. The formal sector caters for private actors, while the state fails to allocate land; hence a dual economy exists. She described the many alternative ways in which poor people trade in land that are often extra-legal and speculates that these activities cannot and should not be drawn into the formal sector. Instead a new model is needed based on “a continuum of informality”, ranging from registered owners, to unregistered owners on a legally subdivided plot, to the owner of a house on an informally sub-divided plot, to the tenant of a small backyard with formal written agreements, to tenants without formal agreements, to tenants of shacks without written agreements. She urges policymakers to understand this complexity and the diverse rules that characterise land transfer and management. They should recognise the variety of ways in which the poor access land and search for solutions to integration by enhancing the existing institutions used by the poor, and she calls for “effective” markets rather than just “free” markets.

Paper 3: Access to land and urban experience in Lagos: the White Cap Chiefs, the land grabbers and the victims

by Rufus Akinyele, Department of History and Strategic Studies, Arts Faculty, University of Lagos, Nigeria

Rufus Akinyele began his presentation with the chilling fact that 1 000 people enter Lagos daily and that it is the fastest growing city in Africa. As a result, there are many of the attendant problems of rapid urbanisation: lack of water, traffic jams, air pollution and landfills, crime and lack of accommodation. Those who desire permanent residences either come into contact with the White Cap Chiefs who are the heads of the land owning families of Lagos; or are exposed to the chaotic market behaviour of the land speculators and land grabbers. White Cap Chiefs own land on the basis of Yoruba tradition, which entitles those who first arrive on land to own it. This was afforded legal protection under colonial rule as far back as 1862, and hence rulers do not control land access, but powerful landed aristocrats do. Furthermore, in 1865, any land claimed by the colonial administration for public use compelled it to pay compensation. A Land Use Decree of 1978 transferred control of municipal land to state governors, but high opposition from White Cap Chiefs resulted in the government allowing them to own landed property. This has in turn resulted in the continuous sale of land. In the face of the ever-growing demand for land has resulted in “elimination by substitution” which amounts to land speculation and land grabbing. When leases expire, the land comes up for sale, and there are strict rules on leases, which are often exploited in the fine print. Likewise rules exist that can be manipulated by “land grabbers”. For example, if you do not develop land within a specified period after it is purchased, the vendor may re-sell it for a higher price. The vendors, often the White Caps, recruit youth from the high pool of the unemployed to act as land grabbers, and police are often bribed to turn a blind

eye. On the whole, the access to land is determined by the level of integration of individuals into urban Lagos, and most people reside on the fringes of the city. Only those with high income who can afford to buy old houses and demolish and/or renovate them can now be successfully integrated. Lagos has entered into the “Age of Developers and Gentrification”.

Paper 4: Conceptualising the economy to make urban land markets work for the poor

by Colin Marx, Isandla Institute, Cape Town

Colin Marx drew attention to the fact that while cities are considered engines of growth, they inevitably confine this growth to white areas and township dwellers do not benefit. He says that in order to make urban land markets work for the poor it is necessary to re-conceptualise the economy. The task is to “re-place” markets in a different context from the prevailing ones which assume that economic growth will inevitably increase the standard of living of the poor. Since the demand for land is understood by developers and planners to be driven by the demand for economic activities, it is important to recognise poor people’s economic activities or else they will not be allocated land under this model. Since the activities of poor people are perceived by planners as small and survivalist, they are not seen as suitable for buying productive land as it is assumed that they consume whatever they earn and will not use allocated land productively. As a result, poor people lose out on well-located land to industry and commerce. Marx described how many of the existing models of the economy persisted in seeing all poor people’s activities as “consumptive” and not productive. He proposes reconceptualising the economy by looking at the ways in which markets are “performed” and also looking at the ways in which markets are more diverse and less coherent than most assume. Once policymakers include the ways in which poor people are economically active, and by shifting the current view of how urban land markets are bound to processes of economic growth, it becomes possible to imagine and justify a transformative agenda through which markets can be made to work for the poor.

Discussion

The papers focused on different scales, but all showed how complex the issue is and that if urban land is to be made available to the poor, this complexity must be taken into account. While Royston referred to the “institutional rules of the game”, Akinyele described a situation with no rules in Lagos and that South African concepts do not work there. Royston’s position that integration does not simply mean incorporating one side into another begs the question: how does this change? Muller’s paper describes a program that is extremely beneficial for households, but significantly dependent on donors and government. It poses the following questions: What are the partnerships that must be formed? What conceptual leaps are needed for poor households to get a better life? Colin Marx calls on us to think differently about land and asks: “How does a portion of land perform, and for whom does it perform?”

Session 2B

African urban identities

Session chair: Caroline Kihato

Discussant: Abdou Maliq Simone

Four papers were presented. One paper on the role of literature in Nigerian society showed how greed and corruption are practised by certain segments of society. This corruption has led to under-development of the cities, in particular, to the detriment of the country's citizens. Another paper looked at cosmopolitan and homogeneous elements of African societies, postulating that cosmopolitanism would be advantageous as a buffer against racism, and encourage cultural freedom. The third paper looked at consumerism, stereotyping and the ordinary citizen, concluding that consumerism leads to stereotyping and negates all the other subtle influences on individuals. The last paper of the session outlined how Douala in Cameroon, dating back several centuries, had developed as an ethnically inclusive city until the 1990s when party politics divided the many communities of the city into separate ethnic groupings, thus leading to a less harmonious city.

Paper 1: People of the city: Politics and the urban experience in contemporary Nigerian literature

by Gbemisola Adeoti, Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife Ife, Nigeria

Gbemisola Adeoti asked the question: "How have Nigerian writers, most of whom grew up in, get educated and earn their living in cosmopolitan centres, fictionalised urban experience and re-presented its socialisation processes in their works?"

He premises this question on the basis that literature reflects the experiences of everyday life in Nigeria, particularly in the large cities. A common theme in the literature is the portrayal of the greed and corruption of politicians, civil servants and business leaders in their desire to accumulate more money and status. "Literature provides analysis of Nigeria's socio-political predicaments in a manner and to an extent that cannot be ignored," he said. As a result, "the city promises easy life of power and pleasure with flashy cars, expensive habitats, fine clothes and other mouth-watering indices of a "better life".

Adeoti listed a number of Nigerian authors, indicating a prolific writing community grappling with the crises that people encounter in the city: Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, PJ Clar, Christopher Okigbo, John Munonye, Ken Saro Wiwa, Flora Nwapa, Mabel Segun, Odia Ofeimun, Femi Osofisan and Niyi Osundare. He quoted from their works to demonstrate how characters change as a result of their move from the countryside to the city, learning new rules of survival, some of them very extreme. "Some adopt the desperate means like kidnapping and using human beings as sacrifice to attain wealth and influence." He suggests that despite various regimes, Nigeria has suffered under austerity measures and structural adjustment programmes which have meant cutbacks in government spending, resulting in "the negligible expansion in public infrastructures to cope with expanding demands, and the utter neglect of existing ones".

In their different forms and genres, the writers have depicted through their fiction the deep-seated sociopolitical problems now evident in Nigerian society: "from the rolling-back the state ethos of structural adjustment economics to the liberalisation and down sizing imperative of privatisation, from the absolutism of military governance to the exclusions in the democratic dispensation". He says it's the ordinary citizen who is the loser, and whose sense of exclusion from the city is compounded by these corrupt practitioners. The end result is the neglect and decay of infrastructures, inadequate provision of education and health services, insecurity, high waves of crime, congestion in accommodation and pollution. He says that literature provides a means to get "a greater understanding of the complex nature of urban experience in the ever-changing socio-economic and political context of Nigeria".

Paper 2: Cosmopolitan verses homogeneity: emerging opposites in the global Africa cities

by Laury Lawrence Ocen, Lango College, Uganda

Laury Lawrence Ocen postulated that African cities are regarded as cosmopolitan, while at the same time being homogeneous, and he considers language, in particular English, as a possible harmonising element between these two extremes. He defines a cosmopolitan city as one that "harbours races, cultures, and social practices from different parts of the world". A cosmopolitan city may also be a global city, that is, a city that engages with the rest of the world. It is open to sharing, borrowing, assimilation, competition and migration of cultures, implying improvement in labour mobility and the reduction of political and geographical frontiers.

Homogeneity refers to identical practices of marriage, religion and the extended family – among other things – in various African ethnic groups. This homogeneity leads to harmonisation rather than uniformity. "Natural differences can be harmonised and not homogenised," he claims.

He looks at language as a harmonising element in African cities, and in making those cities inclusive. English is the unofficial language of Uganda, his home country, but it competes with many other languages. Although English has the potential to become the homogenising language, it is spoken only by the elite – some 15% of the population – and not embraced by the majority. He notes that there are a number of varieties of English spoken within the East African region, "almost as many varieties of the English language as there are ethnic groups". The differences can be seen in syntax, slang and the use of idioms. He expands his argument to include cinema, art, museums and dress, saying that the cosmopolitan influence of these elements is having the effect of homogenising different cultures within the country. An example of this is the Karimojong, a nomadic tribe in northeastern Uganda. Members conduct daily life naked, as an expression of absence of any physical infirmity. Wearing clothes is a sign of a lack of self-confidence, or attempting to hide a physical defect. But in the cities, the Karimojong feel a need to conform, and become clothed.

He explains that while on the surface a cosmopolitan existence appears "free and egalitarian", in reality it is repressive. "Such a city would not be inclusive, but remains a strange vast space for cosmopolitan aliens, practicing mutually exclusive cultures." He concludes his paper by saying: "The greatest pre-occupation of African cities ought to be using its cosmopolitan advantage to galvanise global engagement in the promotion of non-racial, sexist, ethnic, political or religious social progress." He argues that cosmopolitanism that is "democratically global, socially universal, and economically

liberal and multilateral" would be very constructive for Africa. Cosmopolitanism would also be a check on racism, at the same time encouraging cultural freedom through the promotion of museums, resource centres, and inter-racial, inter-ethnic international art and culture fairs and festivals.

Paper 3: Citizens or consumers? The everyday construction of identities in contemporary Soweto

by Detlev Krige, Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, Johannesburg

Detlev Krige highlights the role that consumption plays in the construction of identities but cautions that consumption should not be seen as determining what a citizen is. He comes to this conclusion on the basis of fieldwork, particularly living in Soweto in Johannesburg for two years. He stated that market researchers and branding consultancies conveniently brand young black men and women narrowly as consumers. The effect of this is that it creates "homogenising stereotypes". "Active citizens have been replaced by passive consumers who no longer participate in and build forms of active democratic citizenship," he says, and laments the fact that these stereotypes largely go unchallenged.

He proposes that this stereotyping does not take into account their dreams, their friendships, and their everyday experiences like racism and alienation in the workplace. There is a range of complexities involved in consumption, and by classifying blacks as consumers, inclusion and exclusion come into play.

He quotes research done by Unilever that reveals that 40% of so-called "black diamonds" – the new, urban black elite, as they are classified in advertising profiles – feel they are misrepresented by marketers and advertisers. Research done by Research Surveys indicates that there are two million black diamonds, some 10% of all black South Africans, who are responsible for 43% of black consumer buying power, which amounts to around R130 billion.

He notes that these consumption patterns reflect a need to "belong": by going shopping outside of Soweto, to Sandton, instead of buying within the township, people find a sense of belonging to a "space outside of the township, with immense feelings of lack and shame that are attached to the township space", and telling friends about the shopping trip. But with the construction of new Soweto shopping malls, though, new patterns of behaviour could be emerging, bringing a new sense of belonging in the township.

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

By way of a case study, he joined a stokvel, an informal and rotating group savings scheme. The group of six men in the stokvel revealed to Krige their struggles in life: increased costs in setting up a home and getting married; the increased demands for money by women; and the pressure from other men in redefining standards of being successful in Soweto.

These men are under pressure to prove their masculinity, by means of consumption. Women, on the other hand, are seen as being materialistic. The conclusion is that men,

in their traditional roles as being the heads of households, the providers and the unquestioned authority in the home, are being challenged by their access to money. The "established forms of masculinity" are being questioned.

He concludes that there is a need to be concerned about the consequences of labelling "an entire generation of young people exclusively as consumers". He is concerned with stereotypical labelling. "We need to be critical of and present alternatives to the hegemonic stereotypes that markets are putting out there."

Paper 4: Cultural spaces where diverse groups interact and speak to each other: the case of the port city of Douala, Cameroon

by ESD Fomin, Department of History, University of Yaounde, Cameroon

Fomin contends that Douala, the economic capital of Cameroon that dates back to the 1400s, developed as an inclusive, harmonious city until in the mid-1990s. At that time political party affiliations led to the breakdown of the relaxed relations in the city, and ever since then the inclusive nature of Douala has been jeopardised by party politics based on ethnic groupings. He related how the city began in 1640 as an exclusive Douala fishermen settlement. In the 17th and 18th centuries, with the trade in ivory and slaves growing, the fishermen became middleman with European traders and created a monopoly for themselves.

The trade in slaves required setting up quarters for them, thus creating settlements for different slave groupings. After the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, these neighbourhoods grew but remained a cohesive unit. The taking of slave concubines by the Douala kings diluted the exclusive Douala system.

Another factor that encouraged inclusivity in the city was combining strengths against the intrusion of European traders. "The need for all the Cameroonians in Douala at the time to put up a united fight against the exploitation by European traders compromised the exclusive attitude of the Douala and quickened the inclusive development of the city," stated Fomin.

In 1884 German colonial administration over the city encouraged more immigrants into the city, making it more cosmopolitan and inclusive. The Germans were defeated and ousted after WW1, only to be replaced by the French. Cameroon got independence from France in 1960, and the first president ruled from 1966 to 1990, offering no threat to Douala's inclusive, harmonious nature. Douala was a "wonderful inclusive city" where "different cultural entities could interact and speak to each other". But in 1990 multi-party pluralism came about. With it "a new ethnic consciousness was born," and Douala became divided along ethnic and cultural lines.

Fomin indicates that the situation in the city has "not escalated beyond minor confrontations" but he is concerned that present political practices are undemocratic and a threat to the inclusive nature of Douala. He recommended that "governments in Africa do something so that multiparty politics are not rooted in ethnicity".

Discussion: Session 2B

The discussant, Abdou Maliq Simone, commented after the presentations that language was a useful platform for communities to work together, but questioned at the same time whether language guarantees cohesion. Simply the legacy of being together was

important too. He said that cities remain “heterogeneous polyglot structures” with a wide range of possibilities.

Simone noted that there were a lot of interesting possible connections with the emerging patterns of consumption. He asked what the implications of blacks becoming mobile were.

Regarding Nigerian literature, he said that most citizens were going about the ordinary business of living and asked if they were being represented in literature.

He commented that the Douala paper was a "detailed, historical analysis" presenting "more spectral dimensions of living in Douala", saying there were hundreds and hundreds of ways that people of different ethnic groups come together.

He observed that Ocen’s paper revealed that language could make people understand each other, even if they were not united otherwise, and suggested that this would appeal to rural dwellers as well, since the symbols used in literature have their origins in the rural areas.

Commenting on the presentation on Nigerian literature, he said it characterised literature as a necessity for enlightenment and that in this regard it outlines three purposes: a warning to readers who think "the easiest road to heaven is to go to the city"; psychological therapy for readers and writers who fall victim to corruption and deception; and to expose the hypocrisy of people in power.

He noted that Krige’s paper expressed concern that the consumer research companies would oversimplify the complexities of the situation on the ground.

Day two

Wednesday March 7

Session 3

Inclusion and exclusion in South African cities

Session chair: Mark Napier

Napier introduced the session by highlighting some of the key statements from the previous day: the definition of an inclusive city as “one in which people feel welcome”, the need to “crowd in the private sector” for cities to grow, the need for government to access the “voices of the city”, the need to recognize local institutions and to incorporate them into the legal system, the necessity for coping with “multiple arrangements” in the city, and the undesirability of giving poor people cheap land.

Presentation: Professor Belinda Bozzoli

Deputy vice chancellor for research, University of the Witwatersrand

Bozzoli opened the session by welcoming delegates to the university and to the Wits Club in particular which she said used to be the headquarters of an agricultural society and hence its farm-like design. She said she was pleased to see a conference of this stature being hosted at the university, particularly because it falls within her own area of interest as her background is in Sociology. She said that she had enjoyed the abstracts and that she was pleased to see that the study of the city is alive and well in Africa and in South Africa. Wits University has taken particular interest in this subject and has identified cities as one of its main research thrusts and that it is positioning itself as a city university.

She argues that the concept of the inclusive city is a romantic idea that is something to be strived for, and that she hoped the conference would sufficiently unpack this notion of an inclusive city: what forms and institutions promote or inhibit this? She encouraged delegates to learn from each other and from history, especially during times of massive urbanisation. She claimed that people also design their own mechanisms for inclusion and that it is worth identifying when and where it exists: how does one identify the lack of inclusivity? What are the true indicators? When do we know if these romantic ideas are a success? She cautioned against only asking these questions when people are killed, when pathologies grow, when there is evidence of xenophobia. Although it is possible to try to identify the symptoms of social inclusion, she asked how it is possible to know when this ideal is present. She also argues that inclusivity is a moving target. She identified a prominent challenge that the conference sought to address: to resolve the tension between the desires of social engineers/scientists and the realities of the city planners. She commended the boldness in trying to solve these difficult challenges.

Presentation: Alan Mabin

Head of the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand

Mabin began with some personal recollections of his experiences of inclusivity and exclusivity. He grew up in a white Johannesburg neighbourhood of Emmarentia during apartheid where he would witness the raids conducted by police in vans arresting people for not carrying their *dompas* (A South African identity document for black people during apartheid). On the other hand, his suburb escaped the restriction evident in other parts of the city that prohibited Jewish people from owning property. In that sense his neighbours did not share his white Anglo-Saxon heritage or religion, and he experienced a limited form of cosmopolitanism. He stated that today there were pockets of inclusivity in Johannesburg.

He talked of his experiences of working in Hanover Park in Cape Town (which he described as not being an inclusive neighbourhood). Hanover Park was so-named after the main street in District Six – an area decimated under the Group Areas act and from which people were forcibly removed. He said it is important to observe those areas of cities that had “pockets of inclusivity” and to take collective and public notice of them.

After leaving South Africa to avoid conscription into the apartheid army, he ended up in Vancouver, Canada, where he experienced the cosmopolitanism of living in a city of immigrants. He was an immigrant too and was often confronted with the issue of whether the city was capable of including him.

He said that few places strike him as inclusive, but one that stands out as a success is Mafikeng in the North West province of South Africa. The place was founded by a chief so as to welcome refugees; Mabin described this as an example of public action for strangers. “If you walk around Mafikeng you will find attempts to incorporate outsiders, as well as a lot of people who fall below the radar. On the other hand, Salvador de Bahia in Brazil has many different types of people “letting it all hang out”.

He described the conference as an attempt to answer the vexed question of what governments can do to ensure inclusivity. It assumes that they can do something to promote it. He then described two contrasting aspects of the city of Johannesburg’s attempts at inclusivity. The Constitution Hill precinct was designed to reclaim a former apartheid institution and convert it into a place that is representative of the “new South Africa”. However, no-one from Hillbrow goes there, so despite its good intentions it is failing to share itself with the broader population of the city. On the other hand the Newtown precinct has a statue of Brenda Fassie, South Africa’s late pop diva, with an empty stool for sitting next to it – an interactive artwork that invites people to sit next to the Fassie statue. Although it’s not a government project, Mabin said, little things like that can help promote inclusivity. He warned that the idea of a government “creating” something or “nation building” could have the scary connotations of Germany’s Nazi government.

He stated that his job in scholarship is to encourage people to think about and look at new things happening in African cities. He quoted from a book by Bill Freund of the University of KwaZulu-Natal called “The African City” which he described as an eclectic history of African cities: “the future is open-ended, uncertain, not lacking in contradictions...”

He asked if we are looking enough at these “new emerging futures”, saying that in his travels in Africa he has seen many neighbourhoods that typify inclusivity. Beyond the “buffer strip” he has seen eight-floor high-rise buildings where once there was one. “If we do not recognise that extraordinary new things are happening in such neighbourhoods, we will not be able to answer the question we have set ourselves in this conference,” he concluded.

Presentation: Dr Udesch Pillay

Executive director of Urban, Rural and Economic Development, Human Sciences Research Council

Dr Pillay said that he had teamed up with the institutions hosting the event before and that it was always a pleasure to do so. He proceeded to summarise what he described as a “lively discussion” from the day before.

He pointed out that Mbanga digested the State of South African Cities Report of 2006 and provided useful reference points for designing a framework for urban development; the HSRC provided less of a conceptual framework but revealed a descriptive account of what was happening in cities and suggested what the main challenges were. Steven Friedman stated that despite changes the colonial city imprint persists and called for a voice-centred approach, while Abdou Maliq Simone described the “spin” of the built environment and its availability for remaking through its intersecting economies. He critiqued Friedman’s approach for ignoring the many institutions that transgress given frameworks, and asked whether Simone’s emphasis on fluidity and dynamism would not promote instability instead of stability. He noted that three prominent challenges had emerged from the presentations:

1. How does one make existing mechanisms more participatory, and what is the role of local government in this?
2. The need to enhance the role of local government;
3. The need to overturn the recurring tendency among policy makers and multinationals for site-specific solutions.

He further noted that there were four important aspects of urbanisation that should be addressed to ensure inclusive cities:

1. Informal economies
2. The delivery of basic infrastructure and services
3. Migration, both rural-to-urban and transfrontier
4. Governance and planning

Session 4A

Citizenship and urbanisation in African cities

Session chair: Loren Landau

Discussant: Pep Subiros

The session was chaired by Dr Loren Landau of the University of the Witwatersrand Forced Migration Studies Department, a co-organiser of the event. Landau noted that citizenship is contested in academia as much as it is in politics. He said that citizenship is assumed to be inclusive but that it is not necessarily so since many do not have a voice in cities and since many people are residents but may not be citizens of the country. Furthermore, he stated that formal relationships and the right to vote may be insignificant for many people and that their attempts at inclusion go beyond merely being recognised and included by the state. He asked how outsiders defined citizenship and noted that all the papers differed on the answer to this question. He said that this session sought to interrogate the measures for achieving citizenship. He then introduced the discussant, Pep Subiros from Barcelona, as a long-term observer of Africa and former director of cultural affairs in Barcelona and chief of staff.

Paper 1: Widening the Democratic Space: Struggles by the Urban Poor of Nairobi, Kenya

by Leah Wambura Kimati, program coordinator for Africa Peace Point, Nairobi, Kenya

Leah Wambura Kimati described the history of urbanisation and informal settlements in Nairobi as a characterised by neglect by authorities who skewer their resources in favour of the middle class. As a result, urban slums in Kenya lack basic services and security of tenure. The total population of Nairobi is 3-million people. Slum dwellers make up 60% of this, and yet occupy only 5,8% of all land used. The slums are largely on state-owned land and residents are offered Temporary Occupation Licences by the provincial administration.

Apart from churches, which have historically supported the urban poor, many civil society organisations have sprung up in response to the state's withdrawal from urban service provision. More recently slum dwellers have organised themselves into federations and groups so as to counter these problems of state exclusion and low living standards. These federations are engaged in community-driven initiatives to upgrade slums and squatter settlements, to develop new low-income housing, to provide infrastructure and services, to support members in developing stable livelihoods. They have also opted to work with governments to show how city redevelopment can avoid evictions and minimise relocations. The foundations for these groups are thousands of savings groups formed or managed by the urban poor; these offer emergency funds and a way to accumulate money for housing development. Some of their activities extend to large-scale programs that service hundreds of thousands of people. They offer social cohesion too by the inclusive and co-operative management of their activities.

Many have influenced government policy to become pro-poor: cooperation between city council, structure/house owners, tenants, landlords and city authorities has resulted in a model for the upgrading of slums. For instance, they have influenced land policy

insofar as government can now issue title deeds for land that is sub-divided into small plots. Whilst in the past upgrading commenced with the forced removal of people, now authorities are compelled to begin with an enumeration of residents. These federations have on the whole managed to strike a balance between working with government while avoiding co-option, but some have floundered in this regard. They have also struggled with invisibility insofar as they had to force their presence on government and donor organisations in order to be recognised. Their primary successes are twofold: having made the needs of the poor visible and their voices heard – women in particular – and having demonstrated a way of working with government.

Paper 2: Democratic citizenship in the poorest neighbourhoods of Antananarivo, Madagascar

by François Roubaud, IRD, DIAL-Paris and Jean-Michel Wachsberger, DIAL, CMH (ERIS), GRACC

The paper was presented by Jean-Michel Wachsberger, who began by saying that the researchers' departure point was that democracy is necessary for inclusion. Their study of the citizens of Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar, showed that most of the population supported democratic principles and rejected authoritarianism. Despite these facts, they remain politically passive, do not participate much in public affairs, do not mobilise much around issues, and reject political protest. Moreover, a regular survey of informal settlements revealed that many residents resisted democratic values. In essence, living in poor neighbourhoods affects the political opinions of its inhabitants, and the more socially excluded people are, the more they distrust democracy. This distrust of democracy is based on four aspects: antidemocratic values, doubts about the effectiveness of democracies in general, criticism of how democracy is run Madagascar and personal disappointment.

The most significant variations were: that women were more distrustful than men, trust increases with religious practice, the experience of insecurity alters trust, the poorer the person the less trust they had in democracy, and having been homeless at least once or having been unemployed for six months or more also fostered a distrust in democracy. The writers had concluded that those who had been victims of discrimination on the basis of where they lived, felt relegated and neglected and that these experiences of exclusion and relegation fuelled “egalitarian resentment” and resentment about democracy. Moreover, the poor often participated in neighbourhood associations (youth groups, collective paddy field farming, neighbourhood watch, sports etc) and 93% of those who had been homeless did so, but this did not make these individuals more civic minded and instead fostered sectarianism, ethnic identification and greater distrust of democracy. On this basis he called for a reconsideration of the positive roles that studies usually ascribe to associative participation as a factor of democratic reinforcement. He closed with the question: “Is Madagascar an exception in these regards?”

Paper 3: Living in, out of and between two cities: The migrants from Maputo and Johannesburg

by Dominique Vidal, University of Lille, presented by Aurelia wa Kabwe Segatti of the French Institute of South Africa

Aurelia wa Kabwe Segatti began by saying that Dominique Vidal has participated in a collaboration between the French Institute and Migrations Studies Unit at Wits University. Through interviews with Mozambican migrants to Johannesburg, Vidal

discovered that the journey to Johannesburg has for long been a rite of passage into manhood whereby young men migrate in order to make money to build a house and marry back home. Nowadays they also migrate to find employment using a 30-day visa and some even describe the journey as “an adventure” although most seek to end migratory existence before the age of 30. Others are cross-border traders and others settle in South Africa either through obtaining documents through amnesty or illegally. They often are reluctant to divulge their Mozambican identity at first because of experiences of xenophobia. This is compounded by the absence of political organisation and the weakness of the social links between Mozambicans. The domination they experience gives rise to heightened individualism, which has an effect on the extent of their assimilation, and on their notions of ethnicity and nationality. The research established that there was an absence of political organisation among migrants and weak social links – there are no enclaves, little solidarity and although there is evidence of mutual support when they first arrive, this does not develop into a Mozambican community. Instead, the immigrants make a concerted effort to blend in: they adopt South African dress, vernacular, and even forgo Portuguese in favour of English or Zulu and Tsonga. City life promotes a “de-traditionalisation” and decrease in ethnic and familial solidarity. This emphasis on integration is due to initial experiences of hostility and distrust, and many embrace a phase of anonymity in the face of this. This is followed by the construction of a new Mozambican persona: the “good guy”, the trusted colleague, the good neighbour, in a bid to position themselves as “superior” and to compensate for their uprooted position. In contrast they depict South Africans as “lazy, rude, criminals”. There is an idealisation of Mozambican values, which they present as being in stark opposition to the violence, corruption, and hypocrisy of South Africans. They also extol what they say is a Mozambican quality: a tolerance and respect for all human beings that goes beyond ethnic lines or nationality. Ironically this is similar to “ubuntu”. In terms of hawking and street life, they develop networks for monitoring belongings and the arrival of police and this fosters a sense of belonging, albeit fragile. Their children become socialised as South Africans – if they grow up in a township they adopt township identity and if they grow up in suburbs they adopt English culture. The paper also poses a question: is this a type of migrant labour system between the two countries: the South African economy benefits from the low wages and lack of protection for workers, while Mozambique benefits from the cash inflow of wage remittances or trader’s profits?

Paper 4: Spatial distribution of Freetown: a post-colonial city state

by Professor Tunde Zack-Williams, Department of Sociology, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK

Professor Tunde Zack-Williams pointed out that Freetown began as a city-state and for this reason is often used interchangeably with Sierra Leone. The British founded it as a colony for liberated slaves and sought to establish it as a “project for modernity”. Freed slaves also arrived from Nova Scotia, as did the Maroons from Jamaica and those captured on the high seas by Royal Navy boats. Internal migrants from the hinterland added to the mix of this “city of migrants”. Its municipality was based on the British ward system until 1945, when voting became based on property qualification. Culturally, Christians and Muslims coexisted peacefully since the early 1800s, and many schools grew out of the collaboration between church and state. It became cosmopolitan and heterogeneous, with much scope for change and social mobility. There were as many as 14 languages and ethnicities, but they were divided and segregated spatially, racially, ethnically and by class.

By the end of the 19th century, the returnees and newcomers had evolved a Krio culture, an embodiment of Afro-European cultural forms, the language of which became the lingua franca. Africans had become Europeanised, with their technocrats and professionals moving into the positions of the ruling class. Trade flourished and the development of the railway into the interior boosted this further.

Out of this arrangement a class system emerged: commercial and administrative classes, professional bourgeoisie, poor Creoles and the lumpen proletariat, who blamed their status on migrants from the interior. Labour strikes ensued in 1892, but significant competition emerged with the arrival of Lebanese, Syrian and Indian traders in 1893. An unusual land tenure system developed in which Lebanese and Indians were barred from holding property rights, and the rents they paid propped up the post-colonial bourgeoisie. The elite remained loyal to Britain and de-emphasised self-reliance over settling for rent-seeking role in the post-colonial state.

Two developments in the colonial era continued into the postcolonial era: reinvention of the Tribal Authority system whereby headmen were institutionalised – a “decentralised despotism”; and the emergence of “voluntary associations”, often along ethnic lines.

After World War Two there was a rise in prices of land and a crisis ensued with corrupt officials selling land to more than one person and squatters trampling land. Most of the economy was based on mineral export and many were excluded from this trade, which was centralised in the All People’s Congress members’ hands.

After independence in 1961, the new political class transformed a relatively democratic country into a one-party dictatorship. The independence of the judiciary dwindled as its staff were required to belong to the ruling party, and the party itself was filled with demagogues. This drove efficiency out of the bureaucracy and honesty out of public life. “Spoil” politics took over and was institutionalised by patrimonialism. The economic crises that followed compelled the leaders to seek loans from the international monetary institutions and in due course structural adjustment programmes were imposed. The result was a pauperisation of the people. The rebel opposition movement that emerged collaborated with Liberia’s Charles Taylor to establish the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in order to challenge this “kleptocratic” rule and state hegemony. Taylor aided the minerals-for-weapons policy. From there the country declined into civil war. Foreign intervention halted the war and today it is a city of diversity and yet exclusion.

Discussion: Session 4A

Pep Subiros commented that in spite of the title of the session, all of the papers dealt with the issue of citizenship laterally, not directly. The papers concentrated on themes of “lack”: of poverty, slums, and the lack of social services. He noted that there is a deep contradiction between citizenship and urbanisation – many African cities undermine the notion of citizenship. But citizenship is essential for the creation of sustainable future cities as opposed to the urban agglomerations that they are now. Citizenship enables participation in a certain political structure that makes people co-responsible for the future of the social framework. Access to basic services like water and health requires being able to participate with your voice. Citizenship implies the existence of a public ground for negotiating these rights and the civic realm implies certain shared standards and rights. Contemporary urban development is based on the opposition of differences and “islands” of common space. The papers suggest that we should look at urban situations in Africa by looking at different places – there is often a

view that Africa is exceptional but Subiros claimed this is not the case. He said that all over the world such situations are repeating themselves: distrust of democracy, insecurity over everything and what the future will give children. New movements are evolving all the time to deal with these problems and it is important to establish these comparisons. Everywhere there is an increase in structural violence that explodes episodically, everywhere the vulnerable are threatened by democracy – in France, Holland, US and Spain. What happens in Africa is just an extreme version, and what is happening in Africa is happening because of what happens in the north. The north exports its problems to Africa and then they are re-exported north. We should also analyse the rich everywhere – they are excluding themselves from the public domain, but they are also excluded from the middle ground. Invisibility is a means to survive – when immigrants arrive in Spain the first thing they do is destroy their documentation so that they cannot be repatriated. He suggested that as much emphasis should be put on equity and social justice as on poverty. He stressed that intellectuals have a big responsibility in this regard and that too often such issues are left to market mechanisms. He also urged delegates to not just develop strategies for survival but also to develop new strategies for dealing with general social issues – for example it is not possible to understand citizenship as being necessary for negotiating general standards of life if one is just concentrating on the delivery of services. He noted that everyday there are social movements emerging that are trying to bridge these gaps outside of conventional social life.

Questions and answers

One delegate asked if there is an inclusive agenda for children who were victims of the Sierra Leone war and Zack-Williams said there is not: “After the demobilisation period, schools were reluctant to take back the former war soldiers, especially young girls with children. Some were sent back to school and some were apprenticed with traders and given tools, but this was farcical too because there were no jobs for them and they sold the tools and became street children. Now there is a debate in parliament about the rights of children but a government dominated by traditional rulers does not come up with progressive ideas about childrearing.”

Since Nigerians migrate to Cameroon and as there are many Africans that operate beyond political boundaries a question may be asked whether the issue of migrants and their inclusion where they operate has not gone beyond negotiation between two governments; is it not time for it to fall under the realm of the African Union? Segatti replied: “I am not sure about the AU agenda. There has been some integration in SADC since the 2005 protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of People, but it has not been ratified.” She added that she did not know of any dialogue between the South African and Mozambican governments regarding the Mozambican immigrants.

In response to a question as to whether education has played a role in the development of democratic attitudes in Madagascar, Jean-Michel said that the higher the education the more support there is for democracy.

One participant noted that some of the papers referred to the underclass as “illegal” and “undemocratic” and proposed that such people were simply asserting themselves and suggested that perhaps the notion of democracy should be resisted. Jean-Michel responded by saying that the “underclass” is stigmatised and that in these neighbourhoods, for example there are 10 000 homeless in Antananarivo but little is known about them because they are difficult to contact. They did however organise

themselves into a “local citizens” association. The challenge lies in how to use their strong commitment to promote democracy in these countries.

Kimati was asked what the role of the Nairobi federation is and to locate it in the context of the wider society. “There are many chapters to the federation, from small to large. The ones in the city find it easier to acquire skills while the smaller chapters are less endowed and difficult to professionalise. I work in conflict resolution, specifically with the Nairobi chapter and sometimes with others. In terms of wider NGOs, Nairobi has the highest number of them in Africa, but they are competitive and divided, and so few engage with the federation as a whole but prefer to approach it selectively.”

How do you create an inclusive city with such income differentials? Is the ownership of land not the problem or is it about access to land? Segatti responded to these questions by stating that the starting point is one of belonging, rather than citizenship, so as to distinguish between space and power and she saw three levels to this: rights of the citizen as conferred by the state; economic functioning; and ordinary everyday interactions, which she thought was best.

There is a long urban history where unofficial governments are the real governments, and this is the context in which citizenship is enacted, but because they are unofficial, they are vulnerable to violence and it is outside of the public control. In the past people would propose folding them into the official government, but when the latter doesn’t have the orientation to do this, then what are the tools for melding, like social movements? Subiros responded by saying that this question reflected the reality of “factual” versus “unofficial” governments and that the reality is fluid, which makes it difficult to find clear answers. He said it was important to find examples of “hybrid situations” to encompass this complexity. He cited the example of “participatory budgeting” in Brazil and how it had been co-opted by institutions, but that it nonetheless remained a hybrid situation – there was fighting and cooperation, but the aim is to find a negotiated settled.

Another example he cited was the ambiguous status of migration in Europe: “In several countries the migration rules are tough, but the economy nonetheless relies on migration and so although at the state level there are oppressive laws, the cities accept migrants as residents and gives them access to health services. Some see this as a way of making them more vulnerable because they are visible, yet every few years there is a law that legalises them and if you can prove that you have been there for three years you are permitted to stay. Then the repressive laws in fact make their situation easier.”

Subiros concluded the session with these remarks: “Who is the gatekeeper of citizenship? What sort of inclusion are people after – one cannot assume it is territory? And what are the institutional foundations needed to make these rights realised?”

Session 4B

Urban settlements and poverty in the 21st century

Session chair: *Seana Nkhahle*

Discussant: *Ahmedi Vawda*

A study of Aids orphans in KwaZulu-Natal showed the orphans were largely excluded from feeling part of their communities, and often lived in very poor conditions, being taken in usually by extended families, who themselves were struggling to make ends meet. Another paper looked at rented accommodation in Johannesburg, focusing on single room accommodation. The dilemma for the city is that, whether private or publicly funded, any improvements to rented accommodation would automatically exclude the large lower rungs of society because they would then have to pay more for the accommodation. Access to cheap rental accommodation within the city is an imperative, according to another paper. Governments should perhaps ignore the ideal of providing every person with their own house - inclusion should firstly give everyone access to acceptable, affordable accommodation in the city which includes different typologies and choices for different interests and affordability levels. The final paper considered informal traders in Nairobi. This sector, although a major contributor to employment and city revenue, has traditionally found itself excluded from the city's planning. But a new act and new alliances have already made a difference to their representation within the city structures and thus their inclusion in the formal economy.

Paper 1: Housing conditions of Aids orphans: the case of a peri-urban town in KwaZulu-Natal

by Catherine Ndinda, National Homebuilders Registration Council, Mpumalanga, South Africa

Catherine Ndinda conducted a study on Aids orphans in the peri-urban area of Malangeni of KwaZulu-Natal, and found that the orphans face enormous problems regarding housing. She adopts the World Vision-UK definition of an Aids orphan as a child who has lost one or both parents to the Aids epidemic. In South Africa there are an estimated 1.1 million children who fall in this category. The Medical Research Council estimates that by 2015 the country will have around 5.7 million Aids orphans.

Aids orphans usually become the responsibility of the community, and, in particular, the responsibility of the extended family, pushing the families to "breaking point" in the worst affected communities. Ndinda says there are in effect few households that are child-headed. Even within the extended family, the orphans often experience extreme poverty and exclusion. Although orphans have access to child support grants, they don't always have the documentation required to access the grants.

Ndinda sampled 41 households with close-ended questionnaires. This revealed that 72.5% of the households were female-headed, while 27.5% were headed by males. In the female-headed households, 80% were headed by grandmothers and 20% were headed by aunts of the orphans. She reiterated that there were few households that are child-headed.

Unemployment in the sample was high - 85% of the household heads were unemployed. Most households relied on pension grants. Household sizes were between two and 11

people, with 90% of households had six members. Grandmothers cared for 72% of orphans, and aunts for 19.5%, while uncles cared for a small proportion.

Income levels ranged between zero and R2 500. Most households lived in mud houses that leaked, had broken windows and doors, cracked walls, mould and poor ventilation. The poor state of the houses contributed to the poor health of the orphans, with 70% saying the children's health was poor. The government provided water, but 60% use candles for lighting, 60% use paraffin stoves and 40% use firewood for cooking. Regarding sanitation, 92.5% use long-drop toilets, while 5% and 2.5% use pit latrines and flush toilets respectively. This lack of services and poor accommodation indicates that Aids orphans are excluded from accessing the cities most basic facilities.

All respondents saw the solution as one in which it was the government's responsibility to provide adequate housing to the orphans and their caregivers. Ndinda concluded that there is a need for local government to take "cognisance of the proportion of orphans within their locality and provide adequate housing without stigmatising such children". Local government also needs to undertake periodic maintenance of this housing, once provided. Providing land tenure to households is also necessary, as well as upgrading sanitation and installing electricity. More community support is needed too. With these measures, says Ndinda, orphans would feel more included in their local communities.

Paper 2: A room in the city: strategies for affordable accommodation

by Professor Lone Poulsen, School of Architecture and Planning, Wits University

Professor Lone Poulsen explores the ways people have accessed affordable accommodation in Johannesburg, a city facing extreme shortages of accommodation. The paper looks at the socio-economic circumstances of people occupying single rooms, with the emphasis on the physical living conditions and how tenants manage the space.

While she looks at African immigrants in her paper, she also considers South African migrants coming to the cities from the countryside. She follows the story of one family over three generations. Despite living and working in the city, all members of the family, originally from Modjadji in Limpopo, still consider Modjadji to be their home. Any spare resources are invested in homes in Limpopo.

Migrants find accommodation in a variety of forms: shared rooms in hostels; rooms in existing flats in the inner city; residential, office and industrial buildings converted either legally or illegally into rooms with shared facilities; rooms in transitional and communal housing projects developed by NGOs and charity organisations; private houses converted into rooming establishments; former domestic rooms in the suburbs; backyard rooms and shacks in townships; shacks in squatter settlements; and temporary "rooms" constructed daily by street people. "The physical, spatial and social quality of these rooms varies greatly from good to adequate to simply unacceptable," she concludes.

After an assessment of hostel accommodation, privately-developed rooms, the conversion of suburban houses, backyard rooms, transitional or communal housing, RDP housing, Poulsen concludes that there is a dilemma in housing improvement. Many of the above forms of accommodation could be made into more acceptable accommodation with small improvements, thus improving the quality of living for

tenants. But with improvements come increased rents, which lead to the displacement of the poorest who simply cannot afford them.

"The conundrum is that for every upgraded building there will be a need for two or three additional new buildings to accommodate those displaced by the upgrades. For every backyard room/shack removed there will be a need for more houses or rooms. For every upgraded informal settlement where do the displaced people go?" she asks.

Paper 3: Inclusion through housing? The South African low-income housing programme in the context of large urban areas

by Sarah Charlton, School of Architecture and Planning, Wits University

The departure point of this paper is that housing delivery must be seen as a move towards inclusion in the city. Inclusion offers homeowners all the facilities and opportunities of the city, as well as offering a contribution towards poverty alleviation. On the other hand, inadequate housing can be seen as excluding people from the city and all it has to offer.

Sarah Charlton argues that the focus on home ownership has had "the effect of downplaying the critical importance of cheap rental accommodation for the very poor, and [the] role of the private sector in providing this".

The national housing programme applies only to South Africans who earn below R3 500 a month. By March 2006, 1.966 million houses had been built or were under construction in the country. The key features of the programme are, in most cases, freehold ownership; a plot of land; a basic house; and a minimum level of services.

A number of criticisms can be made of the programme. Houses are built in areas far away from urban centres that offer jobs and opportunities. This has contributed to perpetuating the marginalisation of the poor, and it has not helped them to integrate with others in urban areas. And, it has contributed to urban sprawl.

In response, an "inclusionary housing strategy" to incorporate the very poor, has been considered. In this regard she looks at the City of Johannesburg's 2006 Growth and Development Strategy, which is premised on the principle of the "proactive absorption of the poor". Coming out of this is the idea of the "property ladder", a key element of the "ladder of urban prosperity". The City anticipates that households will move up this ladder as financial circumstances change over time.

The City has identified several problems in the functioning of the ladder. These include shortfalls in the supply of property to meet the potential demand, and blockages that could result in "the poor performance of the property market in some parts of the city".

One significant gap is the supply of affordable housing to those moving from RDP housing, and to first-time buyers who don't qualify for a subsidy. These concerns are echoed by the national housing department, as well as the need for an adequate supply of low-income housing.

In 2004, over one fifth of Johannesburg's population of 3.2 million lived in informal dwellings, and over half of households had incomes below R1 600 a month. "Widespread poverty is therefore a feature of the Johannesburg social landscape." It is clear that there is not sufficient accommodation at low enough levels for this sector of

the population. If one goes by the "rule of thumb that a household should not spend more than 25% of its income on accommodation, more than half of Johannesburg's households can afford a maximum of only R400 per month". This poses a serious problem, the scale and extent of the need for cheap, well-located rental accommodation is not fully acknowledged. She cautions that this crisis is in danger of being downplayed in the focus on the property ladder.

She looks at the Alexandra Renewal Project where a number of affordable models are being tested. A cluster of some 40 rooms for rent, organised around a central courtyard with a shared ablution facility is being piloted as an alternative to shack dwelling. Rentals of between R350 and R700 are being considered. Developing rental models blends with the definition of home to some Alexandra residents. 52% of those surveyed in 2005 don't consider the township as home but only a place to receive a housing subsidy and a place for owning property. Many of these people nevertheless see the state as providing a "free accommodation gift" within the vicinity of Alex. This means that there is "a significant difference in perceptions of property ownership to that assumed by the state".

Another issue goes to the crux of the problem - poverty and affordability. People can rent a room in a hostel in Alex for as little as R27, while backyard rooms could cost between R20 and R43, leading the presenter to conclude that "cheap rental accommodation is clearly needed in a context such as Johannesburg". She quotes a 2003 UN report that argues that governments need to question their "obsession with home ownership". The UN suggests that the focus should be on improving incomes as a way to improve the housing situation.

Johannesburg's strategy of assisting the poor to move out of poverty should include access to cheap rental accommodation, among other measures, which will in turn help them move up the property ladder.

Paper 4: Socioeconomic engagement in contested city spaces: the case study of street vending and informal trade in Nairobi

by Professor Winnie Mitullah, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi

Professor Winnie Mitullah's essential argument was that the ability of street vendors and informal traders (SVIT) to interact collectively would improve their claim on street trading spaces, thus determining their survival and inclusion in urban governance.

Traditionally the SVIT have not been recognised in most African cities, which means that city authorities do not take them into consideration when planning, a situation that leads to persistent conflicts. This flies in the face of the fact that these traders account for more than half of the economic activities in these countries. The sector is much larger than the formal economy, particularly in respect of employment generation: in Kenya, for example, it contributes 90% towards new employment. Furthermore, the average income in the sector is 65.3% higher than the statutory minimum wage in Nairobi and Mombassa. As such, they need access to secure property rights and finance and public services, which they don't get at present.

But because this sector has traditionally operated on the margin, "most of them cannot effectively organise and articulate their interests, including right to trading and manufacturing spaces". Most governments respond to them with harassment and intimidation.

One of the problems with the sector is that most African governments don't collect statistics for this sector, despite collecting rent and licensing fees from them. However, there is a move in Kenya towards creating a positive legal and regulatory environment for the sector by reviewing the labour laws, relaxing business restrictions and broadening access to finance, and passing the Micro and Small Enterprises (MSE) act.

Some of the reforms coming out of the act, still to be passed, include help with organising secure premises; recognising the MSE associations; and giving them a "pivotal role" in formulating, implementing and monitoring policy that affects them. The traders' national alliance, Kenasvit, now speaks to government on their behalf. And the traders now have access to policy makers, planners and administrators.

Kenasvit is developing a five-year Strategic Plan, which will focus on establishing a secretariat, consolidating existing affiliates and networking and pulling together ventures among members. The local Nairobi informal trader alliance, Niscof, works with Kenasvit. As a result traders have now been recognised by the central government, city authorities and the private sector. Support in the form of building traders' capacity is now taking place, while traders now know their rights when it comes to harassment and possible arrest by city authorities.

"This awareness is not only attributed to the birth of Kenasvit and urban alliances such as Niscof, but also to the ongoing governance reforms in Kenya and Africa as a whole," indicates Mitullah.

It has meant that traders and also citizens in general are "demanding their right to space in urban areas". This is not only the case with trading spaces but also spaces for recreation and open spaces. "The traders have pioneered what the urban authorities have failed to do."

Mitullah concludes by saying: "Inclusive governance requires a holistic approach to city governance, including planning and management." This means that city authorities should provide "an enabling environment for all businesses, by providing equal opportunities to those trading within their jurisdiction, including traders within the CBD". For the traders, being organised has allowed them to reclaim their right to space within the city.

Discussion: Session 4B

In the discussion that followed the presentations, discussant Ahmedi Vawda talked of "seeing city, reading city and navigating city", and "active and passive citizenship" and the "remaking of the space economy". He said that the state had to respond to the fluidity of the situation, and provide "flexible instruments". This might mean looking at 30-year time horizons and should certainly include giving 50% of housing subsidies to women, for instance. One comment urged participants to remember that matchbox houses, even with their stigma, were still homes. Another comment stated that leaving everything to the market would mean that housing would always be beyond some people. One delegate proposed that hostels would always retain a stigma, so they should be knocked down and new housing erected. Charlton responded by saying that the state was not engaging with poorer people such as those earning R250 a month. What was needed was to support people, thus allowing them to live cheaply. Ndinda stressed that at the community level people don't differentiate between local and provincial government. She added that a large proportion of Aids orphans now needed to be considered by government - they needed to get priority. Poulsen said that many people

don't necessarily want houses, but wanted decent accommodation. What was important was the way people use space - they would develop pride in modest spaces. Government had to get more creative in how subsidies were provided, and perhaps those who were providing rooms should get subsidies. Mitullah's perspective was that 50% of people in Kenya only have two-roomed houses, raising the questions of what adequate housing actually is. She said that 65% of Kenyans don't have adequate housing. Vawda summed up by saying that there appeared to be as many successes as failures in housing and its provision. Institutional limitations don't lie just with the state, but also with civil society, he said.

Session 5A

Participation: policy and practice

Chair: Seana Nkhahle

Discussant: Jackie Lamola

Five papers were presented during this session, which was chaired by Seana Nkhahle. Four of the papers were case studies of marginalised and excluded groups, their survival mechanisms, and efforts to include them by local government and, in two cases, by NGOs. One case study evaluated the attempts by South African local government to include women by comparing three different municipalities. The conclusion reached was that their inclusion was “partial and uneven”. While women are being included in local politics, IDP processes and local projects more than before, this does not necessarily change pre-existing gender relations nor result in programmes that change deeper gender issues at the local level. At the root of this problem is the yet unproven idea that a quota system would automatically lead to putting women’s issues on strategic agendas.

The case study of informal transport networks of Douala, Cameroon, revealed that young people with few job prospects have taken advantage of inadequate transport facilities by starting informal businesses as motorbike taxi drivers and in handcart transport. These people are organised into small, tightly knit groups offering much solidarity, and although there have been attempts to organise them into a professional association to regulate their activities, this has not yet happened. The presenter described this informal market as “innovative” and called for it to be recognised and integrated into formal structures of society.

The role that children can play in participation was championed in a paper that compared three successful cases of children being involved in decision-making. The presenter argued that from a young age children should be encouraged to make an active contribution in decisions that affect their lives, so that citizenship can be “nurtured”. Other benefits of promoting children’s participation include the development of social skills and hence better performance of responsibilities; participation facilitates the flow of child perspectives into social decision-making, it improves communication and negotiation skills, builds self esteem and confidence, and participation in significant affairs of life gives them a sense of meaning and enables more mature, respectful relationships to develop between adults and children and generations.

In discussing the connection between participation and policy-making, one Durban-based researcher warned of the ways in which claims of participation can be abused and used to include and exclude at the same time so that only certain kinds of voices are encouraged, and that this is the predominant method of “formal” and “state-led” participation. He referred to this as “invited” participation and called for more substantial participation, which enables dialogue and discussion of policies. The final paper described a housing complex that is being used to develop a model of inclusive development in the inner city. It is situated in an area surrounded by good city facilities, is multi-cultural and has many economic and physical assets, and is led by a “Consortium for Urban Transformation” – a range of representatives from different sectors to form the Berea-Burger Park (BBP) Community Development Corporation,

registered as a non-profit organisation. Its main focus is regeneration of the neighbourhood and it has developed an action plan for the area that includes financial, economic, physical, social, institutional and financial strategies, with an emphasis on finding synergies between them in an integrated approach.

Paper 1: Including Women? (Dis)junctures between voice, policy and implementation in integrated development planning

by Alison Todes, Urban, Rural and Economic Development, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC); Pearl Sithole, Democracy and Governance, HSRC; and Amanda Williamson, School of Architecture and Planning, Wits University

The paper concentrated on the progress of including women in South African local government structures by focusing on three case studies: eThekweni Municipality (with 3-million people), the Hibiscus Coast (194 000 people) and the rural municipality of Msinga with a scattered settlement that largely falls under traditional tenure. Todes described the purpose of this research as an attempt to evaluate to what extent women have been included in the government's Integrated Development Plans (IDP) as a way of assessing the extent to which the policy of gender inclusion has translated into practice. They conclude that whereas at the political level the focus is on representation, this is not a guarantee of gender inclusion; and that gender issues have been included in a partial and uneven way. Moreover, the researchers found that policy outcomes tend to be driven by technocratic criteria such as indicators and targets and that this approach sidelines gender issues. The following issues were examined in the three case studies: the representation of women as councillors and officials, the establishment of special structures such as gender desks, an evaluation of the effects of these on women, the extent to which the participatory process of the IDP gives voice to women, the extent to which the incorporation of gender in the IDPs reflected women's interests, needs and rights, the extent to which 30 projects that were examined take account of national policy guidelines on gender equity and whether women benefit from them. They concluded that gender has not been given a priority in the three municipalities and it is mainly interpreted as improving levels of employment equity. As a result, at the time of the research (2005), women outnumbered men in all three cases, but the women complained of resistance from men to their concerns, which suggest that inclusiveness in the processes and quota systems do not guarantee that gender issues will be taken up. As a result the women preferred to take up issues at ward level rather than at committee and municipal levels. Although the rural component of the research revealed that women's participation is customarily denied in male-dominated decision making structures, the role of the wives of traditional leaders – the *ondlunkulu* – was similar to that of women councillors and was receptive to the needs of women. But municipalities tended not to support them and issues were largely pursued in a “reactive and isolated manner”, with their not being aware of the potential of the *ondlunkulu* for furthering women's rights. Civil society organisations have not cohered at a strategic level to engage with each other about gender specific issues. Within the IDP processes, women are compromised by their passive approach to meetings, which makes them largely observers, and the issues they raise are usually domestic. However, the researchers noted that “in the context of extremely conservative cultural norms, giving expression to their needs marks significant progress for women”. IDP participatory processes have become diluted and in all of the municipalities, attention to gender has been “limited and sporadic”. Generally, women's strategic needs for gender equity, empowerment, personal safety and protection against abuse, equal opportunity, access to employment and social development are not the focus of IDPs. Within projects, the distinction between those that catered for women's practical needs (feeding family, educating

children) and those that catered for strategic interests of women (challenge stereotypes; provide space for self assertion etc) meant that women mainly benefited from the former. Infrastructure projects attended to women's practical needs while women are less visible in leadership roles, although project leaders are supportive of the increased role of women. Likewise, when it comes to local economic development projects, the focus for women was on traditional activities like farming, sewing, informal trading with returns being minimal and they remained survivalist on the whole. The presence of national guidelines has however meant that women have benefited at the project level – they are involved in committees as workers and beneficiaries. The research concludes that women are being included at local politics, IDP processes and local projects more than before, but that this does not necessarily change pre-existing gender relations nor result in programmes that change address deeper gender issues at the local level.

Paper 2: Negotiating livelihood in African cities: Innovative responses by the youth in Douala-Cameroon

by Christopher Sama Molem, Economics and Management Department, University of Buea, Cameroon

This study examines the “innovative” responses of unemployed and marginalised youth to economic crisis and liberalisation in Douala city. In lieu of engaging in petty crime, men between the ages of 15 and 35 have responded to an ineffective transport sector by starting taxi businesses using motorbikes (*bendskin*) to transport people and handcarts (*pousse-pousse*) to transport goods and merchandise. Several factors have compromised transport in the city: geographically it is built on a natural drainage basin and so roads intersect streams and slopes; the road infrastructure has not kept up with urbanisation; and public transport is limited. Another factor which contributed to the emergence of these “taxi” businesses was the political strife of the 90s when opposition parties embarked on a *villes mortes* campaign: meaning “ghost town”, the tactic was to call on the public to boycott markets, stay indoors and not pay taxes and utility bills in order to force the ruling regime to hold a sovereign national conference. This campaign aggravated the already critical transport system and owners of motorbikes were regularly asked by friends and neighbours to assist. Young people caught onto the idea and the *bendskin* market developed. While handcarts had been around since the 60s, the *villes mortes* campaign, coupled with economic hardship and unemployment led to the rapid expansion of their use. Both have provided a rare avenue for gainful employment and have significantly reduced urban poverty. Their desirability is also based on the fact that these businesses can be started from personal savings or informal banking systems (rotational credit associations). Anybody who is able to acquire a handcart or motorbike can start working soon after learning to drive. Few *bendskin* owners observe the law to have a driving licence. The disadvantages are long work hours, traffic pollution, and older handcart pushers suffer from backaches, rheumatism and even hernias. As a result it is often considered a transitional phase of employment. Further benefits of these activities are that the *bensskineurs* and *pousseurs* are organised into small, tightly knit groups offering much solidarity, a social network and safety net against bad times. The public has an ambivalent attitude to them – although people appreciate the convenience of their services, they do not approve of their reckless and irresponsible road behaviour: drivers are aggressive and ignore rules of the road. To make matters worse, police use this situation to extort bribes rather than enforce the law. *Bendskin* drivers say that tax collectors also exploit them by demanding other documents like insurance or driver's licences. In response to this official harassment, *bensskineurs* and *pousseurs* have displayed a remarkable ability for organising informally at several levels to protect their

own interests and such groups are usually based on ethnic and friendship bonds. They have also organised collectively to contest police harassment, including protest and revolt, bringing traffic to a standstill by blocking intersections. Frequent unrest led to attempts to restructure these operators and municipal managers (who also owned fleets of *bendskins*) held several meetings with them in 2003 resulting in a “partnership convention” with a newly created professional association of these operators: *Groupement des associations et syndicats de moto-taxis* (Grasmoto). The drivers agreed to henceforth resolve problems through peaceful negotiation as well as to register with the local administration. However, most drivers are suspicious of such initiatives and continue to organise themselves informally. The paper calls for more support of these drivers given the pivotal roles they play – “efforts should be made to improve organisation and productivity of these modes of transport, while enforcing minimum service quality standards”. Training is critical as is the encouragement of a professional association since existing labour unions focus on concerns of conventional taxi drivers.

Paper 3: Children as participating citizens in a child-friendly city

by Janet Prest Talbot, Children’s Rights Centre, Durban, South Africa

The departure point of this paper is that citizenship should be nurtured from a young age, as it does not automatically start once a child reaches adulthood, and so it calls for the inclusion of children in an active way in determining how things evolve for them in the city. The paper then outlines some developments that illustrate the inclusion of children in an active way in decision making of their community affairs. Instead of the traditional view that children should be seen as receptors of adult decision-making and wisdom, the author argues that they should be encouraged to make an active contribution in decisions that affect their lives. More positively promoting children’s participation supports their growth and development in the following ways: social skills are developed which leads to better performance of responsibilities; participation facilitates the flow of child perspectives into social decision-making, it improves communication and negotiation skills, builds self esteem and confidence, and participation in significant affairs of life gives them a sense of meaning and enables more mature, respectful relationships to develop between adults and children and generations. Three examples of child citizenship projects were then described so as to illustrate these points. The first described how a local children’s organisation was encouraged to reflect on and analyse their communities’ needs by way of a photo-documentary project that documented unemployment and which then motivated the children to approach the ward councillor for help. The second reported on a national South African project that educates children on how to monitor local municipal budgets in their community and then they are able to advocate for allocations. The project incorporated the Child Budget Unit of Idasa, which partnered with four South African youth organisations to teach them to monitor local and provincial budgets and this enabled them to directly participate in budget decisions. The third example focused on policy and law with regard to children’s needs by describing how the Children’s Institute worked with partner organisations from different provinces to identify 12 children vulnerable in the context of HIV and Aids who then formed a group called Dikwankwetla – the Heroes. The members of this group participated in workshops that informed them of the contents of the Children’s Bill and solicited their opinions and recommendations on its contents. On the basis of these three examples, Talbot evaluated the quality of child participation and noted the following: children’s participation should be sought at all levels of life and not just in the public domain; once

the design process is over it is critical that the children carry on doing participatory work; the capacity of children to participate and take action needs to be built through sharing of information, teaching skills, and facilitation of the interaction of children with other children and adults; and finally the importance of evaluating the impact that such initiatives have – “How far did the ‘voice’ of children go?” She called for the creation of a framework for participation of children based on Unicef’s “child-friendly” city model and referred to the comparative models of children’s councils and children’s movements in other countries.

Paper 4: Between the community hall and the city hall: parameters of participation

by Richard Ballard, School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa

Richard Ballard’s paper interrogates the way in which “the language of participation” has become the rhetoric of post-apartheid government and says the notion of participation needs to be elaborated on more specifically because various agendas operate under the guise of “participation”. Ballard differentiates between “nominal” and “substantial” participation. In nominal participation, meetings with poor constituencies are held and information collected at those meetings are collated and aggregated, and it may be incorporated into strategic planning documents. Substantial participation is premised on the idea that people affected by a decision must have “had an opportunity to influence the outcomes”.

Effective participation in this regard requires that authorities should create spaces of participation that involve people beyond just grassroots level but which should also allow them to influence major decisions by discussing the advantages and disadvantages of different policy options. Such participation would enable people to have a final say in the development and final approval of a municipal budget. He also pointed to the ways in which nominal participation can be used to demobilise and de-legitimise groups who oppose government, sometimes even referring to such groups as a “third force”.

Ballard went on to critique “invited” participation with reference to the IDP process in Durban whereby meetings were not open to everyone, and pointed out that those organisations that had representatives at these forums reflected only a fraction of the population of the ward. He also cautioned that even if this representation was fairer, it is possible that certain political positions on local government policy are not captured. Civil society does not represent all needs and interests. He also warned that the way in which these leaders related to their constituencies should be interrogated because there is the danger that meetings are organised at short notice so that people have insufficient time to prepare, and that this does not allow for effective mandating of positions. He differentiated between participation that involved technical input on the planning process and the “meaningful transfer of decision making power”, citing the effectiveness of popular budgeting in Porto Alegre as a successful example. He warned of the ways in which claims of participation can be abused and used to include and exclude at the same time so that only certain kinds of voices are encouraged. He argues that this invited participation referred to earlier is the predominant method of “formal” and “state-led” participation, in effect the invited participation referred to earlier.

“If the government is not willing to expose its policies to rigorous debate and the challenge of opponents whether in social movements and elsewhere, then the kinds of participation it claims is a hamstrung one indeed,” he says. Ballard drew attention to the

issue of scale, in particular the expenditure of revenue. He concludes by arguing that there is a tension between devolution to ensure effective participation and aggregation to ensure the pooling of resources.

Paper 5: A city block, a park and three ladies: a story of integration and inclusion in an African capital city

by Stuart Talbot, General Manager, Yeast City Housing, Tshwane, South Africa

The presentation began with a testimony from one of the beneficiaries of Yeast City Housing, who described how she had escaped a physically abusive husband and found refuge in a shelter at the housing project. She described how initial alienation and reluctance gave way to slow integration into various activities on the grounds, from working as a receptionist to participation in dance and aerobics classes, to a course at the school of creative arts. She has come to play a teaching role for other women in the shelter. She misses her children who live with her family outside the city but visits them whenever she gets an opportunity. She has come to accept that in this sense she has two “homes”, one being her original home where her children now live and the second being Yeast City Housing. She plans to eventually bring her children to live with her in the city once she has permanent lodgings as she now lives in communal accommodation.

Stuart Talbot briefly described the housing complex, which he said was being used to develop a model of inclusive development in the inner city. It is situated in an area surrounded by good city facilities, is multicultural and has many economic and physical assets. The Consortium for Urban Transformation drew together his faith-based organisation and 20 inner city leaders, officials, NGOs, CBOs, youth, health and education representatives to form the Berea-Burger Park (BBP) Community Development Corporation, registered as a non-profit organisation. Its main focus is regeneration of the neighbourhood and it has developed an action plan for the area that includes financial, economic, physical, social, institutional and financial strategies. The emphasis is on finding synergies between different action plans and an integrated approach. For example, redevelopment of buildings also includes plans to develop income-generating projects.

Integration will encompass spatial planning, sectoral planning, institutional integration, community integration, and social integration. Within these different sectors, the project has identified “restraining forces” and “driving forces” as a basis for further planning. The paper itself presents narrative case studies of two other women who have been integrated into the project as a way of also showing some of the difficulties of such undertakings at a grassroots level.

Discussion: Session 5A

Jackie Lamola, the discussant, summed up the presentations of the panel in point form:

- Who defines participation and who defines who are participants and why participation in the first place?
- Once the above is defined, it is necessary to explore whether participation has improved relations between people – has it affected people’s lives?
- An analysis of the assumptions of engagement – does everyone understand what is being discussed? Is everyone’s input valued? Does everyone have the same power and resources to begin to engage with policy?

- The need to “consciously” make room for whoever is defined as a participant and the issues this raises about “invited” and “invented” spaces. Who sets the agenda?
- Participation is not cheap and resources are needed for training, space, capacitation and time.

Questions and comments

Regarding the *bendskins*, the presenter was asked if he was not romanticising their activities which are often violent and extortionist, to which he replied that they were born out of necessity and that they have evolved into a dynamic third force that has a strong political voice. Although he acknowledged their problem areas, he said they could not be ignored and that at the policy level they should be taken seriously and streamlined and regulated since they represent a voice of the youth.

Regarding participation of children, one delegate asked to what extent their participation in children’s parliaments was pre-prepared and staged. Talbot responded by saying the purpose was not to set up the youth against adults but for them to work together within “rules, parameters and without hate speech or any undermining”. She stressed that child participation was not about autonomy and that adults are still in charge but should protect them. As children grow older there should be spaces to discuss such “levels of autonomy”. Citing examples from UK schools, she described how participation could bring order out of chaos since children responded positively to be invited to partner with adults.

Another participant said that regarding women’s participation in IDPs it was essential for women’s organisations to come forward since the emphasis thus far has been on quotas and that civil society also has a role to play in organising itself sufficiently to approach leaders. She pointed out that the shift in gender quotas from 30% to 50% offered an opportunity for this. One of the writers of the paper, Pearl, responded by saying that one of the problems was that women often disguise their behaviour so as not to seem threatening due to matriarchal tendencies and that their assumption was “we will reinstate patriarchy once men are “in the picture”. Todes commented that many project managers want to speak to women as they are considered the stable base of the community.

Session 5B

Lessons for service delivery

Session chair: *Glynn Davies*

Discussant: *Nolwazi Gasa*

Glynn Davies, session chair, introduced the four speakers and their papers. The first paper indicated that over 70% of the urban population in Tanzania live in increasingly crowded informal settlements which lack basic facilities like piped water and electricity, making them feel excluded from the opportunities of city life. There is an urgent need for intervention to relieve their situation. The second paper presented the argument that various waste management initiatives, although creating short-term employment opportunities, have not necessarily created permanent jobs and led to inclusion. The third paper detailed the lives of an extremely excluded community of 30 000 people who live in “hidden spaces”, ignored by all public authorities, and with unemployment and Aids being just two of many challenges they face. The last paper presented the necessity for a detailed understanding of the implications of HIV and Aids for successful service provision.

Paper 1: Informal urbanisation and infrastructure provision in Dar es Salaam: Lessons for inclusive cities

by Wilbard Kombe and John Lupala from the University College of Lands and Architectural Studies, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, presented by Wilbard Kombe

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

The population of Dar es Salaam almost doubled from 757 000 in 1978 to 1.4 million in 1988, and has more than doubled again to around 3 million today, of whom 2 million are said to be living in informal settlements. In 1972 there were 27 981 housing units in informal areas; this quadrupled over the next 20 years to 131 580 units.

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

Attempts at publicly funded low-cost housing programmes during the 1970 and 1980s failed to deliver for low-income households.

Two urban forms have emerged: one, densely packed, spatially unorganised, with limited or no infrastructure, for the marginalised urban poor, and another, less dense, spatially structured, with basic infrastructure services, for the well-to-do.

In the latter case, land use planning, zoning, surveying and provision of trunk infrastructure precede building construction. In the former, land is bought, built and

occupied, with servicing and surveying possibly to follow. This serves to lower entry barriers to the poor by making land cheaply and readily available.

Informal settlements are incremental by nature; low-income builders start with a small house (often only a room) and then extend this as their economic situation improves. Informal grass-roots actors and local community leaders play a role in sanctioning land allocation, which has improved security of tenure. But as densities increase, grassroots institutions become less effective, increasing environmental degradation and threatening the capital investments of the poor.

The informal settlements are nonetheless essential: they provide the cheap labour and services essential to the day-to-day functioning of large cities. However, they are also the source of a number of social problems, accentuating poverty, exclusion and social-spatial inequalities.

Environmental and public health problems increase with densification. Unregulated densification restrains freedom of movement and undermines the livelihoods of subsistence informal economic activities such as hawking. Informal settlements are often located far from formal employment centres, schools, clinics and vocational training. As impoverishment increases, the poor sell off their land to the better off, and move to cheaper accommodation still further from the city. Retrofitting services to chaotic settlements is prohibitively expensive, and makes economies of scale hard to realise with forms of line infrastructure such as piped water, roads and sewage.

From the mid-eighties onward, the Tanzanian government has embarked on various policy reforms and programmes, with mixed results. Three of these projects are reviewed below:

The 20 000 Plots Project

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

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

The Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programme (CIUP)

Overall water demand in Dar es Salaam has been estimated at 240 000m³ per day, but actual supply is 55 400m³. Some 88% of households experience chronic water shortage, while only 33% have private on-plot connections.

To address this problem, the Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programme (CIUP) was initiated in 2004, with World Bank funding. The aim was to improve infrastructure in 19 low-income settlements (later reduced to 14), including roads, water supply,

electricity, solid waste management, drainage, sanitation and community facilities. So far, work has only begun in two settlements.

Challenges facing the programme include the prohibitive cost of installing infrastructure post-facto, often requiring demolitions. There are disputes over payments required from householders (5% of costs). The small scale of the projects, and the fact that they are a reactive response to outcomes rather than the causes of informal settlements, means that the projects are unlikely to significantly alter the polarised social-spatial landscape of the city.

Formalisation of Properties and Businesses for Poverty Alleviation

This Norwegian-funded project to formalise property ownership of land and businesses, is inspired by the theories of Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto to free up the “dead capital” held by the poor in informal settlements. Some 60% of urban properties exist outside the law.

The project aims to identify properties, including all assets upon them, and give legal rights by issuing licences that can in turn be used to access credit facilities. By December 2005, some 217 407 properties were registered - but only 12 451 licences issued. The reason: property owners are reluctant to mortgage licences, in fear of losing their properties should they fail to meet bank conditions.

The financial institutions in turn have been reluctant to accept that the two-year licences meet their requisites for loans. They also say that the modest size of the loans make them too costly to administer. In spite of the government’s efforts, the response shows that there is no quick fix to changing attitudes, both individual and institutional, and harmonising formal and informal systems.

Kombe concludes by saying that government intervention has proved too slow, too small-scale and too reactive to address the problem. A better method would be to empower the informal settler communities themselves to take responsibility for the ways land is divided, in their own collective interests.

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

Paper 2: Expanding the delivery of waste management services, creating new forms of exclusion

by Melanie Samson, York University

Municipal service delivery under apartheid was unequal, with white areas receiving first world services, and others receiving inadequate services or none at all. Post-apartheid policy has prioritised basic service needs, but municipalities have struggled to generate sufficient revenue to roll out equitable services for all. Municipalities have been obliged to adopt a range of alternative strategies, in an attempt to include greater numbers of the previously marginalised within the city by making service provision more affordable.

This paper studies three municipalities in South Africa, Johannesburg, Msunduzi and Sol Plaatje, which between them adopted four strategies:

- Municipal-community partnerships (MCPs). Commercial contracts between municipality, community organisation and/or NGO to deliver services. The social goal is to deepen participatory democracy.
- Public-private partnerships (PPPs). Commercial contracts between municipality and black-owned companies, with the social goal of black economic empowerment.
- Public works projects. Job creation projects funded by provincial government, with the aim of poverty alleviation and skills upgrading.
- Volunteer initiatives. Voluntary provision of unpaid services, bound by no contracts, as acts of good citizenship or ANC party loyalty.

Municipal Community Partnerships

The Msunduzi municipality pioneered MCPs, working together with an NGO, the Built Environment Support Group (BESG), which co-ordinates the projects. The MCPs are a three-way partnership between the municipality, the BESG, and the community structure in the target area, aiming to empower community participation, reach areas that never had service delivery previously, create jobs and reduce the costs of conventional delivery. However, the projects raise a number of questions:

- The projects are not registered with the relevant labour bargaining council, and operate outside the labour regulations.
- The projects can generate only one job per 100 households if annual costs per worker are kept below R14 000. In practice, this results in the creation of a second tier to the labour market.
- The projects operate only in the poorest areas – wealthier areas continue to be serviced by higher-paid unionised labour.
- Neither the community structures nor the workers appear to have been empowered. No capacity building has been done, and the BESG acts as de facto project manager and employer.

Black economic empowerment public-private partnerships (PPPs)

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

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

Public Works Programmes

During the 2000 elections, the Northern Cape Premier promised poverty alleviation schemes, resulting in a public works programme in the Sol Plaatje (Kimberley) township of Galeshewe to upgrade roads and storm water drains and to sweep streets. The programme employed 681 people (60% female), which cost R13-million and lasted 18 months. Wages were low (ranging from R31 to R65 per day) but they helped pay for necessities in households with no income.

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

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

Once again, the ending of the three months' employment plunged the workers back into unemployment, with no improvement in their job-finding prospects; relatively few received skills upgrading; and most resented doing the same job as municipal workers for much lower wages.

Volunteer campaigns

On its 90th anniversary in 2002, the ANC declared the "year of the volunteer" and called upon the poor who could not pay for services to minimise service delivery costs by volunteering free labour. In Johannesburg, hundreds of women, almost all ANC members organised by local ward councillors, volunteered to clean their areas, working five days a week, unpaid, without food or equipment.

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

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

Paper 3: Hidden spaces, hidden livelihoods: Surviving the city of gold

by Jo Vearey, M Oliff, W Moyo, S Delany, H Rees of the Reproductive Health and HIV Research Unit (RHRU), in the Dept of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, University of Witwatersrand

Jo Vearey presented the paper on Benrose, in the southeast of the Johannesburg inner city, which is home to a "hidden population" of some 30 000 migrants who live in a

range of informal housing, including abandoned factories, illegally-occupied flats, shacks and run-down single-sex hostels dating from the apartheid era. Marginalised from urban life, these people live an entirely separate existence within a closed social structure, struggling to survive within a sometimes violent and always insecure space.

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

In the apartheid era, women were banned from the premises, which were controlled by a management-appointed induna. A non-elected induna still runs the hostel and collects rent, assisted by “junior indunas” who enforce his will, using violence or expulsion at times. The hostels continue to be strictly men-only. The induna is closely connected to the local Inkatha Freedom Party leadership (two of the three wards in the area are Inkatha strongholds) with the local councillors living within the hostels.

Spaza shops, taverns, barbers, shoe repairers and maskandi music sellers have set up business within the hostels. But with most residents unemployed, they spend their time listening to music, playing cards and gambling, drinking and smoking dagga. Crime such as drug dealing, gun running and car theft is reported to provide a livelihood for some, and petty crime in the hostels is common. Police seldom interfere.

Alongside the men-only hostels, informal settlements have sprung up, consisting mainly of women and children. Empty plots where warehouses have been torn down are now covered in shacks. Shacks are also erected inside abandoned factories, and homes or flats controlled by slumlords have been subdivided.

A survey conducted by RHRU in 2004 interviewed 1 008 women and 1 458 men, finding HIV prevalence rates of 56% among women and 37% among men. The majority (69% of men, 61% of women) are from rural areas, and would prefer to live in their home communities. 76% of the women surveyed, and 56% of the men were unemployed, although as many as 20% of the men had been in Johannesburg for more than 11 years. Unemployment, insecurity and dependence on one another have led to a lack of integration in the city and a feeling of isolation.

Residents have no sense of “belonging” to the city, and many have never travelled to the city centre, which they fear. Residents have little access to welfare services, and those who have attempted to locate services such as clinics report being turned away and told to “go home” to the rural areas.

In 2006, a participatory photographic project was run in partnership with the Market Photo Workshop in Newtown, which pioneered the concept of equipping and mentoring disadvantaged students to document their home environments.

Twenty Benrose residents participated in a two-week photographic course, then set out to document their daily lives. The results exceeded expectations, revealing hidden aspects of residents’ lives, such as the collection of water from storm drains, salvaging wood, illegal electricity connections, and the voluntary work people do to maintain their community. For example, some women volunteer at a community-based hospice, others are involved in a city health department TB initiative linked to the local clinics.

80 photographs, accompanied by captions written by the photographers, were selected to create an exhibition called “Hidden Spaces”, first shown in July 2006, and since then at a number of events, generating considerable public interest and raising awareness of a little-known phenomenon. The hope is that urban planners and practitioners from a range of disciplines will work together collectively to respond to the challenges raised by the excluded residents of the city’s hidden spaces.

Paper 4: HIV, Aids and urban development issues in sub-Saharan Africa – beyond sex and medicines: why getting the basics right is part of the response!

by Cecile Ambert

Cecile Ambert says that sub-Saharan Africa is undergoing extremely rapid urbanisation, faster than any other continent. She says that within the next 25 years the majority of the continent’s population will be urban.

She indicates that the urban poor are worse off than the rural poor. On average in sub-Saharan Africa, HIV prevalence in the urban population is 1.7 times higher than those living in rural areas. Behaviour-change initiatives have proved to be very limited in slowing down the epidemic while poverty and weak health systems have exacerbated the problem.

Ambert discounts the myth of a “special African sexuality” where Africans would appear to have more sex with more people, as a possible reason for sub-Saharan Africa’s high HIV prevalence rate. She does confirm that women are more vulnerable – 59% of all adults living with HIV in the region are women. This can be attributed to economic factors, where women are forced into transactional sex. Another factor is historical/cultural: patriarchy may mean that older men have access to young girls, making the girls more vulnerable. Ambert warns though that these reasons may disguise a complex range of factors that may lie simply in “the expression of male *and* female sexual need and desire”.

Migration has been raised as a factor in the spread of HIV. This paper proposes that, although migrants usually end up in slum settlements, where they are more at risk, migration is a natural process in which people seek a better life for themselves.

Ambert says that the ABC approach of behaviour change (abstain, be faithful, condomise), and counselling and testing as a means for reducing risky sexual behaviour has not proved to be effective. Access to medicine – in particular the prevention of Mother to Child therapy and antiretroviral therapy techniques – have not always proved to be effective either.

Both rely on people having access to nutritious food, accessible water and sanitation, condoms and living in hygienic conditions, which is not always the case in urban settlements. Complicating factors in the spread of HIV are opportunistic infections like TB, parasites (such as helminths), bilharzia, malaria, all of which decrease the effectiveness of treatment because the patient’s immune system is already seriously compromised.

“However, just as responses that focus on behaviour-change interventions as the only means to reverse the spread of HIV, a narrow medicalised response to HIV and Aids is

also unlikely to succeed unilaterally.” Ambert stresses that there are a range of urban development factors that may be factors in the spread and risk of HIV infection.

She lists these as: overcrowding; poor access to water and sanitation services and compromised environmental health; and competition over land and access to urban development resources.

Ambert points to a dilemma in HIV prevention and urban development resources. Local governments are torn between putting resources into HIV prevention, while at the same time pumping resources into development. This often results in superficial interventions, like an add-on HIV programme, with loosely defined HIV awareness and education activities, for example.

Ambert recommends that we do not neglect the housing, water, sanitation, and public health interventions that will help prevent the health problems we presently face. Government is in fact spending less than 1% of the national budget on water supply and sanitation infrastructure, while HIV infection continues to rise.

She suggests integrating HIV and Aids management with city development. In other words, mobilising those affected by HIV and Aids in the planning, implementation and monitoring of urban development.

This means access to safe reliable and affordable water and sanitation, together with hygiene promotion; effective solid waste management and stormwater drainage; provision of street lighting and the electrification of clinics and dispensaries; flexible and affordable land management; managing the pressures of Aids mortality on urban cemeteries; and, managing the implications of HIV and Aids in the local government workplace. The latter refers to occupational activities like handling solid waste or sanitation infrastructure, or being exposed to sharp medical instruments. Access to medical aid benefits and the need to review compassionate leave also fall within this recommendation.

Discussion: Session 5B

The discussant, Nolwazi Gasa, said that the dual system, the informal and formal, were dependent on each other, with the formal system unable to exist without the informal system. She expressed concern at the condition of public health within the informal sector, as a result of the sector’s general exclusion. She said the poor living conditions contribute the poor state of the informal sector’s health. Several issues would help improve service delivery: capacity at government level; the readiness of the private sector to respond; the dynamic interplay between the public and private sectors; the capital constraints at state level; the unrealistic standards set; how essential it was for the stakeholders to assess socio-economic realities so that what is done is relevant; the need for dialogue and engagement with the community and other relevant stakeholders; the importance of co-ordination and accountability; the need to review interventions.

Questions asked were concerned with examining the aspects of informal settlements that actually work, and the ability to engage people within the informal settlements and what exactly is being addressed with whom.

Samson replied, saying that transformation was needed in both the formal and informal spheres. Ambert said that the people who were deciding on the interventions were often sitting in offices, not out among the communities they were making decisions about.

Vearey said that health needed to be at the forefront of service delivery issues. Kombe said that there was a lot of politicking around informal settlements, which should be seen as a transitional stage of development. Bureaucracies were not ready to engage, and so a laissez-faire approach prevailed.

Session 6

Plenary closing session

Reflections on proceedings and summary: Rashid Seedat

Director Central Strategy Unit, City of Johannesburg

Rashid Seedat hailed the conference as an unqualified success, saying that 148 participants who had signed the attendance register. He noted the prominent organizations that had hosted it (DBSA, SACN, City of Joburg, Urban Landmark, HSRC and Wits University) as well as the municipalities that had participated (Joburg, Tshwane (Pretoria), Ekurhuleni (East Rand), Msunduzi (Pietermaritzburg), Mangaung (Bloemfontein) and Cape Town). He also noted the participation of government departments such as department of provincial and local government and the National Treasury, as well as academics and researchers from universities of KwaZulu-Natal, Wits, Pretoria and elsewhere.

Seedat praised the diversity of the presenters and discussants, who came from Nigeria, Tanzania, Cameroon, Canada, Kenya, France, Uganda, Namibia, Spain, the United Kingdom, and South Africa. He summarized the cities that had been studied: Windhoek (Namibia), Lagos (Nigeria), Johannesburg (South Africa), Douala City (Cameroon), Nairobi (Kenya), Antananarivo (Madagascar), Maputo (Mozambique), Freetown (Sierra Leone) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania).

He described the plenary sessions of the conference as having conceptually addressed the understanding of inclusive African cities and as having generated fairly lively debate on some issues. In contrast, he described the breakaway sessions as much more specific with a focus on particular case studies, and as having yielded equally vigorous discussion. He suggested that this interplay between the abstract and the concrete, demonstrated the importance of the mutually reinforcing relationship between different stakeholders who play in the two spaces.

Presentations were multi-layered and richly textured; and there were many commonalities as well as many differences in the presentations. He commented that while it may not be possible to synthesise or conclude on any of the issues, it is possible to pull a thread through the themes that have been presented, discussed and debated.

He identified some of the themes, and added that he had not been able to attend all the sessions as some were run in parallel, and apologized if he had overlooked some of the thematic concerns.

One theme he described as an exploration of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion, and he noted that the line between exclusion and inclusion is not always clear, and that it is not always possible to know when an inclusive city has been realised. He also suggested that the notion of inclusivity is not a static one and that new inclusivities and new exclusivities are emerging all the time. Regarding the post-colonial African city, he drew attention to the dispute over whether it actually exists and the possibility that it may well be a generalisation that does not apply to many African cities. He also noted that some presentations highlighted the fact that Cities are often thought of in spatial

terms, but there are: “rich social dynamics; making the built environment an incentive to collaboration; intersecting economies; and speculating from below”.

Under the theme of citizenship, he outlined how citizenship embodies the notion of rights and obligations in terms of access to basic services, housing, land and participation. He urged delegates to take heed of the warnings implicit in some of the presentations that trans-frontier migrants are often seen as non-citizens who should be excluded from cities, while they should form part of the building of inclusive cities.

The distrust of democracy by certain groups is cause for concern. In many places like Antananarivo, distrust of democracy is higher among the poor thus demonstrating how poverty has often led to exclusion and vice versa and that poverty can undermine gains made by democracy.

Seedat noted that many presentations reflected the heterogeneous nature of African cities: in Freetown, the fault lines during the Civil War were not religious and ethnic differences, but physical spaces occupied by people that meant that they were allied to particular factions; in Douala City, the diverse groups that formed the city lived harmoniously until independence when it was subject to political manipulation.

Regarding urban African identities, Seedat said that some of the papers had revealed how a range of factors play a role in the determination of urban identities: for example, young Sowetans’ identities are seen as being determined by consumerism and this is manipulated in advertising. A strong theme that emerged out of the citizenship discussions was the tension between cosmopolitanism and homogeneity.

Seedat then suggested that these themes should form the foundation of finding ways to make cities more inclusive. While discussion is critical, he said it is important to move from theory to practice, and that in this regard, the notion of agency is important, by a variety of actors. Actors include national government, which has a role to play in the developmental state and through decentralization of its functions. Similarly, local government, as the sphere of government closest to the people, has a critical role to play in the provision of services and infrastructure. And social movements/civil society has a role to play in representing local communities (e.g. Nairobi slums and Windhoek); widening the democratic space; and collaborating with the state/local government to address development needs.

In conclusion, he said that the conference had facilitated the discarding of some old ideas, and the development of some new ones, and the overall acquisition of a new and deeper insight into the issue of inclusivity and exclusivity. He hoped that these would form the basis for future collaboration between the partners involved in hosting the event. He then thanked the originators, partners, sponsors, speakers and drivers, and encouraged visitors from outside Joburg to enjoy the city.