INCLUSIVE
CITIES

*The pursuit of urban social
and spatial freedoms for all*

4

Key Messages

1 Cities still largely benefit those who can afford to "buy" their rights and freedom to the city.

2 The majority of urban dwellers are still socially, spatially, culturally and economically excluded.

3 Cities need to have programmes aimed at achieving social justice through inclusion and at empowering citizens to participate in planning, developing and managing their city.

4 Cities should develop urban spatial frameworks that accommodate the needs of a growing population in terms of land, infrastructure, human settlements and transport.

5 Cities should reserve public land inside the urban edge for high-density, mixed-use and integrated developments aimed at those who are currently excluded.

6 Private sector actors also need to consider the social good.

@embellashment

INTRODUCTION

"Inclusive" means open to everyone, not to certain people only, and so an inclusive city values all people and their needs equally. It is a city in which all residents – including the most vulnerable and marginalised poor – have a representative voice in governance, planning and budgeting processes, and have access to sustainable livelihoods, legal housing and affordable basic services, such as water and sanitation. It is a city where people feel comfortable being citizens and have equal participation in the city.[1]

Over 20 years into democracy, it is time to recognise and respect the contribution of all South Africans to the making of South African cities, in particular how black South Africans "can come to legitimise a sense of cultural and economic ownership of cities as producers and not merely consumers or workers" (Mkhize, 2015). All citizens must have a sense of belonging spatially, socio-culturally and economically to our cities. Cities can begin t.o express and enhance this sense of belonging through making and managing spaces and places that people can identify strongly with and frequent freely, without fear of intimidation or being unwelcomed – this is the way of the inclusive city.

The chapter's main aim is to examine the nature and extent of inclusivity in South African cities, and what this means to citizens in terms of access to opportunities and resources for the urban poor. It explores the meaning of citizenship – what are the rights to the city and who has these rights. It looks at who has access, such as vulnerable groups (youth, women, disabled persons, residents and informal settlements, etc.) to the urban economy, safety, affordability and urban integration. The chapter also uses migrants as an indicator of vulnerability and exclusion because migration patterns, flows and mobile citizens can have major implications for city policies.

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1   Adapted from Douglas, R. Commentary: What we mean by "inclusive cities". http://nextcity.org/informalcity/entry/commentary-what-we-mean-by-inclusive-cities, 28 January 2013.

URBAN INCLUSION AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Urban inclusion and access should be considered from a right-to-the-city perspective, which is "far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources" (Harvey, 2008: 1). Rights to the city include the right to influence how cities develop and unfold over time, or "a right to change ourselves by changing the city" (ibid). According to Mathivet (2010), most right-to-the-city approaches share three fundamental principles (Gorgens and Van Donk, 2011: 5):

1. The exercise of *full citizenship*, namely the realisation of all human rights to ensure the collective well-being of inhabitants and the social production and management of their habitat.
2. The *democratic management of the city* through the direct participation of society in planning and governance, thus strengthening local governments and social organisation.

3. The *social function of the city and of urban property*, with the collective good prevailing over individual property rights, involving a socially just and environmentally sustainable use of urban space.

In the context of African countries, especially South Africa, "citizenship is both *de jure* and *de facto* (Dirsuweit, 2006: 296) because, although citizenship is defined in a list of constitutional rights, "social and cultural relations often restrict the urban citizen's ability to actively engage with the state at the urban scale" (SACN, 2014a: 26). For example, the state's engagement with informality in the inner city is largely absent and often confrontational. A case in point is Johannesburg, where "migrant entrepreneurs are adapting space and carving whole micro economies without City permission or enablement" – one such example is the Ethiopian quarter in the inner city (SACN, 2014b: 9).

YEOVILLE: An example of the complexities of urban areas

Cities worldwide attract people looking for economic opportunities, and Johannesburg is no exception. Yeoville is close to universities, the CBD, Sandton and Rosebank, and is a convenient transitional space for new arrivals from elsewhere in the country and other countries. The area encapsulates the complexities of urban citizenship, urban governance and management, and the interaction of the formal with the informal.

Yeoville is a mixed-use and mixed-income area. The main thoroughfare is Rockey/Raleigh Street, which is a high street characterised by formal and informal economic activities. It is not uncommon to find a hair salon, internet café and small supermarket operating from one space, and home-based businesses (e.g. *spaza* shops) are emerging. Yeoville is home to a mix of families, young couples, students, office and service industry workers, and informal traders. In many ways, Yeoville typifies what is articulated in the Corridors of Freedom, with residences close to places of work and schools, easy access to other basic amenities, and public transport and non-motorised transport (i.e. walking/cycling) popular among most residents.

Challenges and complexities
- *The concept of urban citizenship:* Traditionally citizens pay taxes, own properties and (in South Africa) possess an identity document. But the new urban reality is more fluid, influenced by increased internal and cross-border migration. Consequently, city residents may not be citizens in the classical sense, but are embedded in the urban space. Therefore, creating an inclusive city requires reimagining the concept of urban citizenship.
- *Community out of diversity:* While Yeoville could be framed as an exceptional "Afropolitan" space, neither its residents nor its spatial form are homogeneous. For residents who moved into the area in the 1990s, Yeoville no longer has the same suburban feel, especially given the many new arrivals and the informal, unauthorised demolitions and rebuilding that have changed the spatial form. An inclusive city needs to find ways of mobilising collective interests and managing diversity in order to ensure inclusivity and commonality.
- *Participation platforms:* A large section of the Yeoville community is not eligible to vote, and the suburb is divided into four wards, which makes making decisions as a neighbourhood difficult. For example, the municipal library and swimming pool affect the broader Yeoville community but, because these facilities are in Ward 67, only residents

of that ward participate in making decisions about them. Yeoville is home to a range of active community-based organisations, which could be used as a basis to build participation platforms that are more inclusive.

- *The reality of informality:* in Yeoville informality permeates the residential and commercial sectors. Buildings are sub-let, partitioned and extended without municipal approval, resulting in a radical change to the look and feel of the suburb. Informal trading is common, providing a safety net for the unemployed and contributing to urban food security. Yet, with good planning and management, informality can be harnessed to contribute to an inclusive, productive and sustainable city.

- *Minimal urban management and vision:* Yeoville is perceived as a site of urban decay, characterised by crime and grime. For many residents, the main symbol of the state in the neighbourhood is policing, rather than visionary leadership, urban governance and management. Local government's preoccupation with eradicating and replacing what exists with something more conventional, centred on a middle and business class returning to area, means that opportunities are missed. Possible development directions, which build on core aspects of Yeoville, include social and economic integration, inclusive mobility, densification for easier access to services and economic opportunities, and a 24-hour city.

Lessons from Yeoville

Yeoville is an example of an integrated, mixed-income neighbourhood and highlights the challenge of making such communities work and become socially cohesive. Different needs and contexts result in different approaches to space, which can lead to conflict unless supportive urban management is in place. Yeoville represents myriad aspects of an inclusive city, but the persisting narrative of crime and grime mean that opportunities are missed. A shift in thinking is needed, in particular around who belongs and has rights in the city. As urban migration continues to grow, cities need to think about what an inclusive city looks and feels like – and whether "clean" cities are a necessity or a nice-to-have. What is more important: a food-secure city with safety nets for the poorest or a clean city? A long-standing preoccupation in the making of South African cities is the tendency to identify and erase "the undesirable" before what is "desirable" can come into effect. Although informality is often viewed as contrary to the world-class city, Yeoville is an example of how opportunities for innovations that form organically can, with local government support, become a city that is inclusive in the true sense.

Source: Ngobese (2016)

To understand urban inclusivity based on the "right to the city", a useful notion is that of "capabilities", or the freedoms of citizens to lead the kind of lives they value (Sen, 1999: 18). Public policy can enhance these capabilities, and effective public participation can influence the direction of public policy. This implies developing the full potential of citizens through access to the necessary resources. The question is whether all citizens – local and foreign – experience the same rights, freedoms and unrestricted movement, or whether they are excluded and marginalised from the rights to the city, unable to lead the kind of lives that they value. Citizenship and having citizens' rights do not automatically result in inclusion and freedom.

INCLUSION IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIES

The inclusivity of cities is measured using social and spatial indicators. Vulnerability and exclusion are examined through urban inequality, collective violence, public protests, public safety and migration, while access to basic services considers urban transport and access, as well as urban integration.

Vulnerable populations and spatial transformation

Social vulnerability refers to the inability of people, settlements and societies to cope with or adapt to the impact of multiple stressors. A social vulnerability index[2] is used to identify relatively vulnerable communities. Figure 4.1 shows the distinct spatial location of vulnerable urban populations in nine South African cities. The location is in most cases a continuation of the apartheid spatial patterns. Although South Africa's cities have undergone significant changes, the vulnerable populations are still either concentrated on the periphery (in new RDP and informal settlements) or in townships.

Figure 4.1: Social vulnerability – locating South Africa's vulnerable people

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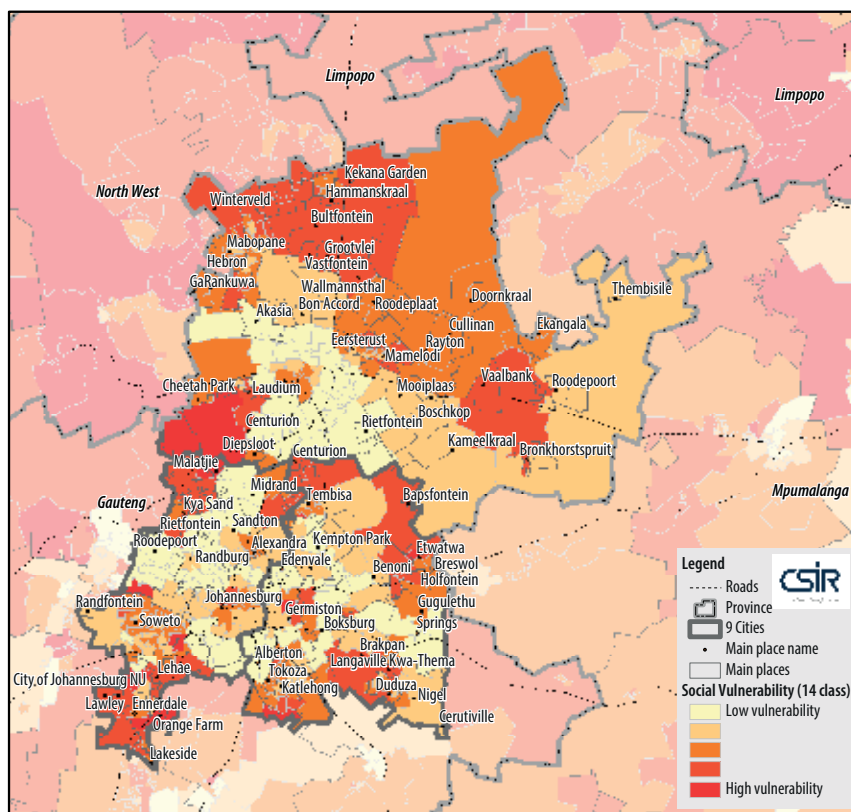
2   The index is derived from a Principal Component Analyses (PCA) on a ward level using 2011 national census data. The PCA was based on 14 variables (average household size, age dependency ratio, percentage unemployed, percentage people below poverty line, percentage rural population, percentage shacks, percentage education, percentage disabled people, percentage female head of households, percentage population without electricity, percentage households without telephone lines, percentage people without a car, percentage people without public water, percentage immigrants). (Le Roux and Naude, 2014)

Cape Town metro

Mamre, Pella, Atlantis, Philadelphia, Melkbosstrand, Klipheuwel, *Western Cape*, Robben Island, Blouberg, Durbanville, Kraaifontein, Milnerton, Bellville, Brackenfell, Parow, Elsies Rivier, Belhar, Epping Industria, Blackheath, Athlone, Delft, Cape Town, Mfuleni, Eerste Rivier, Gugulethu, Philippi, Khayelitsha, Hout Bay, Mitchells Plain, Macassar, Somerset West, Muizenberg, Cape Town Metro Rural, Kommetjie, Fish Hoek, Gordons Bay, Simon's Town, Castle Rock, Smitswinkelbaai

Mangaung

Soetdoring Nature Reserve, Kgalala, Bofulo, Talla, Houtnek, Morago, Rakhoi, *Free State*, Spitsko Merino, Sediba B, Moroto, Mandela View, Mangaung NU, Thubisi, Motlala, Potsane, Mangaung, Botshabelo, Tabane, Post, Rustfontein, Groothoek, Kommissiedrif, Gladstone, Eureka, Nogas Post, Yorksford, Grootdam, Woodbridge, Balaclava, Klipfontein

Legend
- Subplace
- ★ Main Cities
- SACN cities

Social vulnerability (14 Classes)
- Low vulnerability
- High vulnerability
- Province

NOTE:
Social vulnerability is defined as the inability of people, settlements and societies to cope with, withstand or adapt to the impact of multiple stressors such as disruptive natural or manmade events. The social vulnerability index is based on 14 indicators highlighting South Africa's most vulnerable communities.

Citation: le Roux, A., Naude, A.2014. CSIR Regional Dynamics and Interactions Analyses Note: Social Vulnerability – Locating South Africa's vulnerable people.

CSIR

Ethekwini metro

Northdale, Hambanathi, Inkangala, Cibane, Ocean Drive-In, Westbrook, Mlahlanja, Mgandeni, Gunjini, La Mercy, Ntukuso, Mgangeni, Verulam, Ashburton, Sithumba, Inanda, Umdloti, Denge, Matabetule, Blackburn, Cato Ridge, Waterfall, Ntuzuma, Phoenix, Thusumuntu, Everton, KwaDabeka, KwaMashu, Kamba, Cliffdale, Durban North, Mophela, Hillcrest, Gillitts, Newlands West, KwaNdengezi, Pinetown, Durban, Berea, Olwambeni, Westville, Westridge, Clifton Heights, Chatsworth, Bluff, Umbumbulu, Esidweni, Durban South, Madundube, Umlazi, Nungwane, Lotus Park, Isipingo, Iziko, Adams Rural, Amanzimtoti, Illovo South, Kingsburgh, Umnini, Danganya, Clansthal, Umkomaas, Craigieburn, Palmcliffe

Legend
- Label (MP)
- 9 cities

Social vulnerability (14 classes)
- Low vulnerability
- High vulnerability

Msunduzi

uMngeni, uMshwathi, Northdale, *KwaZulu-Natal*, Ebaleni, Mbumbu, Pietermaritzburg, KwaDulela, Mvubukazi, Emaswazini, Henley, The Msunduzi, KwaMncane, eZibomvini, Imbali, Munywini, Mvundlweni, Edendale, Ashburton, Khokwane, Deda, Sinathingi, Wilgefontein, eThekwini, Qanda, Ingwe, Nkabini, eSigodini Esifishane, Mkhambathini, Richmond

Buffalo City

Amahlathi, Great Kei, South Down, Tyusha, Tukayi B, eDrayini, Mpundu, KwaBelekile, Macleantown, Dimbaza, Tyutyu, Yellow Wood, KwaMpundu, KwaNkola, Ngcamngeni, King William's Town, Berlin, Mxaxo, KwaLini, Ngonqweni, Ngcamgeni, Godidi, Tshabo 2, Luxhomo, Chris Hani, Ducats, Gonubie, KwaBhonke, Qonggotha, Mbolompeni, Mdantsane, Nompumelelo, KwaQongqotha, Ntunja, Nkxamnkwana, Pefferville, Thornfield, Potsdam Village, Lovedale SP, Goodhope, Ententeni, Clydesdale, Sunny South, Hill, Corn Fields, KwaAltile, New Hope, Carrington, eJojweni, Phozi, Kidd's Beach, Ntlalwini, Zikova, Kayser's Beach, Lujiza, Ngqushwa, Buffalo City

Nelson Mandela Bay

Sundays River Valley, Colchester, Uitenhage, Nelson Mandela Bay, KwaNobuhle, Despatch, Motherwell, Kouga, Bethelsdorp, iBhayi, Woodridge, Port Elizabeth, Blue Horizon Bay, Clarendon Marine

CSIR

Source: Le Roux and Naude (2014)

Access to good basic services

The story of urbanisation in Africa is in part about people moving in order to have access to a better standard of living, which includes access to basic services such as electricity, water, sanitation and refuse removal. Since 2001, urban households' access to services has generally improved, particularly in the larger metros (Table 4.2), despite starting from different service delivery bases: for example, Cape Town had a higher basis of service delivery in 2001 than any of the other cities.

Table 4.1: Change in access to good basic services (2001–2011)

Municipality	% with good access (2001)	% with good access (2011)	Change (2001–2011)
Mangaung	70.9	85.4	14.5
Buffalo City	64.4	72.8	8.4
City of Tshwane	78.7	85.8	7.1
eThekwini	76.7	83.5	6.8
Nelson Mandela Bay	86.2	92.8	6.7
City of Johannesburg	88.1	93.3	5.2
Msunduzi	69.0	73.2	4.2
Ekurhuleni	82.9	86.6	3.8
City of Cape Town	94.0	94.3	0.3

Source: CSIR (2015)

Figure 4.2 shows the percentage of households within the nine cities with access to formal housing and services. Formal services are generally well provided for in the nine cities, with the exception of water supply in Mangaung and Msunduzi, where less than 50% of households.

Figure 4.2: Housing and services
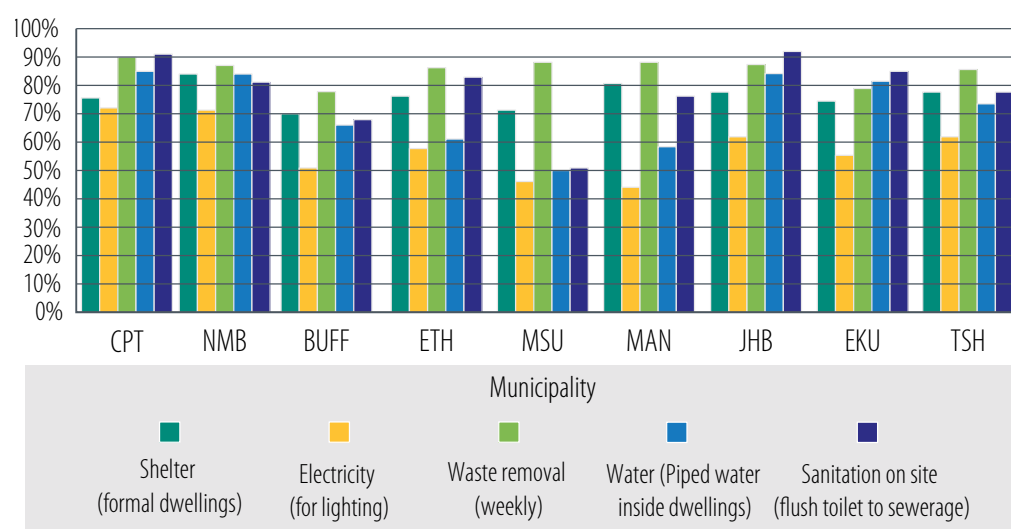
Source: NM & Associates Planners and Designers using Stats SA (2011)

These service delivery gains have certainly increased inclusion in cities. However, despite this progress, communities still feel dissatisfied with service delivery, as illustrated by the level of public protests (for more on this, see the "urban safety" section). This may be because service provision is a moving target for municipalities (particularly larger metros) as cities grow or decline through migration.

Migration

Migration is a critical issue for city governance, policy and planning. Along with natural urban population growth, migration has changed the demographic composition of towns, cities and regions, affecting service and infrastructure provision, among others. As Figure 4.3 shows, the Gauteng City Region and Cape Town have the highest migration flows.

Figure 4.3: Net migration flows based on IEC data (2006–2011)
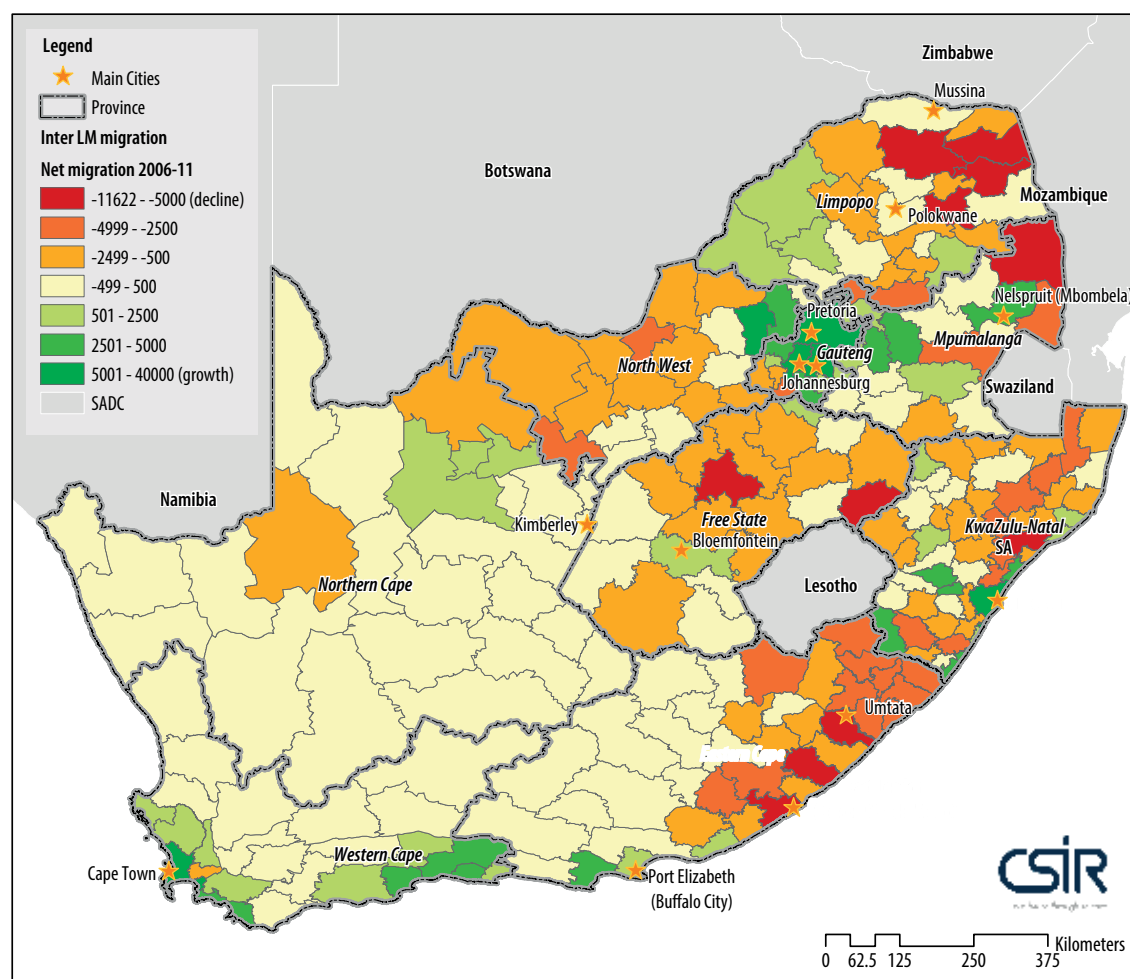
Source: StepSA (2013)

Migration patterns in South Africa range from "permanence to impermanence" (SACN, 2014a: 14), and reasons for migrating include seeking education and/or work in the city and either remaining in or returning to their place of origin (e.g. rural home). Typically, individuals move "between provincial boundaries from rural to urban areas, between urban areas, and increasingly within urban areas"

(SACN, 2014a: 15). Post-1994, Johannesburg has become the destination of most cross-border and internal migrants, whereas Cape Town attracts people from cities in the Eastern Cape.

The inner city acts as an arrival area for migrants from foreign countries, as well as from the rest of South Africa (Harrison and Todes, 2013) with some 50% of residents in "urban core" areas in Gauteng having moved to the inner city in the last 15 years (Venter, 2012). The inner city enables access to employment and economic activity (Cross, 2010, 2011; Venter, 2012), particularly for low-income earning women working as traders and domestic workers (Todes, 2003).

A study on social value chains examined migration and rural-urban spatial linkages at the household scale and identified three categories (SACN, 2014c):
1. **Rural-committed** people: those who want to stay in the rural sector and identify strongly with their local settlement regardless of their migration history.
2. **Rural-mobile** people: those currently living in rural areas who consider themselves relatively footloose, are not strongly rooted in the present settlement, have urban aspirations and may be edging toward moving into or closer to larger towns or cities.
3. **Metro migrants**: rural-born people who are now living or working long-term in cities, where they expect to remain and eventually obtain high-quality urban housing.

Category 3 represents those who are "most often perceived as threats to the city's financial sustainability by the city administrations" (SACN, 2015c: 47). Local governments, however, need to prepare to receive and develop livelihood opportunities for these migrants, who are mostly young and vulnerable.

Although individuals and households in South Africa are moving into cities where jobs and other opportunities are being created and household incomes are higher, this does not mean that cities are embracing them and their contributions. Furthermore, since 1994, migration patterns in South African cities have changed. Urban migrants include not only job-seekers (as was the case pre-democracy) but also qualified professionals, students and women who engage the city differently (Balbo and Marconi, 2006). Female migration in particular challenges the territorial approach to urban planning, as women are not place-bound and so "community participation makes little sense for people constantly moving between spaces and places" (SACN, 2014a: 15).

The current response to cross-border migration is to focus on "controlling movements of cross border migrants, through an increasingly restrictive immigration policy of the Department of Home Affairs" (SACN, 2014a: 16). A major challenge is urban inclusion and cohesion for migrants. Johannesburg appears to be the only city to explicitly acknowledge and seek to address the complexity and diversity of urban migrants, perhaps because of its intensive in-migration challenges. It has established the Johannesburg Migrant Advisory Council, the Johannesburg Migrant Advisory Panel and the City of Johannesburg's Migration Unit (ibid). However, apart from one migration study (City of Cape Town, 2006), none of the other cities appear to be looking at dealing with cross-border or internal migration through formal planning policies or structures.

URBAN TRANSPORT AND ACCESS

Improving urban public transport networks and systems continues to be critically important, given the spatial marginalisation of the urban poor who live in state-subsidised housing and informal settlements on the periphery of large cities. Because of where they are located, poor people have to travel long distances and pay high transport costs: more than 50% of poor urban residents spend more than 20% of their declared household income on transport (Kane, 2006).

Some of the large cities, such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, are introducing bus rapid transit (BRT) systems, as part of their drive to improve and integrate public transport. However, research in Soweto and Cape Town suggests that BRT is not addressing the needs of the poor (Harrison and Todes, 2013: 43; SACN, 2013). It is likely that the very poor cannot afford to use the BRT system and that they engage in informal activities (e.g. trading in scrap metal), which requires navigating the city during off-peak hours and largely on foot with the aid of trolleys or horse-drawn carts.

JOB ACCESS FOR POOR HOUSEHOLDS:
The impact of transport and spatial development strategies

Access envelopes are used to measure the impact of transport costs on job access, at a community level focusing on poor households. A net wage after commute (NWAC) is calculated from a specific origin to destinations in the study area. It subtracts the cost of commuting from the potential wage earnable at a specific job location to arrive at the "actual potential take-home pay earnable at the location at the end of the day". NWAC values can be plotted for all destinations to produce a visual representation that is easily interpreted and related to other spatial data such as job distributions or census data. The resulting map represents the access pattern of residents from a specific origin area, as they search for work or work in the surrounding economy.

The access envelope was applied to two areas in the City of Tshwane: Soshanguve (Figures 4.4 and 4.5) and Mamelodi (Figure 4.6) to determine the affordability of job access for people living in these areas. Soshanguve is a poorly located former township area to the north of Pretoria. As Figure 4.4 shows, a worker in Soshanguve can take home a minimum of R100 per day after paying transport costs within key employment clusters in Tshwane (shown in orange through red). Work destinations are clustered around Rosslyn, Pretoria North and Pretoria Central, and stretching as far as the Silverton industrial areas. Even parts of Centurion are accessible from Soshanguve, within a relatively high NWAC value of R80 or more. This accessibility of Soshanguve is driven, to a large extent, by the fact that Soshanguve is connected by a passenger rail service to the major employment areas, providing low-cost and relatively speedy transport to the rest of the city.

**Figure 4.4:** Soshanguve net wage surface
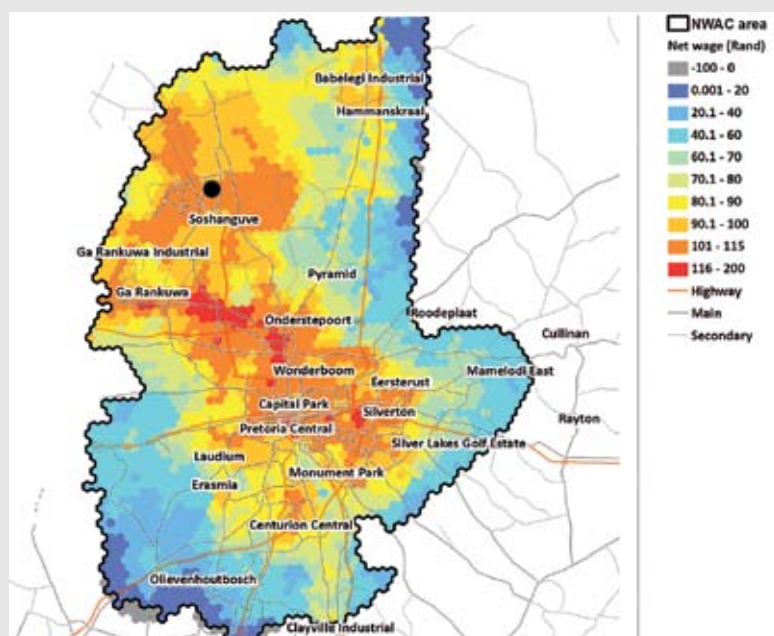
However, when the NWAC is superimposed on the actual distribution of jobs in Tshwane (Figure 4.5), it is clear that the majority of jobs may be within the R80 NWAC envelope but are relatively distant.

Figure 4.5: Soshanguve net wage contours superimposed on total jobs
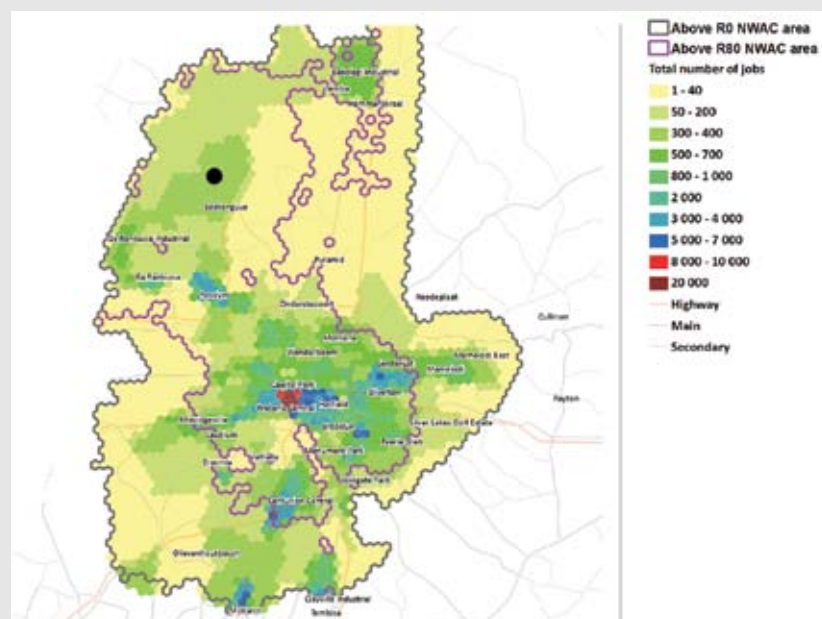
In comparison, Figure 4.6 shows the net wage surface for part of Mamelodi that is located close to rail, bus and taxi facilities. Mamelodi is clearly a better location than Soshanguve for accessing jobs, as it is easy to get to large parts of the Pretoria economic core.

Figure 4.6: Mamelodi Central (walk feeder to public transport) net wage surface
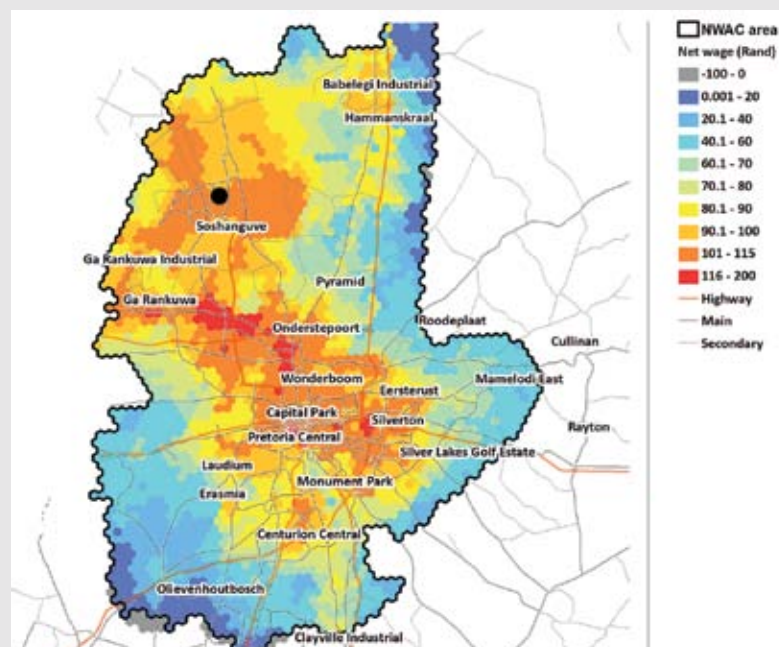
These examples show the importance of location relative to employment opportunities, and how the cost of transport affects how far the poor can physically go to access employment. What is clear is that being located on the outskirts of cities has a negative impact on the poor seeking employment.

Source: Venter and Cross (2014)
(Maps generated by author)

South Africa's transport laws and policies mandate city administrations to challenge the traditional bias towards private vehicles and to prioritise public transport. The White Paper on National Transport Policy (DoT, 1996) encourages a ratio of 80:20 between public transport and private car use. The National Land Transport Act (NLTA) (Act No. 5 of 2009) prioritises modal integration,[3] identifies non-motorised transport (NMT) as an important component and emphasises that land development and transportation cannot be considered in isolation from one another.

Despite the development of integrated public transport network plans, the private car is still prioritised in cities, and networks remain fragmented. In particular, "existing bus and minibus taxi operations need to be better integrated with the rail and bus rapid transport networks, to reduce transfer times and costs and to improve the speed and quality of commuter journeys" (COGTA, 2014: 40). There is also a lack of NMT infrastructure and facilities, even though most trips to education facilities are on foot. The limited research available has found that "children of poor (but not the poorest) families are sometimes sending their children long distances to school, at considerable cost" (Harrison & Todes, 2013: 30). In Johannesburg, a quarter of children travel more than five kilometres to school, with many travelling even longer distances, while in eThekwini, children travel up to 50 kilometres to get to school and use several modes of transport, including walking, buses and taxis (ibid).
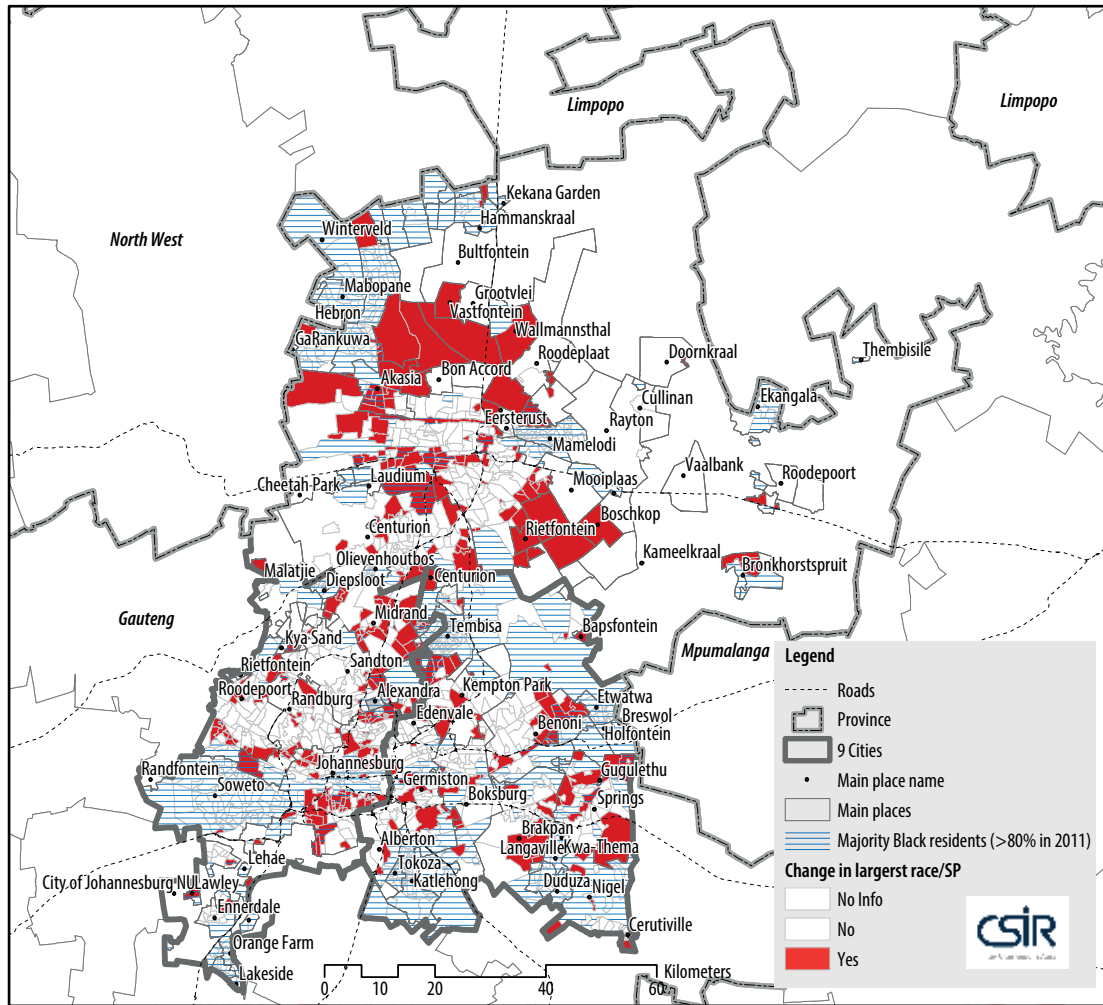
Urban integration

Urban integration refers to racial (and class) integration, as well as integration in the workplace (formal and informal) and in public places (SACN, 2014b). Urban integration was measured by comparing the percentage change across all population groups within an area (sub-places) in order to see whether the dominant race group had changed. For example, an area that had mostly coloured residents in 1996 changing to a majority of black residents in 2011. Looking at the racial change within spatial areas is especially relevant in South Africa, where under apartheid people of different racial groups were excluded from group areas. Figure 4.7 shows in red the sub-places where the dominant race group changed.
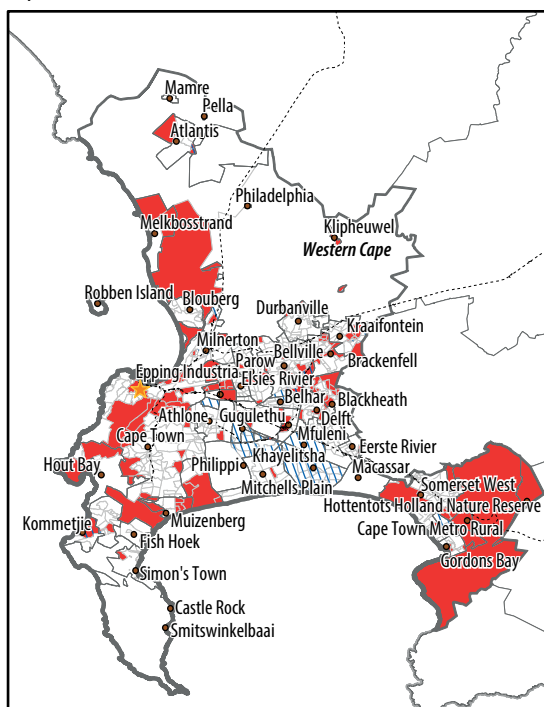
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3   Modal integration is defined as seamless travel between different public transport (PT) modes and services. This is achieved by creating a metropolitan PT systems consisting of a primary network supplemented by a secondary network. The primary network consists of corridor services where the PT operates in a separate right of way bus lane; the secondary network consists of feeder or community services that run throughout the metropolitan area and feed directly to main corridors at key nodal points for transfer.
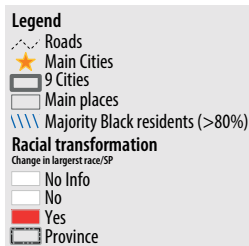
Figure 4.7: Change in dominant race per sub-place

Legend
- - - - Roads
⬒ Province
▭ 9 Cities
• Main place name
▢ Main places
≣ Majority Black residents (>80% in 2011)

Change in largerst race/SP
☐ No Info
☐ No
🟥 Yes

Cape Town metro

Mangaung

Legend
⋰ Roads
★ Main Cities
▭ 9 Cities
☐ Main places
⦀ Majority Black residents (>80%)

Racial transformation
Change in largest race/SP
☐ No Info
☐ No
🟥 Yes
⬚ Province
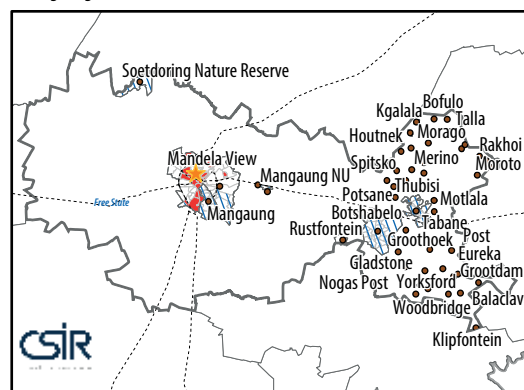
Source: CSIR (2015)

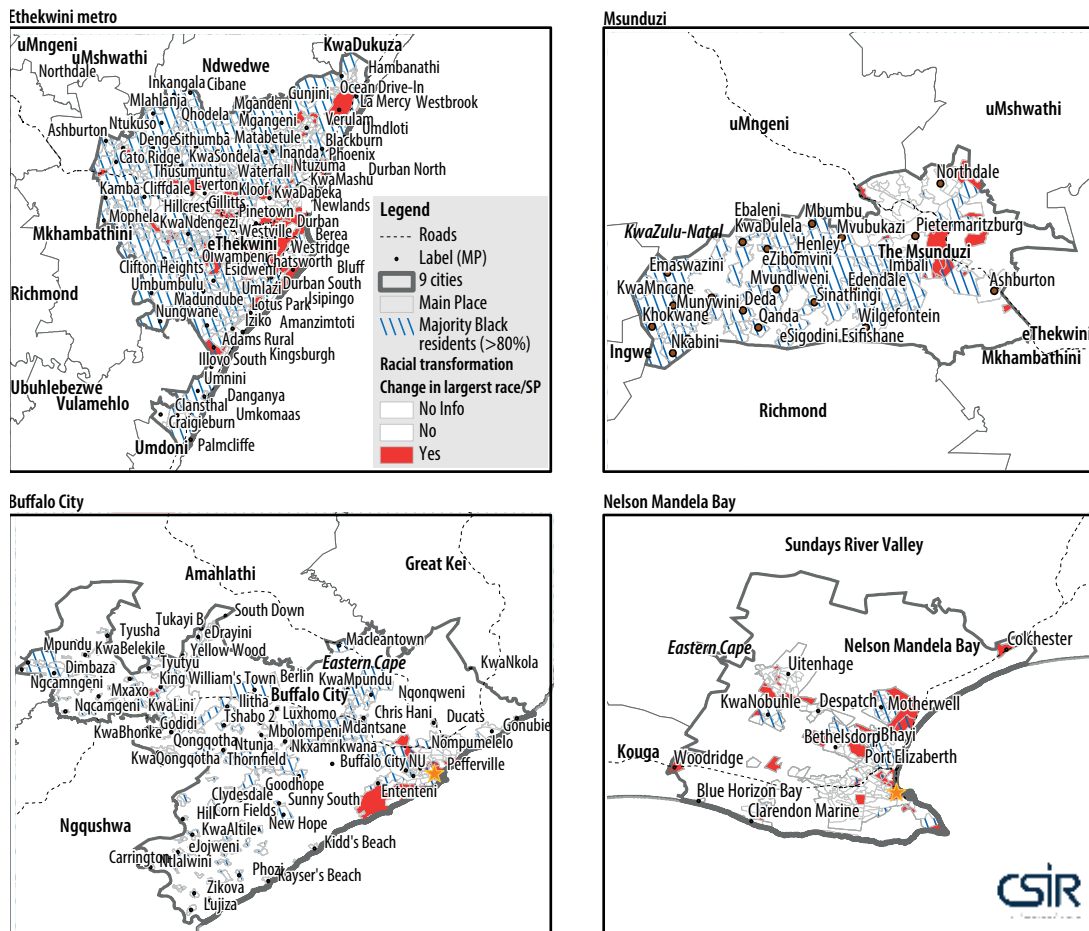One of the major trends to emerge in Figure 4.7 is the change in dominant race group in middle-to-high income areas. The racial mix in inner city areas has become more apparent, except in Cape Town, which may be because traditionally coloured citizens lived and chose to remain in the inner city. However, more recently in Cape Town, poor people are being displaced from rental stock in the inner city, as developers buy up properties to be redeveloped and then sold as medium-rise sectional title apartments.

Ward data in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Mangaung between 1996 and 2011 was analysed to establish the degree of racial mixing, ranging from 50% (low segregation) to 90% (extreme segregation). The analysis found that levels of "extreme" segregation had increased (to 54.6%) in Johannesburg, as some of the mixed areas in 1996 had become entirely black, but declined in Cape Town (to 37.8%) and Mangaung (to 69.5%). Black Africans had become an "increasingly significant percentage of the population in every municipality" increasing from 70.2% to 76% in Johannesburg, from 63.2% to 73.6% in eThekwini and from 77.5% to 83.1% in Mangaung (Harrison and Todes, 2013: 28).

As mentioned, urban integration is more than just racial integration – it is also about the (formal and informal) workplace and public places (SACN, 2014b). Research on urban public spaces is scant, but a survey by the City of Cape Town (2010) found that a quality public space contains certain basic elements: lighting, safety and security, cleanliness, shelter for taxi commuters, ablutions, proper maintenance and management, electricity and recreational space. Urban public spaces should provide recreation and sports, places for the soul (accessing peace and quiet and contemplation), proper transport interchange facilities, a public facilities cluster or urban square, and association with an economic hub. What these findings imply is that access to public spaces should be "as of right" to the city, which questions the adequacy of urban public spaces to meet citizens' needs.

Urban inequality

About 1 in 4 South Africans is out of work, and 1 in 2 among young people. Despite the progress in reducing poverty, there is a long way to go in tackling inequality. While a black middle class has grown up in the past 20 years, the average white household still earns about six times the average black household, and inequality within the African population has increased. Access to education has improved, but the overall quality continues to lag.[4]

The stubbornly high (and rising) levels of inequality are of great concern in South Africa, and all cities demonstrate extremely high inequality levels (i.e. Gini coefficient values over 0.6[5]) that are among the highest in the world (Figure 4.8). The international alert line is 0.4, above which inequalities may have serious negative political and socioeconomic consequences if not addressed.

Figure 4.8: Gini coefficient for selected African cities in 2008[6]
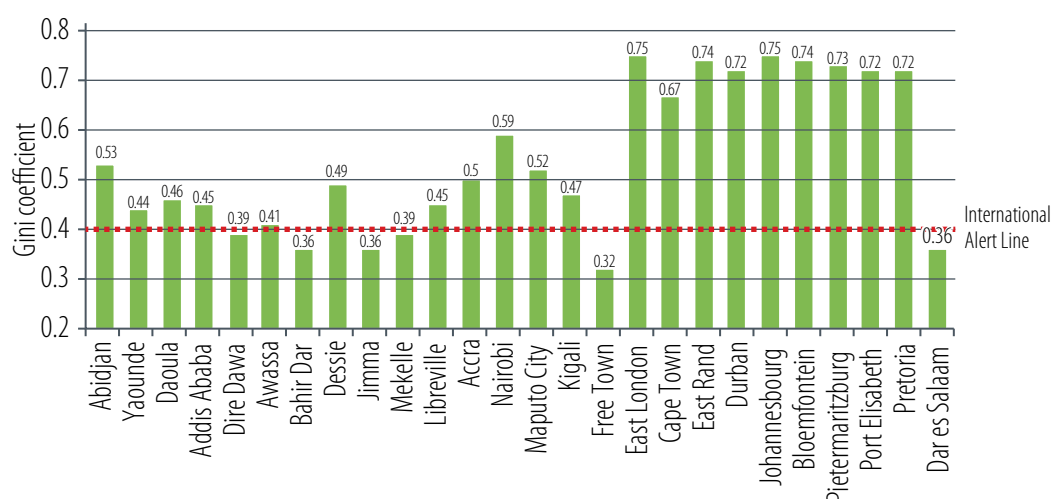
*Source: UN-HABITAT Global Urban Observatory*

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4   Remarks by David Lipton, First Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund, at the University of Cape Town, 5 March 2015

5   The Gini coefficient is an international measure of inequality and is reflected as a value between 0 and 1, where 0 is perfectly equal and 1 is perfectly unequal.

6   Although this comparative chart is only available from a dated report (the SoCR Almanac contains more current data), the figure is used here to illustrate the point that inequality is comparatively higher in South African cities than anywhere else in the world, which continues to be true to SACN's knowledge.

As Figure 4.9 shows, inequality levels have not changed significantly over the years, implying that South Africa has not addressed inequality issues. The green shaded areas indicate a movement towards less income inequality, while the orange and red shaded areas indicate increasing inequality.

Figure 4.9: Extent of change in Gini coefficient (2001–2010)
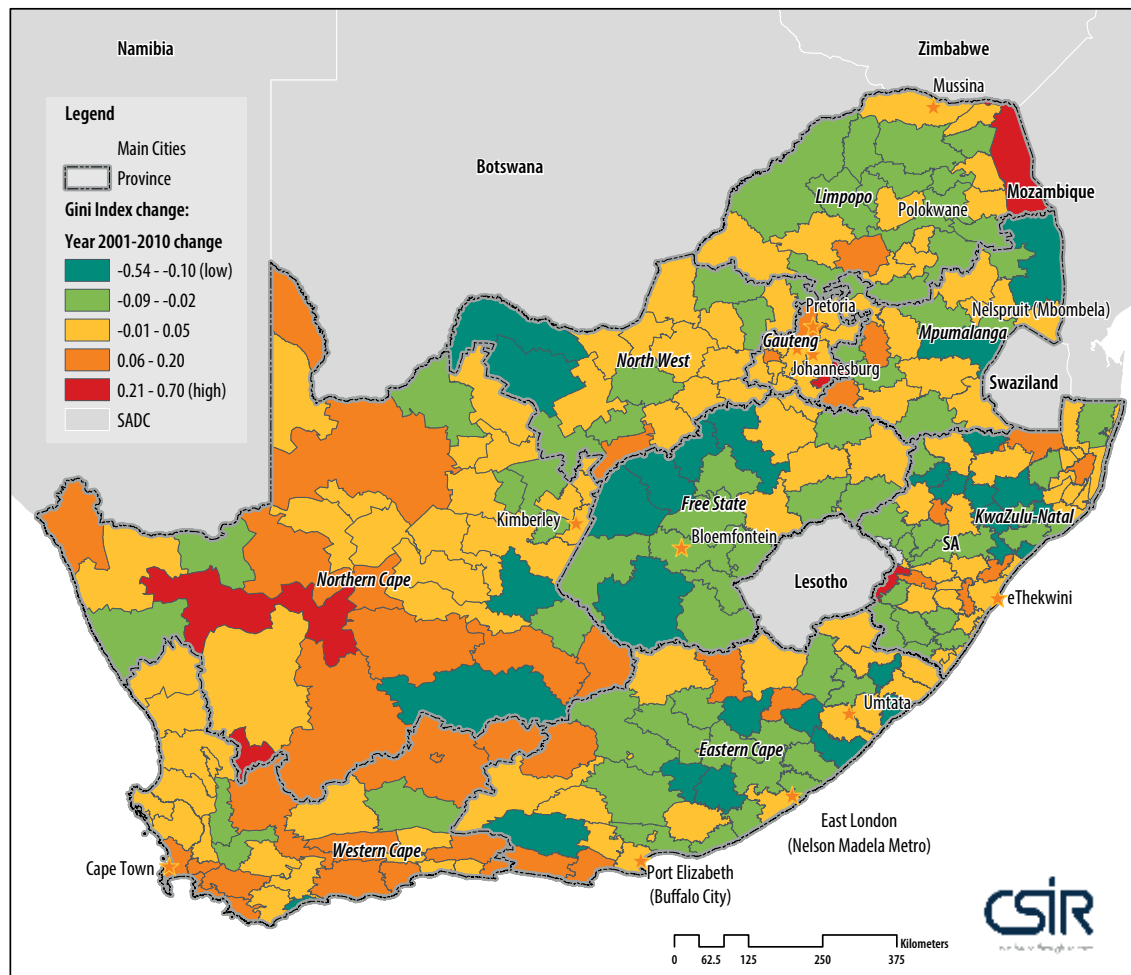
Source: CSIR (2015)

Income inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, is insufficient to describe what is happening within communities and should not be interpreted separately from a qualitative understanding of what is a decent livelihood (CSIR, 2015). To understand livelihood better, the change in percentage income for the urban poor between 2001 and 2011 is presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.2: Change in lowest income classes (2001–2011)

City	Total households		Total poor households		% of poor households		% change
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001–2011
Mangaung	188 713	231 904	54 775	39 250	29.0	16.9	−12.1
Buffalo City	189 036	216 261	62 995	50 240	33.3	23.2	−10.1
eThekwini	821 822	956 712	216 827	212 203	26.4	22.2	−4.2
Msunduzi	134 877	163 981	34 822	35 441	25.8	21.6	−4.2
Nelson Mandela Bay	265 018	324 289	66 176	68 133	25.0	21.0	−4.0
Ekurhuleni	778 038	1 016 983	200 299	226 435	25.7	22.3	−3.5
City of Johannesburg	1 048 362	1 434 869	226 744	292 471	21.6	20.4	−1.2
City of Tshwane	646 887	910 003	125 590	166 578	19.4	18.3	−1.1
City of Cape Town	777 341	1 068 564	119 117	181 502	15.3	17.0	1.7

Source: StepSA (2013)

Between 2001 and 2011, despite growing numbers of households, the percentage of households considered poor decreased in eight of South Africa' nine cities, with Cape Town the exception. The percentage of poor urban households decreased significantly in Buffalo City (−10.1%) and Mangaung (−12.1%). In larger metros, the number of poor households are increasing because of population growth, smaller households (households splitting) and in-migration. The decreases in Buffalo City and Mangaung may also imply that poor urban households are leaving in pursuit of better opportunities in other places.

In considering the magnitude and growth of urban inequality, fundamental questions have to be asked about the social and political economy of South African cities, the role and responsibility of the state, as well as the systemic social and economic structures, practices and actors that sustain such inequality.
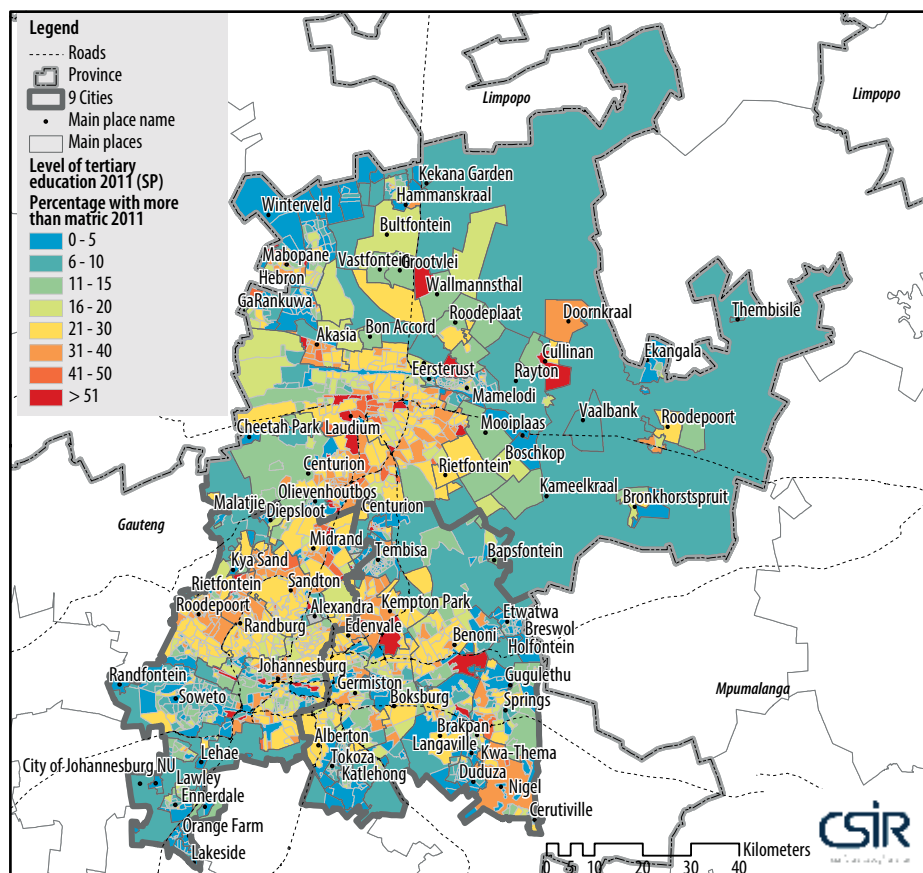
Human capital

While remote rural populations are relatively worse off than urban dwellers in absolute terms (Noble and Wright, 2013), high levels of deprivation are found in urban areas, particularly in townships and informal settlements. These urban dwellers experience multiple deprivations, including overcrowding, poor quality housing, a lack of services and rule of law, and a high risk of eviction (Satterthwaite, 2015). Even well-established, well-located townships still have poor education and health facilities, which leads to yet another urban inefficiency (and cost to the poorer households): the daily exodus of many learners from township schools to suburban schools.
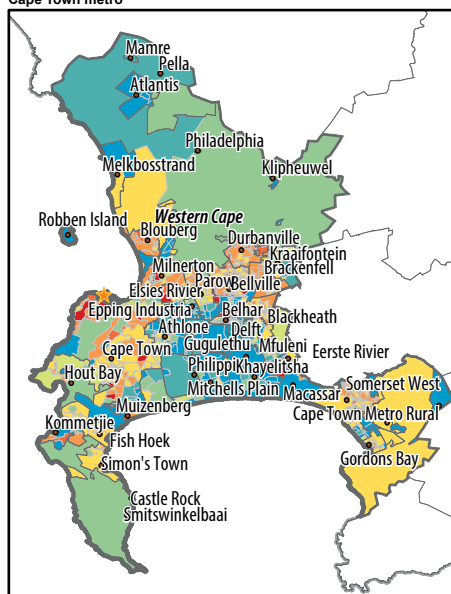
The ability of poor individuals to develop themselves and their communities depends on building their capabilities, which are affected by their education (skills), health and access to services. There is a correlation between relatively disadvantaged areas and lower levels of education. In addition, these services (education, health and social services) are generally not local government functions, further complicating the ability of cities to turn around this trajectory of spatially determined underdevelopment.

Figure 4.10 clearly illustrates that the percentage of people with qualifications is still lower in townships and on the fringes of cities than in the accessible or central urban spaces. For instance, very few of the population have a post-matric qualification in Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha (Cape Town), in Soweto, Thokoza, Alexandra and the GaRankuwa/ Winterveld (Gauteng) and in the rural settlement areas south and north of the N3 (eThekwini).

Figure 4.10: Percentage of population with more than a matric certificate

Ethekwini metro

Msunduzi

Buffalo City

Nelson Mandela Bay

Source : CSIR, *http://stepsa.org/human_capital_development.html*

Legend

- Label (MP)
- 9 cities
- Main Place

Level of tertiary education 2011 (SP)
Percentage with more than matric 2011

0 - 5	21 - 30
6 - 10	31 - 40
11 - 15	41 - 50
16 - 20	> 51
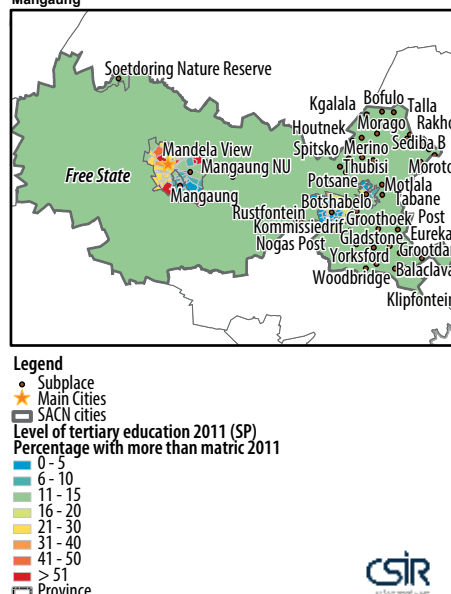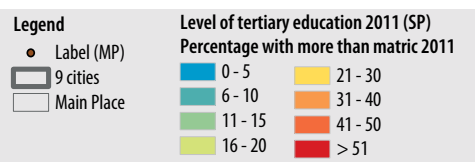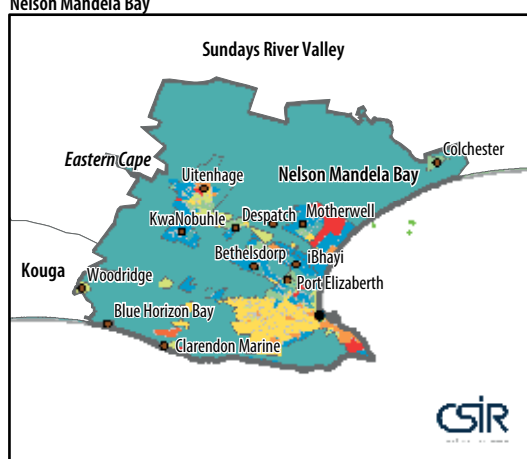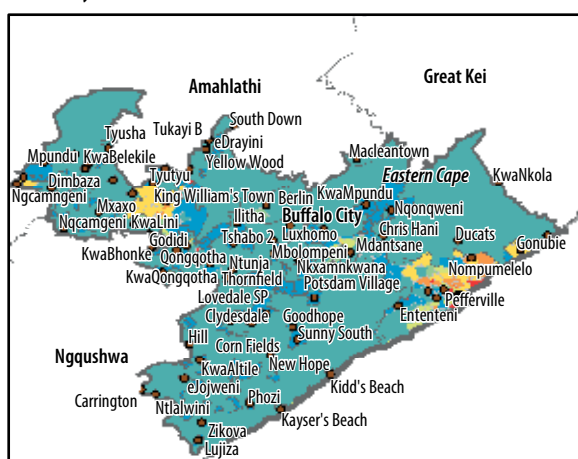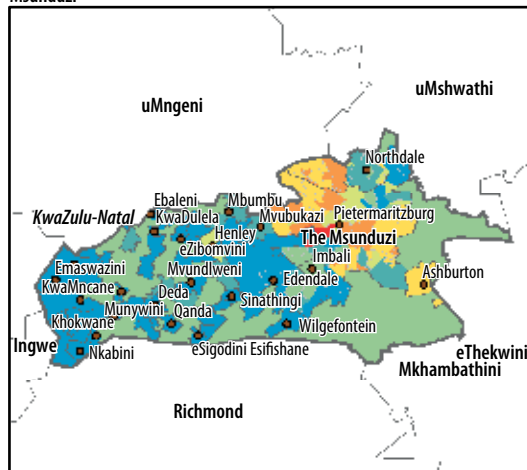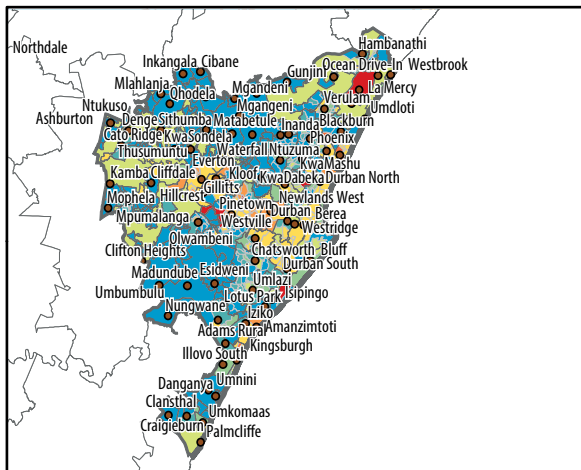
GENTRIFICATION: Exploring alternatives approaches

Since the late 1990s, more compact, integrated, mixed-use and inclusive urban development plans and policies for urban areas across South Africa have been encouraged. These kinds of developments are considered critical for transforming urban space. However, municipalities have been slow to respond in an innovative way because of the complex institutional arrangements and many actors, the politics of urban spaces and the cost of financing more inclusive and transformed settlements. Instead, new developments or revitalisation of decaying inner city areas have been left largely to the private sector. As the private sector's motive is often profit driven, the result has been gentrification, whereby existing communities are marginalised and excluded from the process.

Gentrification is simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon that involves the invasion of urban space by middle-class or higher-income groups and the displacement of many of the original occupants. It involves the physical renovation or rehabilitation of what was frequently deteriorated housing stock that is upgraded to meet the requirements of the new owners. In the process, the prices of both renovated and un-renovated housing in the affected areas significantly appreciate, and tenure is transformed from rental to ownership (Hamnett, 1984).

To assist local government and the private sector to achieve development that is more inclusive, alternative approaches include using inclusionary zoning to develop affordable housing, as well as establishing and supporting community land trusts and community wealth building initiatives. Other important aspects include promoting mixed developments (in terms of use and income) and interventions that protect people from being evicted or pushed out due to higher interest and investment (e.g. rent regulation).

Some of these approaches have been successful elsewhere in the world and may be of relevance to South Africa. Much will depend on the specific contexts, and so local governments would have to understand their local issues and which approaches are most applicable. Nevertheless, certain key considerations underpin inclusive development:

- **Urban management:** Rapidly growing urban populations place increasing demands on land, housing, services and infrastructure, but the scale and speed of urbanisation, weak revenue bases and lack of administrative and technical capacity can mean that provision and maintenance are unable to keep pace with demand. The results are environmental decay and deteriorating living conditions, particularly for the urban poor. The ongoing maintenance of the built environment remains key to more liveable and sustainable cities.
- **Financing approaches:** The key actors, who are local government, private developers and community stakeholders, need to not only source funding for development, but also create a funding strategy. Therefore, financing becomes a critical factor when trying to achieve a transformative local government and inclusive development.
- **Urban land:** Urban land is at the centre of the spatial transformation agenda and inclusive development. As such, the transformation agenda cannot be achieved without addressing the land ownership, access and land management problems inherent in the country.

Source: Adapted from SACN (2016c)

4

Urban safety

South Africa's cities offer economic opportunities, but also tend to attract and experience relatively higher rates of crime than other areas. The causes of violence and crime in South African cities result from a number of factors combined, "including poverty and inequality to economic exclusion and unemployment as well as weak governance, the challenges of urbanization and resultant poor urban design" (Gotsch et al., 2014: 4).

Unsafety has direct implications for a city's growth, development and overall quality of life. Crime specifically constrains growth in a number of ways (SACN, 2016a), as it:

- costs business, by reducing profits and diverting funds away from investment in productive capacity;
- costs government, by diverting funds from spending that could stimulate growth;
- costs households, by diverting funds from growth investments such as education;
- erodes human capital through injury, death or flight of skilled workers;
- excludes workers from job market through, for example, fear of accepting jobs in off-hours or far from home;
- discourages foreign investment;
- blunts the impact of spending on long-term growth investments (such as schooling and public transport) if they are disrupted by crime.

In recent years, local government has been arguing for clearly delineated roles, responsibilities, functions and accountability for urban safety. Municipalities are increasingly tasked with safety-related functions, which are not matched with the necessary funding. Furthermore, the overwhelming incidence and effect of violence and crime cannot be dealt with only by law enforcement/policing. An integrated and effective response to crime and violence requires the involvement of other functions, in particular planning, and social and economic development.

Discussions around urban safety tend to focus on the middle class, but evidence suggests that crime and violence disproportionally affect those who can least afford it (UN-Habitat, 2015). In South African cities, low-income areas, such as townships and informal settlements, have poor safety because of socioeconomic factors and exclusionary planning, both of which are partially a legacy of apartheid. This affects perceptions of safety and the interaction of urban residents with public space (driving a retreat to the private). Integrated approaches — that go beyond conventional security and policing — are needed to address the social, economic, spatial and political drivers of violence and crime. These require stronger intergovernmental relations, resource allocation and evidence-driven policy and implementation.

Most South African cities have public safety policies and strategies in place, but implementation has had varying degrees of success.

In **Johannesburg**, the city's long-term plan to achieve its vision of becoming a world-class African city, Joburg 2030, embraces the principles and spirit of the Johannesburg Safer Cities project (Gotsch et al., 2014). In addition to the urban safety programmes, the city has various urban renewal programmes,

including township regeneration projects (e.g. the Alexandra Renewal Project), city improvement districts aimed at inner city neighbourhoods (e.g. Joubert Park, Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville and Bellevue). As a result, a slight, but positive reduction in rates of violent crimes and burglaries has been observed (ibid).

In **Cape Town**, safety is one of the priority areas in the city's integrated development plan (IDP), which attempts to incorporate "violence and crime prevention into a broader safety plan that includes disaster and risk management in the fields of fire prevention and road traffic safety etc." (Gotsch et al., 2014: 17). A key sub-component of the city's safety plan is the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) programme, which was successfully piloted in Khayelitsha. The VPUU programme adopts elements of the UN Habitat Safer Cities programme and the World Health Organisation's Life Cycle Approach together with the concept of asset-based development (Ewing, 2015). Its approach to safer environments is quite distinct from the market-oriented redevelopment of the Cape Town CBD *(Samara, 2011)* and has had some success in crime reduction. This may be because of the programme's inclusionary approach that includes co-creating urban spaces with the community and locally based urban management practices.

eThekwini's Safer City Strategy recognises the importance of community participation and city-wide partnerships in reducing crime for both citizens and tourists *(City of Durban, 2000)*. However, apart from mentioning that Durban needs to become safer, the city's IDP does not seem to explain exactly how the issues of crime and violence are to be tackled (Gotsch et al., 2014: 17).

Despite cities' safety programmes, private developers have pursued gated developments for those who can afford them. These developments are fundamentally exclusive, as they turn their backs on the surrounding public domains and, ironically, increase insecurity by violating established urban safety design principles of visibility and public responsibility.

COSMO CITY: A case study in urban safety

The case study assessed how preventative interventions (in this case a better approach to human settlements) could increase safety.

Located north-west of Johannesburg, Cosmo City is an example of a mixed-use and mixed-income settlement developed through a public-private partnership (CODEVCO) between real estate developer Basil Read, a black economic empowerment consortium called Kopano, the City of Johannesburg as landowner and the Gauteng Provincial Government as subsidy provider. The formal population in Cosmo City is now estimated at around 70 000 people, but the total population may be closer to 100 000 because the number of people living in backyard sublets is unknown.
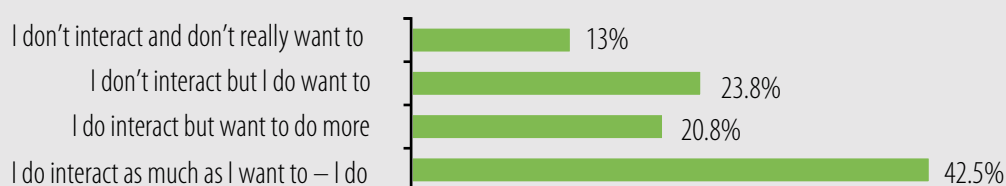
The main objective of Cosmo City was to promote better "social cohesion" and thereby reduce levels of crime. The model responds to the challenge of South Africa's fragmented cities where income inequality is extremely high and areas are sharply segregated by class and race. Cosmo
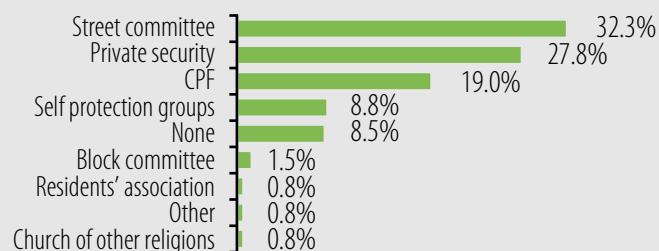
City's unemployment rate is about 30% (compared to Johannesburg's average of 25%) and the monthly income for most households is less than R12,800. Two-thirds (66%) are formally employed and a fifth (40%) are informally employed. Other sources of household income include government grants, such as pensions (25%), family support or remittances (14%) and rent from a dwelling, flat, or garage (10%).

To assess social cohesion and local governance, residents were asked about how they interacted with other people and which organisations made the most difference to their quality of life.

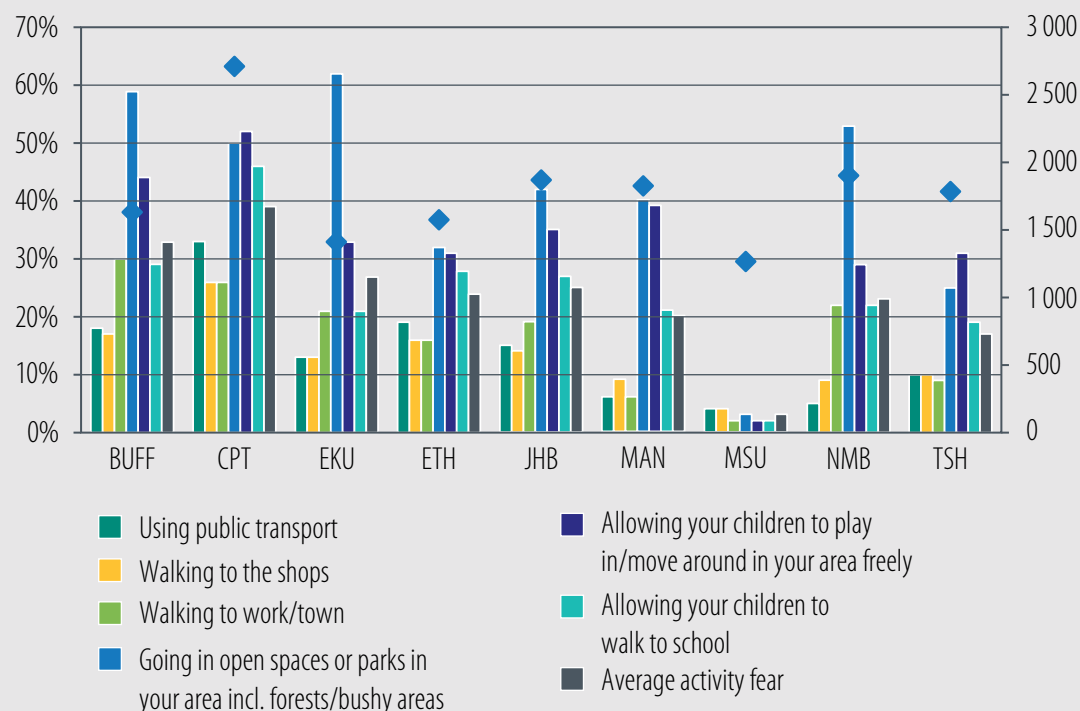*Social cohesion: How would you describe your interaction with other people who live in Cosmo City?*

I don't interact and don't really want to	13%
I don't interact but I do want to	23.8%
I do interact but want to do more	20.8%
I do interact as much as I want to – I do	42.5%

Local governance: Which, if any, of these organisations makes the most difference to your quality of life in your neighbourhood?

Street committee	32.3%
Private security	27.8%
CPF	19.0%
Self protection groups	8.8%
None	8.5%
Block committee	1.5%
Residents' association	0.8%
Other	0.8%
Church of other religions	0.8%

The results suggest unequivocally that people in Cosmo City feel part of their communities and that strong bonds have developed at local neighbourhood level. Street committees have the greatest impact on respondents' quality of life, while private security has a surprisingly high relevance, particularly for the more affluent households.

Social cohesion rests on active citizenship, and sharing in public life and in public space, while research suggests a correlation between perceptions of crime and the growing retreat from public space. Therefore, safety and reduced crime and violence create the conditions for (and precede) social cohesion.

Crime: Does fear of crime prevent you from doing any of the following in your area?

Legend:
- Using public transport
- Walking to the shops
- Walking to work/town
- Going in open spaces or parks in your area incl. forests/bushy areas
- Allowing your children to play in/move around in your area freely
- Allowing your children to walk to school
- Average activity fear

Recommendations

- *Develop capacity within local government to deal with violence and crime prevention.* Based on an audit of existing institutional and human resources available within metros and other municipalities, provincial and national government should assist municipalities to set up appropriate fiscal, personnel and organisational systems to fulfil their violence and crime prevention responsibilities.

- *Activate and resource communities to play their part.* The state has the primary responsibility for ensuring the safety of citizens but cannot do it alone. A vital part of the solution is active citizenship and the social energies within communities. The social cohesion approach used in the Cosmo City case is a building block, while street and block committees (and community policing forums) have an important role to play in creating safe environments, particularly for income groups that cannot readily access private security.

- *Design for cohesion.* This includes ensuring good mobility and accessibility to various means of transport, promoting multi-functionality of public spaces, drawing people of diverse backgrounds to share the same services and facilities, as well as feelings of comfort and safety (Pinto et al., 2010).

More purposeful safety and crime prevention is needed because safety precedes and creates the conditions for social cohesion. And to achieve urban safety requires effective urban governance and good intergovernmental relations, as well as cross-sectoral collaboration between spatial planning, transport and mobility, human settlements, social and economic development and community safety.

Source: Adapted from SACN (2015b).

Collective violence[7]

Two main dimensions are associated with collective violence in urban South Africa, especially in townships: strike action or protest violence, and xenophobic violence (Gotsch et al., 2014). Strike action or protest violence is usually what are termed "service delivery protests"[8] or employment disputes, and often result in the loss of life and damage to property *(von Holdt et al., 2011)*. Xenophobic violence is violence against non-South Africans, such as in 2008 when approximately 62 people died and over 100 000 people were displaced by xenophobic attacks (ibid). Since 2014, xenophobic attacks have occurred sporadically, but there has been a wave of attacks since January 2015 (SACN, 2015a).

VIOLENCE IN URBAN AREAS: Through xenophobic attacks

The *Sunday Times* pictures of Emmanuel Sithole being butchered like a cornered animal by Afro-phobes in Alexandra, South Africa, will remain etched in my mind for a long time. It is difficult even to grasp the savagery unleashed on Mozambicans, with the burning of Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave at the Ramaphosa informal settlement in 2008. That image remains lodged in the deepest parts of my being, the sheer horror of it impossible to dislodge.[9]

Kazango Elizee from the DRC married a South African woman and they lived in Thokoza, East Rand. Life was relatively easy until the 2008 xenophobic attacks at which time the couple and their children moved to a shelter in Randfontein. He is a qualified teacher but cannot access work. In his words: 'I cannot get a job, cannot open a bank account. I feel insecure. It's like hell. What can I do? I need protection from somewhere …? Elizee says that the protection he seeks can only come from the department of home affairs in the form of refugee papers but he is reluctant to visit because he has experienced xenophobia there.[10]

Protests are another indicator that citizens are feeling unheard. Between 2012 and 2014, five metropolitan municipalities accounted for half of all recorded protests: Cape Town and Johannesburg were the most protest-prone municipalities, with 14% of service delivery protests each, followed by eThekwini, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni (Figure 4.11). These cities represent the best resourced, globalising and therefore desirable cities to move to and live in. However, the service protests imply that cities are not adequately satisfying their citizens' rights to access urban resources and services. (In some cases, protests may have been politically motivated.)
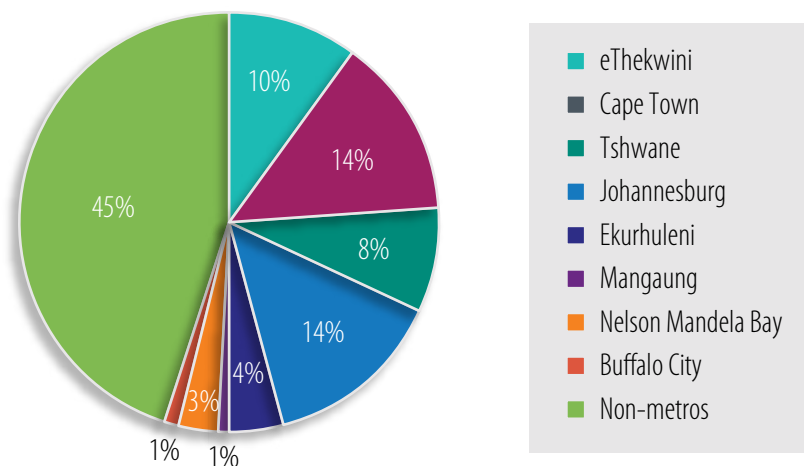
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7   Collective violence is but one of 21 crime and violence indicators in cities. It was selected here because it identifies with a collective or group taking a position against another group in order to achieve a political, social or economic objective (SACN, 2014c). Public/collective violence is also an indicator of urban exclusion – having to fight or engage in protest action for rights that should be enjoyed 'as of right' as a citizen.

8   The legitimate rights of communities and/or workers to protest is not under-estimated here. The intention is not to take away from the legitimate engagement with the state in response to injustices, poor access to service delivery, lack of rights and freedoms. The focus here is on public and collective violence as a result of actions by both metro municipalities and protesters.

9   Ncube T. 2015. 'I fear the future is here', *Mail and Guardian*. 8–14 May, page 22.

10 Nkosi O. 2015. 'They know they can kill us and we can't do a thing', *Mail and Guardian*. 22–28 May, page 14.
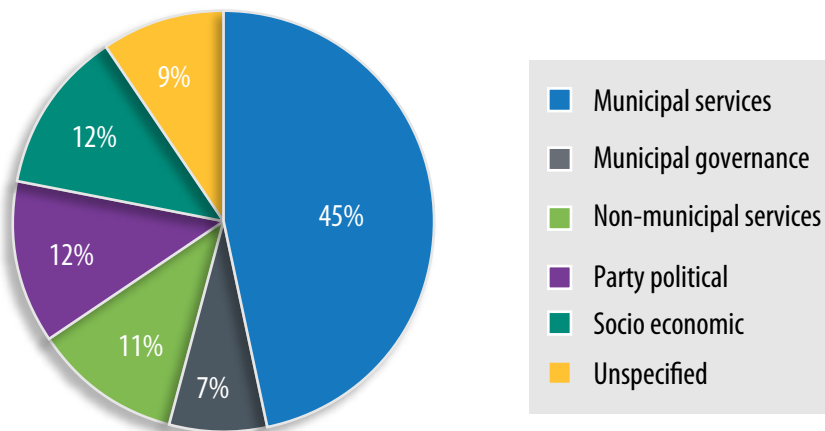
Figure 4.11: Protests in metros 2012–2014

Legend:
- eThekwini
- Cape Town
- Tshwane
- Johannesburg
- Ekurhuleni
- Mangaung
- Nelson Mandela Bay
- Buffalo City
- Non-metros

Source: Powell et al. (2015)

The number of violent protests reached a record high in 2014, when almost 80% of protests involved violence by participants or the authorities, compared to less than half in 2007 (Powell et al., 2015). The grievances behind the protests were grouped into six categories (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12: Protest issues

Legend:
- Municipal services
- Municipal governance
- Non-municipal services
- Party political
- Socio economic
- Unspecified

Source: Powell et al. (2015)

More than half (52%) of the protests were related directly to municipal services or municipal (mal) administration, indicating high levels of dissatisfaction in urban spaces. It may be the case that protest issues relate to dissatisfaction with broader governance and/or service provision or demands for access to services that do not necessarily fall within the realm of municipal responsibility. However, because protests happen at the local level, and municipalities are considered the sphere of government closest to the people, demands are often targeted at them.

TOWARDS MORE INCLUSIVE CITIES

Citizenship refers to the public and/or universal access to those resources/common urban elements that enable citizens to exercise the freedom to lead the kinds of lives that they have reason to value (Sen, 1999). This includes access to urban resources and services that can promote health, education and general well-being.

Andile's story, which echoes the lives of many households in South Africa, demonstrates that exclusion is still an everyday experience for many families, but particularly poor families living in urban areas. The story illustrates that under present urban governance, South African cities are experiencing the type of pressure that can only lead towards deeper socio-spatial division, with poor, black families having no voice to engage authorities in respect of their most basic needs such as education.

Current interventions

The VPUU programme in Cape Town appears to have had reasonable success in addressing some of the drivers of crime and violence, such as economic exclusion and unemployment (both in a limited way), as well as poor urban design. The programme relies on a sense of public space ownership, which makes it both sustainable and meaningful in terms of active and participative citizenship. It is an example of how resources can be focused on local communities, using an area-based approach, to drive specific targets such as preventing violence, upgrading urban spaces and restructuring the public domain. However, a limitation may be that the VPUU has only occurred at a local area planning scale, not at a city-wide scale.

The Community Works Programme[11] (CWP) is another example of an existing government programme that promotes social justice through inclusion. Part of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), the CWP is not just a job creation programme, but also a community programme in that it seeks to create "useful work",[12] which is decided in ward committees and local development forums (Drimie and Pieterse, 2013). In other words, the programme engages local communities in an attempt to create active and participative citizenship. These kinds of programmes (VPUU and CWP) could be rolled out at city scale and begin to target not only existing communities, but also newly created integrated urban settlements, ensuring active citizen inclusion.

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11 The CWP is a government programme aimed at tackling poverty and unemployment. It forms part of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which was launched in April 2004 to help alleviate unemployment by creating at least one million work opportunities in five years (40% women, 30% youth and 20% people with disabilities). Currently in its third phase, the EPWP now aims to create six million work opportunities by 2019 (Drimie and Pieterse, 2013: 30; SACN, 2016b).

12 Work that improves the local area and quality of life of inhabitants, such as fixing community assets like schools, roads and parks, and setting up food gardens (Drimie and Pieterse, 2013: 31).

If adopted as part of municipal planning, community-based planning (CBP) can be an effective citizen participatory tool that promotes and improves citizen inclusion.

> The notion of citizens as passive recipients of service delivery by governments is one that has been questioned from the very genesis of CBP. The linkage of CBP with SLA [the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach], which promotes empowering local actions through use of available local skills and resources, creates opportunities for citizens to be actively engaged in providing their own local services, with support from others if needed. The strengthening of the linkages between service delivery and livelihoods is an aspect that could be explored more through the Expanded Public Works Programmes and Community Works Programmes in South Africa, for example (Lewis et al., 2014: 4).

These (and other similar) programmes should continue to be developed and rolled out in urban areas throughout South Africa, using trained local human resources and skills transfer among citizens. The CBP has shown that it has great potential for building partnerships between local communities and local government that result in genuine programmes of co-production.

In addition, the engagement of local government and citizens in implementing the National Development Plan (NDP) is crucial for building urban inclusion and empowering ordinary citizens. The new National Planning Commission (appointed in 2016), which will oversee the NDP's implementation, must ensure that officials and citizens commit to equal participation, especially in large cities. The roles of both officials and citizens will need to be clearly identified, so that they can work together and inspire one another to achieve the NDP's aims, which include prosperity, wellbeing and social stability. Importantly, trust is a fundamental ingredient for the successful implementation of the NDP – without trust among all participants, the plan has no hope of success.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, INCLUSION AND REDRESS

Equal opportunity is about reducing the impact of factors such as gender, ethnicity, place of birth and parental income and wealth and family background on people's life chances. Success in life should depend on people's choices, effort and talents, not their circumstances at birth. (NPC, 2011: 464–465)

Four out of the five inclusion-related proposals in the National Development Plan directly imply direct roles of cities:

- Reversing apartheid geography by establishing new spatial norms and standards – densifying cities, improving transport, locating jobs where people live, upgrading informal settlements and fixing housing market gaps
- Ensuring that no South African lives below the minimum standard of living.
- Growing the economy and employment, so that 11 million jobs are created by 2030.

Source: NPC (2011)

Furthermore, citizen education and skills training are needed, so that citizens are empowered, become more literate in local affairs and are provided with skills, such as how to understand a municipal budget. In this regard, the idea of citizen academies should be explored, as proposed by the NPC. The concept of citizenship academies is that of "learning spaces" initiated by municipalities in partnership with local civil society or learning institutions (Gorgens et al., 2013). The citizenship academy incorporates a strong focus on community empowerment, particularly in relation to practical planning, dialogue and project management at neighbourhood level, to inform local government development processes. However, the ultimate goal should be to facilitate a structured and sustained dialogue between communities and local government in the form of communities of practice. These "spaces" and "communities of practice" can be expanded to create cohesion among different groups with varied backgrounds to establish networks that could potentially address matters of xenophobia and migrant exclusion (Drimie and Pieterse, 2013).

Spatial planning interventions

Steps to achieve urban spatial planning that is more inclusive (adapted from Gouverneur, 2014) begin with advocating for political acceptance among local government with a stronger emphasis on inclusive planning and interventions that are mainstreamed in existing plans and legislation, such as the integrated development plans (IDPs) and spatial development frameworks (SDFs). SDFs should focus on the provision of public infrastructure that must be budgeted for in multi-year public expenditure frameworks, and should be aligned with sector infrastructure priorities. This more inclusive focus should also be emphasised and strengthened in national policy frameworks such as the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF).

It is also necessary to develop an urban land approach that:
- identifies and reserves appropriately located public land and buildings in the inner city, as well as cheaper land in the wider metropolitan area;
- defines institutional land tenure models, consolidated land-use management schemes and optimal land subdivisions solutions, innovative financing approaches and tools to encourage mixed-land uses to support public infrastructure investment; and
- fosters, monitors and supports the transformation and expansion of the public land and infrastructure investment programmes, so as to meet the needs of people who require accommodation and settlements now and in the future.

The reservation of land or buildings in inner cities is especially important and should be for high-density, mixed-use and integrated developments to accommodate legal external migrants as well as internal migrants and citizens in need of decent accommodation. Inner city areas offer access to employment and to informal economies, as a consequence of their size and density (Harrison and Todes, 2013), and also substantially reduce the cost of transport. For the urban poor, living in the central city means that they can walk to economic opportunities, which in turn reduces transport expenses. In addition, access

to public transport is generally increased (Venter, 2012). SDFs could explore a transport-oriented development approach to city development and compact urban development (FFC, 2011) that specifically considers the needs of the poor. The findings of such an exploration should also be aligned with the propositions of those advocating more compact urban development.

CONCLUSION

Urban social and spatial justice will not be achieved for the large majority in South African cities unless the ongoing urban migration is into well-serviced or better located areas, including the previously white or middle-income suburbs, as a result of upward mobility and being able to afford to live there. This implies that the collective and universal aspects of achieving the "right to the city" have been ignored in favour of citizens who can afford to buy their right to the city. In other words, South African cities have not allowed the social functions of the city and the use of public resources, such as public land, transport and facilities, to achieve urban inclusion at city-wide scale.

An inclusive city is one that is not only open to but also values all people and their needs on equal terms. It bestows rights to the city on all citizens, particularly those who contribute to it economically, socially, culturally, informally and so on. The South African cities barometer indicates that access to urban resources has improved, However, South African cities are still largely benefiting those who can afford to "buy" their rights and freedom to the city, while thousands like Andile and his family (and many migrants) are still socially, spatially, culturally and economically excluded. They cannot live the lives that they value and have reason to value – they remain unfree. As demonstrated in this chapter, this "unfreeness" is evident in the eruption of crises in urban areas (e.g. seemingly constant service delivery protests), the urbanisation of poverty and the limitations placed on the urban poor, including migrants, to access urban resources and freedom.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Cities need to remove unfreedoms,[13] by putting in place practical strategies and programmes to help to deal with (unfree) citizens' exclusion, so that the city is not just open to certain people but is accessible to a range of citizens, including the poorest of the urban poor. Instead of frustrating citizens and not listening to their voices, particularly those of the poor, urban society should heed those voices by implementing measurable efforts to increase inclusiveness. Strategies for removing unfreedoms could include programmes for achieving social justice by reducing, at scale, inequality and poverty, creating jobs; and the promotion of citizen education and training.

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13 See Samuels (2005)

South Africa requires a spatial policy approach to address growth and change (internal and external) to get ahead of the urbanisation issues facing our cities in order to achieve reasonable spatial justice for all citizens. The IUDF (COGTA, 2016) provides a strong foundation for this.

The existing spatial development frameworks of cities must be strengthened, so that they are more inclusive and accommodating of external and internal migration, by anticipating population flows and developing approaches for "welcoming" new urban residents. This may mean identifying and making available well-located land close to transport interchanges, key nodes and corridors where new urban residents are able to settle. Using cheaper land on the periphery of cities for the development of human settlements must at least be carried out circumspectly. The land utilised should be serviced public land, established for mixed-use purposes, which is directly connected into an urban accessibility grid serviced by frequent and affordable integrated public transport and NMT networks.

Public investment should be directed into enabling inclusion, through access, basic services, urban management, and controls against disasters, such as flooding, and providing public infrastructure that begins to structure future private investment in economic opportunities, commerce and industry. The EPWP could be linked to these public investment programmes.

South African cities are among the most unequal in the world. This implies that inequality must be addressed by, among others, lowering urban unemployment and creating opportunities for more liveable incomes and better opportunities to improve livelihoods. If not, citizens at the lower end of the inequality spectrum will feel increasingly excluded and unfree in South African urban society. Therefore, cities must commit to promoting urban inclusion and access in their cities going forward. These following mutually inclusive recommendations should be considered

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