TTRI

Training for Township Renewal Initiative

François Menguelé
Team Leader
Technical Support Facility to the Urban Renewal Programme
Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG)

Tel: +27(012) 336-6714
Fax: +27(012)336-0617
Email: francoism@dplg.gov.za

URBAN MANAGEMENT

OVERVIEW MODULE

November 2007

François Menguelé

A partnership between the NPOG, URP, SACN and DBSA to provide peer-learning opportunities for township renewal practitioners

THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

The World population is estimated to have doubled over the past forty years, reaching an estimated number of six billion people. Throughout the World, this demographic growth has been accompanied by a steady increase in percentage of the population living in urban areas, a phenomenon which has been referred to as urbanization. The African continent remains at the leading edge of these developments with historically unprecedented urbanization rates averaging 5% annual growth. If continued, this trend will see Africa's urban population doubling every 15 years! Even though the impact of HIV & AIDS is not factored in these trends, estimates predict that urbanization is still to accelerate since the existing potential has not been exhausted as yet. At the heart of this are three factors: the traditional migration of people from rural to urban areas in the look for better opportunities, the natural growth in the resident population of urban areas, favoured by relative improvements in access to health care infrastructure, urban literacy, potable water and nutrition; and finally the so-called circular migration of people between various categories of cities and towns. These distinctions bear less meaning if put against the impact of global competition on urban livelihoods which incites households to adopt more astute coping strategies to alleviate the hardships they are exposed to on a daily basis. In fact, as the pressures (expressed though unemployment, increasing monetarisation, informality and poverty) of global competition become intense, urban households deploy strategies which do not confine them in one place. They make use of locational, functional and overall comparative advantages of both, urban and rural areas to determine how to navigate between these two spaces, thereby challenging the traditional monolithic view, which has mainly attributed urbanization to rural-urban migration. More attention grabbing, however, is the scenario which predicts that the majority of Africa's population will live in cities in the next 30 years, as it will put serious pressures on local governments and city administrations to transform their governance systems if service delivery is to meet the urban challenge.

SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES TO THE URBAN CHALLENGE

Urbanization trends in South Africa also confirm the widely accepted understanding that rural-urban migration, circular migration and natural growth are the main underlying factors to urbanization. Moreover, the emerging re-definition of urban areas to include old apartheid townships and bigger urbanizing agglomerations in former homelands adds another particularity to the South African context of urbanisation. These underlying factors account for South Africa's increasing rates of urbanization which range between 3 and 5%. depending on the category of city and urbanizing agglomeration.

In South Africa, urbanization has been continuously on the increase since the early eighties when the influx control measures formerly imposed on its black population under the apartheid. Approximately ten years later, the new democratically elected government introduced a system of governance that expanded the freedoms for all strata of society, paving the way for unrestricted circulation and greater fluidity in movement pattern, residential choices and economic transactions. Since the beginning of the democratic

dispensation, urbanization has been accompanied by steady economic growth[1], thereby providing further evidence to worldwide empirical observations, which suggest a positive correlation between urbanization and economic growth[2].

While the expanded freedoms introduced under the new democratic dispensation have been intimately linked to economic growth, delivery has not kept pace with the growing demand for services. Massive public sector led investments continue to be deployed in housing, urban infrastructure, health and education, coupled with numerous grant systems which attest to the gigantic strides made by government to quell the increasing urbanization of poverty. Nevertheless, the service backlog remains huge as if any marginal improvement in delivery capacity triggers additional demands.

A TOWNSHIP PERSPECTIVE TO THE URBAN CHALLENGE

As inclusive parts of the country's re-defined urban fabric townships are increasingly experiencing the pressure of urbanization. While little research has been published on this subject matter, a cross examination of existing trends, anecdotal evidence and evolving dynamics in the township property markets reveal that township are indeed becoming pressure points of urbanization. As revealed by the extensive literature on South Africa's post apartheid housing policy and practice, the pressure to deliver housing in great numbers has incited government to favour peripheral areas where land was readily available and cheap. These locational choices made the first generation of post apartheid settlement planning systems to entrench the apartheid settlement logic[3] with its associated stress factors on the livelihoods of the poor. Despite the very progressive efforts being made under the second generation human settlements policy, urban planning and management practitioners in local government are still grappling to find appropriate responses to the following, rather unique and challenging, illustrations of poverty in townships:

❑ Peripheral location from the city, hence disconnected from the mainstream economy
❑ High costs of transport, depleting the disposable incomes of the working population
❑ Places with a character as dormitory settlements, due to low level of investment in functions other than housing
❑ Low levels of education and skills coupled with high levels of unemployment as well as poverty and crime
❑ Formal engineering infrastructure installed but decayed and in need of rehabilitation/ upgrading
❑ Mainly formal housing stock with an informal component
❑ Shorter life cycle of infrastructure and facilities due to poor investment in operation and maintenance
❑ Poorly connected to surrounding neighbourhoods
❑ Level of available services largely disproportionate to the size of the resident population
❑ Limited enterprise due to low economic opportunities for the resident population.

---

[1] Most revealing in this regard is a comment by the SACN that up to 80% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product is generated on urban soil worth approximately 7% of national territory.
[2] Christine Kessides from the World Bank reaffirms this trend in her recent (2006) publication on the *Urban Transition in Subsaharan Africa*
[3] On the basis of this observation we can distinguish between 'areas of exclusion by design' (apartheid townships) and 'areas of exclusion by default' (post-apartheid townships).

❑ Low levels of social capital, exacerbated by a supply-driven approach to service delivery which has encouraged dependency instead of enterprise.

Clearly, it appears from the above characteristics of townships that the apartheid related historical conditions, coupled with the post apartheid institutional and governance conditions under which this specific category of settlements are operating make them areas of structural poverty. Structural because the institutional and governance system under which these settlements have been designed left little room for their economic and social upliftment alongside the growth pattern of the mainstream economy. They were designed to function separately under Apartheid, but the housing-led post 94 settlement planning regime perpetuated similar pattern by default. Addressing these structural constraints requires a systemic approach if poverty is to be effectively reversed. Besides the macro reforms necessary at the national level, one of the major changes required here is the re-engineering of institutional and governance processes to suit the particular context of townships. To do so requires the adoption of a bold and decisive urban management approach in township renewal which fosters joint accountabilities between local government, civil society and the organized business sector. The logic behind this proposal is that structural changes in the World economy and the macroeconomic conditions affect townships both negatively and positively. First, there is a risk that the negative consequences might become too overwhelming for the local governments, a situation which bears serious consequences for peace and social cohesion which are important prerequisites to the consolidation of developmental local government. Secondly, the township aspects of the urban challenge present an opportunity to implement measures bold enough to create economies of scale that would generate useful lessons for the whole country in addressing the specific challenges pertaining to the second economy.

Owing to their unique situation townships are a settlement type which harbours the largest majority of South Africa's underprivileged population. The impact of global competition and macroeconomic frame conditions mainly affects townships in the form of growing unemployment, limited job opportunities and stressed livelihoods. As a result, a wealth of low skilled human capital, especially the youth, is sitting idle for longer periods of time without being utilized. In many instances, this time is used negatively by committing crime and substance abuse, hence the high prevalence of negative role models and crime in this category of settlements. This has led some townships such as Khayelitsha in the Western Cape Province to be occasionally deemed areas 'under siege'.

The persistence of the above challenges in many townships across the country is an indication that the capacity of local governments to provide basic services, alleviate poverty, provide sustainable human settlements and ensure the competitiveness of urbanising areas for investment and economic development is becoming outstripped.

KEY APPROACHES AND INSTRUMENTS USED IN RESPONDING TO THE URBAN CHALLENGE IN AFRICA

Since the early sixties when the majority of African countries were accessing independence from their colonial powers, traditional approaches to urban planning were overly focused on physical measures. As local governments were realizing their limitations to provide services at the pace and quantity required by demand, they resorted to evictions and demolitions of structures that were erected by new urban migrants, coupled

with massive confiscation of merchandise sold by informal traders on temporary markets in an attempt to restore order and cleanliness in the city.

The eviction, demolition and confiscation based approach to by-law enforcement was followed by a *laissez-faire* policy; an approach which was premised on the erroneous belief by city administrations that the poor would stop coming to the cities, once they realize that local government does not care to provide them with better housing conditions. On the contrary, massive groups of migrants continued to flock into cities, erecting temporary structures, as they were deliberately spared any harassment by the overwhelmed city administrations. The consequence has been an increasing informalisation of cities, which has produced levels of informality estimated to date at 70% by UNHABITAT in the majority of African cities.

TABLE 1: CONTRIBUTION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR TO GNP PER CAPITA (NON-AGRICULTURAL SECTOR) IN SELECTED CITIES PER REGION

North Africa	**27**
Subsahara Africa	**41**
Benin (1993)	43
Cameroon (1995-96)	42
Kenya (1999)	25
Mozambique (1994)	39
Tanzania (1991)	43
Latin America	**29**
Columbia	25
Mexico (1998)	13
Peru (1979)	49
Asia	**31**
India (1990-91)	45
Indonesia (1998)	31
Philipines (1995)	17

Source: ILO, Women and Men in the Informal Economy – A Statistical Picture (Geneva, 2002)

Numerous tools were introduced by cities alongside the evolving paradigms in dealing with urbanization. The most commonly known across African countries are the so-called urban master plans with associated land use zoning and structural plans. Even though numerous cities are still using these overly physical desktop type of plans, the fact of the matter is that many of these tools have shown their limitations against the multifaceted challenges of urbanisation[4]. Essential features to the master plan types of approaches include a diagnostic inventory of problems at hand, through questionnaires, coupled with minor interactions with urban residents and a selection of intervention measures that soon became out of sync with reality because there was no continuous reality check, nor were they leveraging on the unfolding ingenuity of urban residents which followed the

---

[4] With the increasing pressures of global competition on the urban systems, contemporary urbanization processes on the African continent are increasingly characterized by fluidity in movement pattern and migratory movements which are more and more driven by opportunities for livelihood making, livability and economic opportunity. These movements can vary between circular migration and temporary rural urban migration, making it difficult to rely on once-off diagnostic and less participatory approaches to urban planning.

laissez-faire policy. This led to the design and production of artistically impressive and well-reasoned layouts, zoning maps and structural plans with resource and implementation schedules that were premised on a unilateral and state-centrist approach to *service delivery*.

EMERGING COMPLEMENTARY RESPONSES TO THE URBAN CHALLENGE

As the limitations of physical plans to deal with the urban challenge were surfacing in Africa, Asia and Latin America since the early nineties, cities became under pressure to innovate, thus resorting to other planning approaches and tools to complement, but not to replace, the traditional physical development plans. In that vein, the 'City Consultation' (CC), was introduced by the international community through its largest multilateral Urban Management Programme (UMP) which focused until 2000 on cities in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Arab States. This was followed by the introduction of 'City Development Strategies' (CDS) under the on-going Cities Alliance, a worldwide partnership between cities, national governments and the international development partners such as the World Bank and various bilateral development institutions. In addition, there are country-specific planning approaches and tools which have been institutionalized such as the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) in South Africa. These global and national approaches and tools for urban development are usually coupled with locality specific instruments such as sectoral Action Plans, Community Based Plans, or contract-based approaches to urban development such as 'Social Compacts' or The 'City Contract'.

Even though this myriad of approaches, instruments and tools differ in their naming, they revolve around the following key features:

- ❑ Combination of city-wide stakeholder analysis and consultations with sectoral studies and strategies
- ❑ Long-term city visioning (15-20 years) with short to medium-term locality specific actions
- ❑ Outcomes based approach to planning
- ❑ Programme based approach through the integration of sector specific projects and locality specific actions
- ❑ Involvement of civil society and the business sector throughout the planning and implementation process
- ❑ Selected attempts at participatory budgeting at the area level
- ❑ Leveraging of resource commitments from all stakeholders (funding, sweat equity, materials)
- ❑ Embryonic attempts at applying the sustainable livelihoods (vulnerability and asset-based) approach in the urban context

Recent developments in numerous South African cities illustrate a good mix of overly physical (land use plans, zoning regulations, urban design and structure plans), control and enforcement-based (evictions, shack demolitions and confiscation), laissez-faire based (informal settlements) and participatory approaches (IDP, CDS, CBP, SC) to urban development. Indeed, many cities and local governments are beginning to experience the difficulty of solely relying on classic approaches in a new governance context which is underpinned by the bill of rights[5].Cities are under pressure to find more creative ways, as,

---

[5] Fundamental to South Africa, unlike in many countries, is that the new governance system prescribes housing as a constitutional right

spectacular court rulings such as the 2000 *Grootboom judgement*[6] have set precedents on how the poor can make use of his constitutional rights to challenge the state. It is against the backdrop of these challenges that some of South Africa's cities and towns that are pressure points of urbanisation are starting to balance their control-based approaches with 'negotiated' approaches to urban development. These shifting responses to urbanization form part of a managerial approach to urban development which is crucial towards consolidating the system of *developmental local government* dear to South Africa's post Apartheid governance system.

PREFERRED CONNOTATIONS OF URBAN MANAGEMENT UNDER THE TTRI

In contrast to classic approaches to developing and maintaining the physical and social fabric of urban areas, the notion of urban management has emerged during the past 20 years to illustrate an astute mobilisation and combination of capabilities, local talent, ingenuity and resources by the local authority to steer the collective aspirations and initiatives of various urban actors (public sector, private sector and civil society) in a direction which maximises the benefits of city life for every citizen. Accordingly, urban management is inclusionary by nature. Its accepts urbanization and population increase as a natural phenomenon rather than a crisis which must be controlled. It therefore seeks not to control growth, but to steer the complex and dynamic transactions associated with urbanization and their group of actors into the desired direction. It organizes and facilitates the interplay between various urban actors, moderates conflicts over the use of public space and facilities and centers their individual contributions into the implementation stream of consensually agreed measures.

Urban Management also defines a managerial approach to planning and implementation of urban development measures, which seeks to redress all the malfunctions that may occur in the use of public and private environment, causing potential threats to the quality of life (livability) of urban dwellers and making the city less attractive to investment (competitiveness). This is done through an astute deployment of the city's resources coupled with the marketing of its assets and potentials in a fashion that will make it more attractive, livable and competitive. This includes activities such as 'territorial marketing' whereby a package of incentives is offered to potential investors in order to attract new businesses in the city's jurisdiction. Typical gains and opportunities that will accrue to the city as a result of territorial marketing include the expansion of the city's revenue base (corporate tax and taxable income increments), the creation of new jobs, the possibility to negotiate environmental standards and additional benefits to neighbouring communities that will impact positively on the residents' quality of life.

Through a holistic and managerial approach to resource mobilisation, good urban management is designed to make planning more predictable and effective. Urban management promotes a positive and friendly use of the city's public space and socio-economic facilities (markets, taxi ranks, bus stations, community parks, playgrounds, pedestrian walkways, open spaces, schools, public buildings, etc.). Moreover, it

---

[6] The housing case has become known as the Grootboom Judgement. In 2000, a group of 390 adults and 510 children, among them Mrs Grootboom, were forcibly evicted from land they were occupying illegally in the Cape Metropole. Their shacks were bulldozed and burnt, and their possessions destroyed. Mrs Grootboom and her community asked the Cape High Court to order the State to provide them with basic shelter. The court ordered the Government to oblige, and the case was taken on appeal to the Constitutional Court, which found that the state housing programme in the Cape Metropole was falling short of its obligation to provide "adequate housing" as stated in the Bill of Rights.

encourages a positive use of private space which promotes the peaceful living together of communities within their neighbourhoods. To achieve this, typical instruments used by the city authority include regulations (by-laws) against nuisances, safety threats and anti-social behavior, as well as policing and repressive measures to enforce by-laws. In fact, numerous international case studies[7] illustrate the limitations of such approaches in achieving a peaceful coexistence between communities and the city authorities.

One way of negotiating the trade-offs between the classic repressive and negotiated approaches to regulations enforcement is the creation of partnerships between the city authority and civil society. A first step in this direction was the move from overly physical and desktop based approaches to urban planning in favour of participatory approaches that promote a joint identification of problems, formulation and implementation of remedial interventions between the city authority and the civil society.

Urban management goes beyond the classic notion of participatory[8] urban planning. It involves joint actions with end users[9] of public amenities and services. Most importantly, it includes their effective involvement in the implementation, operation and maintenance of public facilities. If well structured, community-based operation and maintenance will expand the scope of livelihood-making activities of resident communities. This can be achieved through the collection of user fees for certain facilities such as public toilets, community gardens, parks, playgrounds or markets. Unlike in classical participatory urban planning, some of the planned activities do not necessarily require the availability of financial resources to start. Urban management is inclusive by nature because it creates space for everyone (the 'poor' included) to be involved in the implementation, for instance through sweat equity. It promotes an action oriented approach to planning which favours the emergence of cohesive communities through quick implementation. Typical examples of quick actions include the cleaning of gutters, grass-cutting, regular detection and repair of malfunctions in public lighting and other facilities, the initiation of community clean-up campaigns with symbolic actions by high public figures such as the mayor and the city manager. In a longer term successful urban management can trigger a culture of joint accountability between the city authority and civil society, thereby reducing the potential for tensions that are usually associated with top down classic participatory urban planning.

WHY URBAN MANAGEMENT IN TOWNSHIPS?

Urban management is increasingly becoming relevant in township for a number of reasons, amongst which are the following:

- ❑ Townships are pressure points of urbanization; and the massive investment that went into them thus far through the housing programme presents an opportunity

---

[7] Numerous attempts across African cities to increase the revenue base of cities through the renewal of valuation rolls, the introduction of tax and levies on informal businesses were interrupted or avoided because politicians feared they would become unpopular and loose their legitimacy.

[8] Because the classic notion of participation barely provides clear institutional mechanisms for co-implementation, it ends up involving civil society only in the planning process and not necessarily in the implementation process.

[9] End users can be civil society organisations, individual households, private sector businesses, etc.

to use them as sites for activating the secondary property market to create liveable environments.

- Townships are intimately associated with South Africa's settlement history as the primary spatial form of living of previously disadvantaged groups; in the new urbanizing South Africa, they are becoming host to poor and middle class people, thereby becoming appropriate sites for gauging the quality and pace of transformation of the country's settlements economy.

- Townships present challenges that are unique to them as they transform from poverty pockets to places with increasing potential for livability

- Townships are the main spatial form of living of the majority of lower to middle class South Africans

- The coexistence of two major dedicated public sector development programmes such as URP and NDPG present a unique opportunity to provide material evidence in government's faith in Area based programming as an effective way to reverse poverty whilst restoring livability and competitiveness

- Townships are host to a great majority of the country's youth with a high potential for civic disconnect, if not presented with positive role models that offer better perspectives in the future

- Townships are the best sites for reverse-engineering the apartheid settlement logic by transforming them into places which foster the commitment to place for the majority (laboratories of social cohesion, and human settlements)

- Townships present an opportunity to use state investment as a lever for successful public investment crowd in, but also as a means for livelihood making where community pride with their living environment can be restored

- The post Apartheid government has made significant strides in re-organising the state to delivery better quality services at a higher pace. The magnitude of the urban challenge, however, requires mobilizing the idle human and social capital in townships through a bold institutional approach to urban management in order to achieve the required economies of scale in combating poverty.

POSITIONING URBAN MANAGEMENT ACROSS SHIFTING GOVERNANCE PARADIGMS

As defined above, urban management tends to be associated with a mindset, rather than a rocket science. Paradoxically, it can borrow some elements from the traditional control-based approaches to governance if circumstances require to do so. A typical example is a situation whereby a particular group of civil society deliberately refuses the means of dialogue to negotiate its claims for better accommodation, thereby resorting to violence and vandalism on public property. In such a situation, enforcing by-laws through the means of evictions to protect public assets may be envisaged as a recourse measure by local authorities. Even though this response is not the most desired urban management practice, it points to the realization that sound stakeholder relations in local government may not always be an assumption.

TABLE 2: PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT ACROSS GOVERNANCE PARADIGMS

	Traditional public administration – TIERS	"New" Public Management – BUSINESS UNITS	Network governance – SPHERES and external stakeholders
Planning and Management	Top down approach Administration of a hierarchy of plans Rigid systems Compliance based Religious adherence to rules and procedures	Alignment via contract Scope and focus Intergovernmental and sce level agreements Responsive "City contract"	Alignment via relationships Network of plans Dynamic system Community contract People's contract On-going adaptation
Development interpretation	"Welfare State" Infrastructure bias Interventionism	"Market as provider" PPP bias Enabling	"Co-Innovation" Social and human capital bias Engaging (Activist)
Performance	Instructions from above	Indicators and targets score cards	Vision and commitment Joint accountabilities

TTRI-Urban Management: P Moogudé
01/11/2007

A GLANCE AT THE URBAN MANAGEMENT CHALLENGE IN MALAWI

Extracts from two specific case studies are drawn from Malawi, a country of roughly 118.480 km2 and 12 million inhabitants amongst which 80% of the population are still rural. However, UNHABITAT statistics estimate that due to current trends in urbanisation Malawi is expected to have the World's highest annual urbanization rate of 6,3% for 10 years. Accordingly, Malawi is one of the few countries on the African continent which has successfully documented lessons gleaned throughout its paced urbanization of the past years, using the means of development cooperation to assess the impact urban management measures have had on its decentralized urban system.

The country embarked on the updating of its valuation rolls in two of its urban centers Liwonde and Kasungu in order to boost the revenue base of these growing towns. This exercise was premised on the belief that there was huge amounts of money locked up in unvalued and undervalued properties, hence a regular valuation was necessary. Even though the case study reveals that the valuation of rolls can be a pretty costly exercise, two essential lessons derived from it are worth stressing here. In fact, (i) the valuation exercise has proven quite effective since the citizens could witness improvements in waste collection and roads drainage systems within the residential areas. These improvements in service delivery were only possible because of the revenue increments obtained from the valuation. Noteworthy is also the recommendation from the case study that local government should (ii) consider the valuation fees as negotiable rather than final in order to obtain full adherence to the exercise amongst property owners. In South Africa, the City of Johannesburg has recently embarked on a similar exercise for the entire city. It remains to be seen to what extent the exercise will lend itself to fee negotiation and whether improvements in service delivery will be visible within the neighbourhoods as a result of the valuation of rolls.

Another case study from the urban center of Msuzu reports how successful street vending was managed through the allocation of specially designated markets to vendors. In fact, street vending in urban areas that have designated markets is considered illegal according

to the by-laws. Problems that are generally associated with street vending range between the loss of revenue to the city, the spreading of liter along the streets, complaints from the public about the so-called pick-pockets hiding amongst vendors to commit petty crime and the usual political manipulation of street vendors by their informal leaders for non-payment of fees. These problems have been overcome in Msuzu through an intelligent combination of traditional policing measures, whereby temporary tents were destroyed and commodities confiscated by market rangers, with a joint negotiation and design of solutions together with the vendors. In so doing, management committees were formed in all markets. Vendors were assigned specific stands in the markets where similar commodities were sold. Those who showed understanding for paying fees were engaged to assist in controlling cases of robbery and unhygienic disposal of waste; they were also engaged in ticket selling for revenue collection. Eventually, the idea of fee payment as a precondition to obtaining a market stand was gradually adhered to by the majority because they were pushed into isolation by the social control measure of using their colleagues to address them. While the solution is reported to have improved the safety and livability experience along the streets of Msuzu, an important lesson is that this experience has proven more costly than anticipated because of the cost increments of mobilizing market rangers and the police to undertake evictions and destroy temporary structures built along the streets or in front of shops.

CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVES ON URBAN MANAGEMENT IN TOWNSHIP RENEWAL

Many innovative responses to the urban management challenge are currently underway in South African townships addressing problems such as street vending, crime, community based operation and maintenance of public facilities, waste collection and disposal, land use management, etc. They present a favourable opportunity to engage the broader urban renewal community of practitioners on emerging lessons and the possibilities of replication under similar contexts. The Training for Township Renewal Initiative offers an excellent platform to start interacting with practitioners on the magnitude of the urban management challenge in their different constituencies and the prospects for achieving economies of scale in reversing poverty and creating livable and competitive environments in townships. In summarizing the key issues of this paper, the following points can be recapitulated:

❑ Urban management is a mindset, embodied in a set of techniques, instruments and tools, which can be used to trigger a thinking and problem solving process on a trial and error basis. It was therefore not the intention of this paper to provide recipes, but to outline the emerging trends on how the urban challenge is being addressed. It is hoped that the TTRI will live up to this expectation of becoming a platform that will facilitate the emergence of a shared mindset between practitioners and policy makers about the urban challenge in townships and innovative ways to address it.

❑ As far as other African countries are concerned, a wealth of lessons have been generated during and after the roll out of the multi-donor supported Urban Management Programme (1986-2000). One of the main problems encountered is that these lessons rest within the immediate environment of cities and towns which have generated them. Yet, they must become part of a national urban development agenda. This requires proper documentation of lessons, which Malawi has succeeded to package in a recent publication. Even though urban management is more of a local concern, it is incumbent on national urban development actors to lift the generic and locality specific smart practices and

lessons to enrich their decentralization processes in ways attuned to the notion of developmental local government.

- The necessity to re-engineer the state as a developmental agent after apartheid has created an amazing drive and abundant passion for visioning, policy innovation on what the country's future development should be, coupled with associated regulatory and planning systems. Typical illustrations to this are IDPs, PDGP, IGR Framework, NSDP, White Papers, PFMA, MFMA, etc. A common anecdotal evidence to this is the usual joke which is paraphrased as follows: "...in order to solve the problem, we must develop a policy, then a strategy, then a business plan, then a performance management system...then align them to one another...". As a result, there are signs of over-compliance with the constitution and associated legislative and regulatory systems. This leaning towards compliance throws the question whether the community ownership of development should be referenced in the constitution as part of the second generation of state reforms in order to balance current state centrist development towards a delivery model which favours joint accountabilities between the state and civil society.

- South Africa presents contrasting features, negative and positive: increasing migration dynamics, almost 40% unemployment, widening gap between poor and rich, growing record of service delivery marches, steady economic growth. A pace of wealth redistribution is not attuned to demand dynamics, delivery increment triggers additional demands for services. Urban management presents an opportunity to reconcile and reconnect these disjunctures in a manner which socializes economic growth while maximizing the utilization of the abundant idle human and social capital in the townships.

- Current development thinking in South Africa emphasizes, amongst others, the need to increase the redistributive functions of the economy by ensuring that (i) the primary residential property market works for the poor, (ii) effective wealth transmission occurs between the first and second economy, (iii) the velocity of money circulation increases in townships through increased capital investment and economic transactions. Mainstreaming urban management would contribute to these endeavours by deepening management skills and a sense of pride amongst civil society with their living environments.

- Procurement is the single most powerful tool available to government to fast track transformation in townships – Community based operation and maintenance of the public environment presents a good opportunity to do so.

- Contrary to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) as a deliberate redistributive procurement instrument focused on business ownership, urban management is primarily focusing on socializing the management of the public environment in a manner which maximizes livelihood-making in the townships. Urban management emphasizes the need to keep ownership separate from management

- Urban Management is about acknowledging that the state, indeed, has the tools, but cannot do the job alone.

- Some of the risks associated with community contracting are as follow:

  - Political interference,
  - Corruption and clientelism,
  - Political rivalry between groups,
  - Creation of 'shadow companies' with underground shareholders amongst politicians

- As regards planning, one of the major lessons so far suggests that it is important to keep the promise ('wish list') realistic in order to provide more

When planning subjects itself to a participatory approach to 'trial and error', it sets the basis for joint accountability, more productive learning and action.

LIST OF REFERENCES:

1. SIMONE, ABDOUMALIQ (2002). PRINCIPLES AND REALITIES OF URBAN GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA - UN-HABITAT GLOBAL CAMPAIGN ON URBAN GOVERNANCE
2. FOX, WILLIAM F. (1994). STRATEGIC OPTIONS FOR URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE MANAGEMENT (UNDP, WORLD BANK) URBAN MANAGEMENT PROGRAMME PUBLICATION SERIES, No 17.
3. DAVIS, MIKE. (2006) PLANET OF SLUMS
4. KESSIDES CHRISTINE. LA TRANSITION URBAINE EN AFRIQUE SUBSAHARIENNE, IMPACTS SUR LA CROISSANCE ÉCONOMIQUE ET LA RÉDUCTION DE LA PAUVRETÉ (URBAN TRANSITION IN SUB SHARAN AFRICA – IMPACT ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND POVERTY REDUCTION), THE CITIES ALLIANCE.
5. PERNEGGER, LI. (2006). DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR URBAN MANAGEMENT COORDINATION – CITY OF JOHANNESBURG (UNPUBLISHED)
6. FARVACQUE-VITKOVIC, CATHERINE. GODIN, L. (1998). THE FUTURE OF AFRICAN CITIES - CHALLENGES AND PRIORITIES FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT
7. KRUSE,C. MANDA. (2005) LESSONS IN URBAN MANAGEMENT - EXPERIENCES IN MALAWI 2000-2005 - MALAWIAN-GERMAN PROGRAMME FOR DEMOCRACY AND DECENTRALISATION (MGPDD)
8. CRANKSHAW, OWEN. (2006). SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY VOL 37, No 1, 2006 JOURNAL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
9. RAKODI, CAROLE. (1997). THE URBAN CHALLENGE IN AFRICA – GROWTH AND MANAGEMENT OF ITS LARGE CITIES.
10. PRAHALAD,CK. (2005) THE FORTUNE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PYRAMID – ERADICATING POVERTY THROUGH PROFITS
11. UNHABITAT - MCDONALD, DAVID A. (2000) ON BORDERS - PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
12. DURAND-LASSERVE, A. CLERC. (1995). CITIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, INTEGRATION OF IRREGULAR SETTLEMENTS – CURRENT QUESTIONS IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, PRATIQUES URBAINES 12, JANUARY 1995