INTRODUCING THE TOWNSHIP RENEWAL CHALLENGE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this first module is to outline a broad understanding of the main challenges in township renewal, and the developmental outcomes that can be targeted in this context.

This module:

• Examines the historical origins of townships, and their inherited physical and social legacies.

• Reviews current conditions in South African townships.

• Touches on relevant international practice adopted to deal with similar renewal challenges.

• Discusses township renewal in relation to government policy and development priorities and programmes.

• Introduces broad outcomes for township renewal.

Given the complex and varied nature of developmental challenges in South African townships, this module focuses on key problems and highlights a systematic approach to renewal. As someone responsible for township renewal, you can anticipate that you will not be in control of addressing all the challenges, but will instead need to provide strategic guidance for priority programmes and projects to help leverage change.
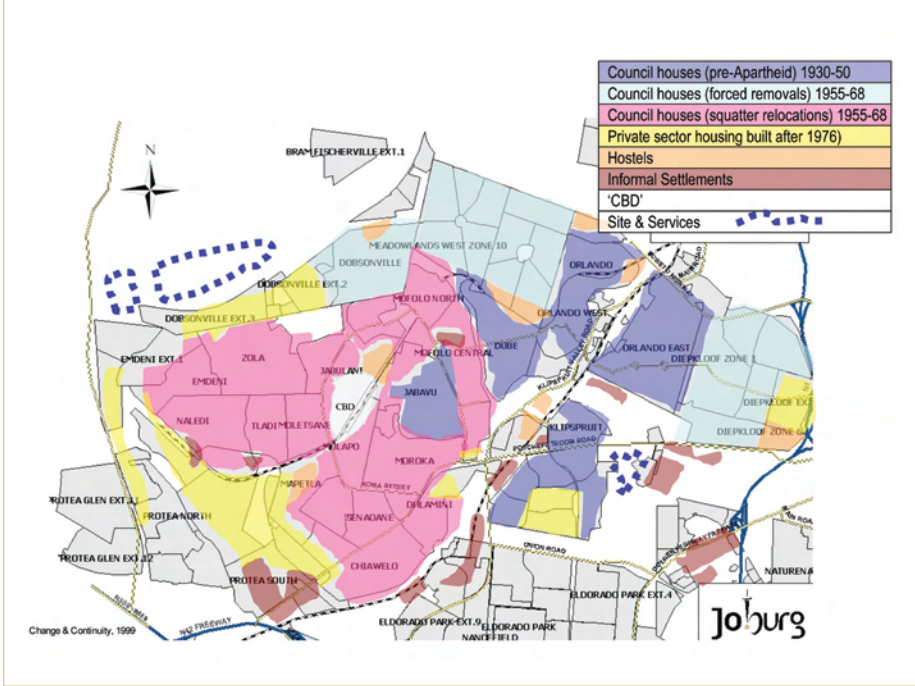
1.2 ORIGINS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

COLONIAL PLANNING

Townships were inspired by colonial town planning. While at home they are often considered a uniquely South African creation, townships are found in many African cities. The colonial planners intended to physically segregate three classes of people, which generally coincided with race:

• the white colonial elite

• the colonised middle class made up of Indians and some Africans employed in the bureaucracy

• the urban majority of Africans.

For the African working class, townships were planned some distance away from the colonial towns. In South Africa the first 'locations' were founded more than 100 years ago – the oldest existing one is New Brighton in Port Elizabeth, which was built in 1902-03. Between the two world wars, municipalities built a number of townships at the urban periphery, separated from the cities by green belts. Examples are Langa in Cape Town, Lamontville and Chesterville in Durban, and Meadowlands in Johannesburg.

APARTHEID TOWNSHIPS

Most large townships were built or significantly expanded by the apartheid government after 1950. Through the enforcement of the Group Areas Act (1950), accompanied by various elements of racially engineered town planning legislation, the government forced the entire non-white urban population to live in townships. Such legislation determined strict racial separation by stipulating that:

• 'Each race group should have its own consolidated residential area.

Township establishment and growth, Soweto

The figure shows how, over time, Soweto grew from a few small 'suburbs' to the township it is today. *(Source: 'Change and Continuity', 1999. Adapted City of Johannesburg 2006)*

• 'Each residential group area should be separated by a strong physical 'buffer' such as a river or ridge, or an industrial or commercial area. Should buffers of this kind not be available, then an open space or 'buffer zone' was to be left between group areas.' *(Smit 1989:103)*

These regulations, alongside massive housing programmes initiated to accommodate a growing urban working class, underpinned the creation of townships and shaped South African cities in the unique way that we see today.

For black (African, Indian and Coloured) South Africans, townships were areas of exclusion, control and containment, affecting every aspect of residents' lives. Most townships were linked to the city centre and industrial areas by a single road and possibly one railway line, which could easily be

blocked if residents began to organise protests against these conditions.

NEW PATTERNS

At the outset, the peripheral location of many townships and their limited transport links to the cities was the worst aspect of spatial exclusion – and most townships still face this problem. In some cases, however, cities have expanded so much that townships are no longer at the urban periphery. For example, Alexandra (Johannesburg) and Duncan Village (East London) are today extremely well located from the point of view of urban access.

In addition, new patterns of economic activity have developed, particularly since the early 1990s. In all large cities, new economic activity nodes have developed outside the historic central business districts. Today, many cities are 'multinodal', with economic activity and workplaces concentrated in several locations.

These structural changes affect townships in different ways. Many townships, especially those built in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Soshanguve in Pretoria, Mdantsane in East London and Botshabelo outside Bloemfontein) remain far away from work opportunities. Others find themselves close to new economic nodes (e.g. INK [Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu], which lies one freeway exit away from Umhlanga Ridge – the wealthy business/residential district of Durban).

But proximity to urban growth nodes has not resulted in integration or in visible development. The few townships that are relatively well-located have become overcrowded as they become the place of choice for new migrants into the cities, as is the case

INK and Umhlanga Ridge

TO CBD
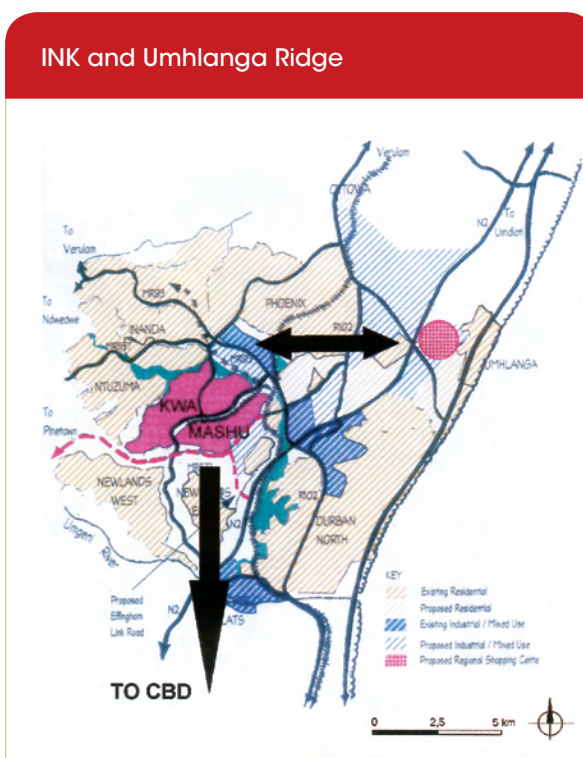
The figure shows how close (5km) the residential conurbations of Inanda, Ntuzuma and KwaMashu (INK) are to Umhlanga while being quite far from the Durban CBD (20km). *(Source: North Central Local Council 1998)*

in Alexandra and Duncan Village. Many residents of INK have found jobs at Umhlanga Ridge, but getting there is difficult because Umhlanga Ridge was planned without public transport links to the townships. In the evenings hundreds of black workers wait at makeshift taxi ranks in the parking lot of the main shopping mall for transport.

Since the 1990s, urban townships, well-located or not, have undergone massive expansion as migrants from the rural areas have been drawn to the cities in search of work. The townships provide cheap rental housing or the opportunity to build a shack.

For apartheid's planners, cheap and efficient movement of labour to and from work opportunities was never a major factor in deciding on a new factory or a new settlement for the poor. This has left South Africa with a very expensive public transport system – costly for township residents to use and for the state to subsidise.

In the 1950s the layout of many townships was based on international

KwaMashu Master Plan, 1957
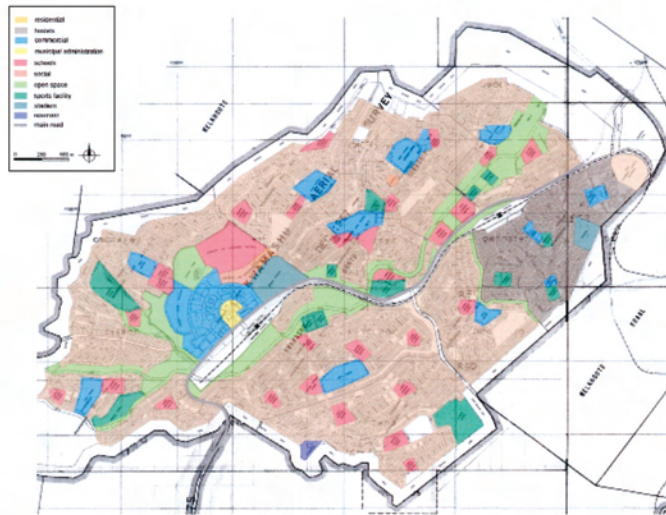
The 1957 KwaMashu Master Plan shows spaces for the commercial centre and nine sub-centres indicated in blue. From the beginning the planning model contradicted the function of townships as dormitory suburbs of the working class. Local economies could never develop because of low wages and large amounts of money leaving the townships to pay for rent, fees, and services. Few public and private facilities were developed in townships and large portions of the main and sub-centres remain vacant up to today.
(Source: S. Godehart, 2006)

planning models then in vogue. Master plans for South African townships were often based on the British 'New Towns', which were generally planned as independent towns with their own economies. In this model, large town centres and generous sub-centres were planned to accommodate commercial and public facilities. Some of this thinking is still on display in areas such as KwaMashu.

But these virtually suburban planning models, with large vacant spaces and mainly freestanding houses, resulted in low residential densities and long travelling distances, contributing to transport problems for the great majority of township residents. One response to this was the development of the taxi industry, which boosted residents' mobility. Scattered spaza shops and other small service providers developed primarily as a result of growing unemployment, but were also a response to the inconvenience of long distances and the costs of transport. There are about 750 000 informal businesses located in townships, providing work for some 1.6 million people. (Ligthelm, 2006)

1.3 THE URBAN LANDSCAPE TODAY

Townships are an ever-present part of the urban landscape in South Africa. The typical city or town will contain a mix of the following elements:

• Core and frame (fringe/periphery)

• Decentralised commercial centres and suburbs

• Industrial areas

• Upper- and middle-income residential neighbourhoods

• Declining residential neighbourhoods

• Townships and post-apartheid additions.

These elements are discussed in detail in Module 3.

According to a 2004 study by FinMark Trust, more than 40 per cent of South Africa's urban population live in townships, and 20 per cent live in informal settlements and low-income housing estates. For example, 43 per cent of Johannesburg's residents live in Soweto alone, and a total of 73 per cent live in townships, informal areas and low-cost housing estates.

Emerging data indicates that townships are largely – but not exclusively – an urban challenge. A quarter (24,,4 per cent or about 11,6 million) of South Africa's population of 47,8 million people live in the country's 76 largest townships (Township Database, NDP Unit, 2007).

Townships are also likely to be home to the highest concentrations of poverty.
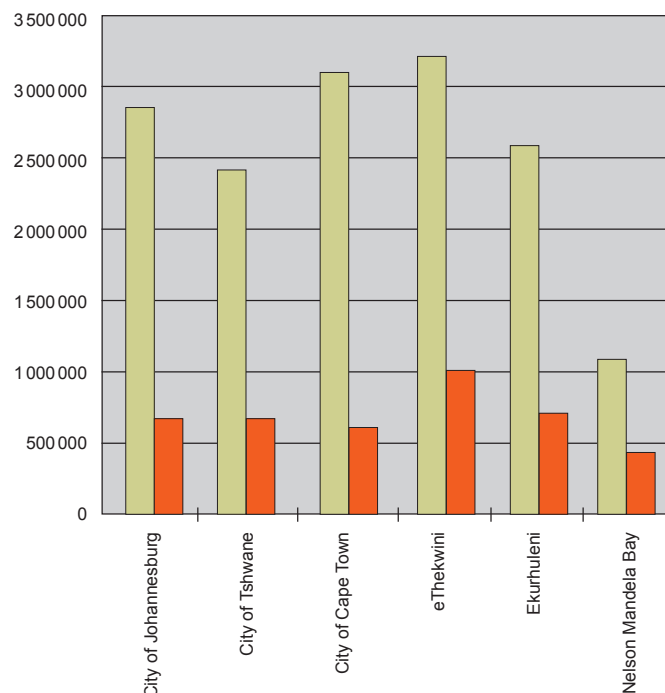
Due to the historic social compression in racially segregated areas, old townships are socially, culturally and economically diverse. Many of them – especially larger townships – contain middle- and

Population and poverty in selected cities

The graph shows the number of people in poverty in selected municipalities. This is defined as people living in households with monthly incomes under certain thresholds, depending on household size. For 2005, the thresholds varied between R893 for a 1-person household to R3 314 for an 8-person household. Only the metropolitan municipalities are shown, but the situation applies to smaller towns to an even higher degree.
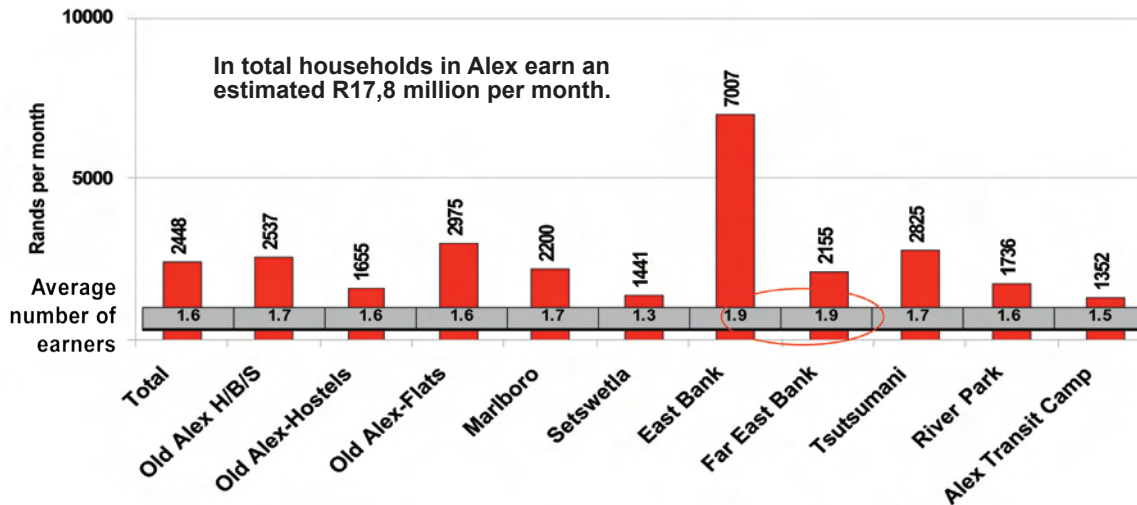*(Source: Global Insight: ReX Version 2.0p (305))*

■ Population (2005)

■ Number of people in poverty (2005)

Poverty pockets within townships

In total households in Alex earn an estimated R17,8 million per month.

Rands per month — Average number of earners

	Total	Old Alex H/B/S	Old Alex-Hostels	Old Alex-Flats	Marlboro	Setswetla	East Bank	Far East Bank	Tsutsumani	River Park	Alex Transit Camp
Rands	2448	2537	1655	2975	2200	1441	7007	2155	2825	1736	1352
Earners	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.5

The average household in Alex has 1.6 earners and an average income of R2 446 per month. Lowest incomes are in Transit Camp & Setswetla and highest in East Bank.

lower-income areas and scattered middle-income households. However, most township residents are poor and unemployment rates are very high. For example, figures for Soweto show that in 2004, 28 per cent of households had a monthly income below R800, and that 40 per cent of economically active people were unemployed (City of Johannesburg, 2005).

Income disparity is particularly evident when the economic data for a township is compared with the rest of the metropolitan area. These disparities are growing.

Clearly, the benefits of economic growth for township residents have been far below expectations. For many people, townships have become poverty traps.

POVERTY TRAPS

The disparities between townships and the rest of the urban system does not mean that townships are universally poor. Substantial differentiation does occur within townships, particularly between formal and informal, and established and new residents. The graph above, illustrates this reality.

Household incomes

Annual per household income (Rand, current prices)

Legend:
— SA
— Gauteng
— Soweto
— Joburg
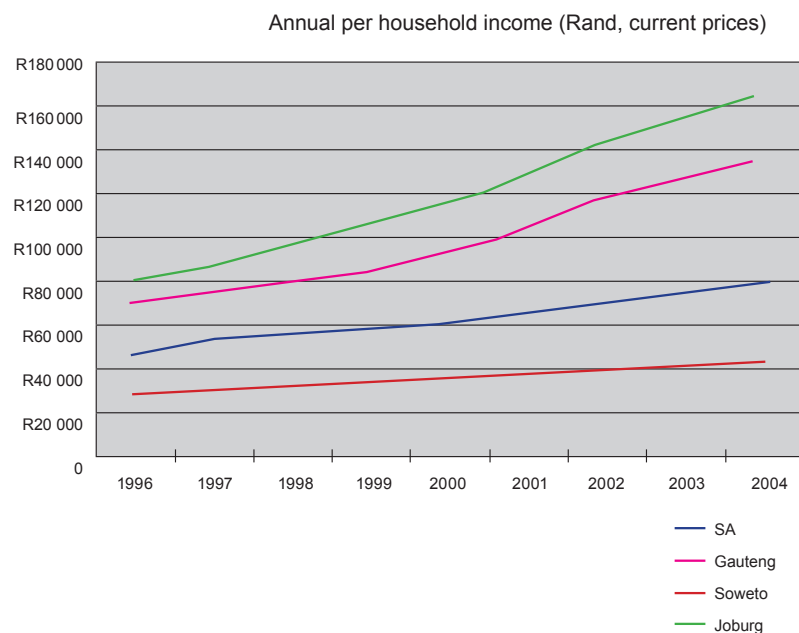
Between 1996 and 2004 the average income of households in Soweto has grown very slowly compared to those of Johannesburg and of South Africa. In 1996 the average income in Johannesburg was about 2,5 times as high as in Soweto; in 2004 it was nearly four times as high.
(Source: City of Johannesburg, derived from Global Insight, 2005)

1.4 INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN ADDRESSING EXCLUSION AREAS

Although the scale of exclusion characterising South African townships is vast, it is not unique to South Africa. Internationally, a considerable body of experience has been developed to address urban exclusion.

As the South African Cities Network (SACN) Urban Renewal Overview (2003) notes: 'internationally, residents in exclusion areas typically manifest low incomes but this is only one manifestation of their distress. The tendency for the poor to concentrate in poor quality private or social rented housing is inextricably linked to the shortage of local jobs, poor transport access to employment opportunities, the lack of social networks to access information on available jobs, lack

of educational qualifications and vocational skills among residents, the stigmatisation of residents from areas, and the development of cultures of poverty'. (p 68)

Many European programmes and projects address such forces of exclusion by applying the concept of 'inclusion'. As the SACN report notes, 'access to democratic and legal systems promotes civic integration, access to the labour market promotes economic integration, and access to welfare systems promotes social integration…'

Since exclusion is generally concentrated in specific areas, the international trend has been to focus inclusion initiatives in spatial

programmes known as area-based initiatives (ABIs). While there is a considerable difference between ABIs internationally, all have three core features: they are focused, area-oriented institutional mechanisms; they address a range of sectors; and they encourage 'joining up' mechanisms to get things done.

In European development practices, outcomes are generally presented in two categories:

• 'For place' outcomes target improved neighbourhoods and residential areas, public environments, new property investments and so on.

• 'For people' outcomes target the residents of an area and seek to enhance education levels, skills, ability to compete for jobs and so on.

Pursuit of these two sets of outcomes is not necessarily incompatible.

In fact, most recent practice in Europe targets both. However, planners need to be clear about what balance is being pursued (and why) from the outset. They also need to anticipate the longer-term effects of any interventions.

Gentrification, for example, is one area where the achievement of 'for place' outcomes can act against 'for people' outcomes. Public-sector initiatives to turn around an area by improving access, upgrading the public environment and stimulating property investment can attract wealthier groups of residents from further afield. In the process, as prices rise, 'yuppie' populations can displace lower-income residents to another poor neighbourhood.

The application of this conceptual distinction in township development planning is crucial, and is discussed in sections 1.5 and 1.6.

1.5 TOWNSHIP DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

POLICY AND STRATEGY CONTEXT
South Africa does not have one policy that focuses on township renewal. Rather, the country has a set of overarching policies, underpinned by the democratic and developmental vision expressed in the Constitution. Sectoral policies such as those for housing, health, education and so on were intended to be the vehicles through which special attention would be given to areas that have suffered from discriminatory planning and wilful neglect under apartheid. In many cases, however, these sectoral policies have not lived up to that challenge.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK
The Urban Development Framework, developed in 1997, highlights the excluded nature of townships and informal settlements and stresses the need to 'connect' them to places of opportunity. It presents four key elements of township development:

1. Integrate the cities to negate apartheid-induced segregation, fragmentation and inequality. The focus is on upgrading informal settlements, reforming planning systems, and improving transportation and environmental management.

2. Improve housing and infrastructure
by encouraging investment,
increasing access to finance,
maintaining safety and security, and
alleviating environmental hazards.

3. Promote urban economic
development to enhance the capacity
of urban areas to alleviate poverty,
increase economic and employment
opportunities, and maximise the
multiplier effect from implementing
development programmes.

4. Create institutions for delivery, which
will require transformation and
capacity building at all levels of
government, and clarity on roles
and responsibilities.

The framework also highlights the
importance of partnerships between
government, the private sector and civil
society. Moving away from the notion
that township renewal is a challenge
to be addressed by the state alone, it
emphasises a broader mobilisation of
resources and participants in township
renewal. Despite this policy stance, in
practice government has remained
the key driver of township investment,
with private investment remaining at
the periphery.

**THE NATIONAL SPATIAL
DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE**
*The National Spatial Development
Perspective* (NSDP), adopted in 2003
and updated in 2006, is South Africa's
first set of national spatial guidelines.
It analyses South Africa's spatial
realities, and proposes principles
to coordinate and guide policy
implementation across government.

The NSDP emphasises that the focus
of public fixed (capital) investment,
beyond the obligation to provide basic
services, should be in areas of economic
potential. While identifying such potential
is not a simple matter and can be
somewhat subjective, critical analysis

of localities and the comparative
advantages they offer needs to inform
intervention and investment in townships.
Areas of potential should be focal points
for public investment that serve
as a catalyst for broader growth
and opportunity.

Many township areas have limited
potential for economic development.
Some settlements, for example, are
in obvious decline, and it would be
counterproductive to pour public
capital into these areas. However, such
areas cannot be ignored: investment
in human capital can be catalytic in its
own right, and infrastructure is needed
to support delivery of social services.
Relatively minor but well-planned
adjustments in the way services are
provided and located can unlock
local economic opportunities without
significant capital investment.

This application of the NSDP principles
is mirrored in the conceptual distinction
between the targeting of 'for place'
and 'for people' outcomes. The
conditions in any given township need
to be carefully assessed for maximum
developmental impact. Given that
many townships are very large and
internally differentiated in terms of
economic opportunities, township
renewal practitioners may need to
apply different mixes of 'for place' and
'for people' interventions to different
parts of a single township.

GOVERNMENT STRATEGY
Township regeneration also needs to
be seen in the light of government's
overarching mandate to reduce
poverty and accelerate broad-based
economic growth.

Government's *Towards a Ten Year
Review* (2003) describes the vast gulf
between the formal and informal
economies in South Africa. On the
one hand, the formal economy is
advanced, based on skilled labour and

becoming more globally competitive; on the other, the informal economy is marginalised, lacks skills and is populated by unemployed workers or those who are unemployable in the formal sector. The vast majority of South Africans are still locked into the informal economy, and this is the country's central national development challenge. Township renewal programmes play an important role in overcoming this dichotomy.
The informal economy, which dominates in township economic life, is characterised not only by economic poverty, but also by a lack of public amenities, social services, health care, educational facilities, and effective institutions for the maintenance of peace and order. These conditions tend to replicate themselves and make it difficult to attract significant private investment or to generate savings.

TOWNSHIP RENEWAL PROGRAMMES
SACN's *Urban Renewal Overview* (2003) presented urban renewal in three categories that are useful for planning interventions:

• Urban centre upgrades address inner-city areas that have experienced capital flight and decline.

• Informal settlement upgrades refer to large freestanding informal settlements, often located near the urban periphery.

• Exclusion areas suffer high levels of economic, social and political exclusion from the mainstream. There are two subcategories: areas that have been excluded by design, and areas that have been excluded by decline (e.g. Hillbrow in Johannesburg).

Townships mostly fall into the category of exclusion by design – a reference to apartheid spatial planning. They are generally old formal townships, and while they may often include some informal areas, they are different from large freestanding informal settlements. They often accommodate populations with strong working-class roots, but currently have high levels of unemployment, social frustration and alienation (which often takes the form of gangsterism and crime) and decaying infrastructure.

Typically, formal housing stock in areas excluded by design is overcrowded and informal settlement often takes the form of backyard shacks for rental. There are also urgent needs for access to health services, education facilities, better sanitation and improved law enforcement. While these areas may have more developed social capital than large freestanding informal settlements, formal education levels are generally low, with a thin skills base. Such areas offer little in the way of economic opportunity: the levels of poverty and underdevelopment make it difficult for them to attract significant volumes of private capital and to generate savings.

As stated earlier, while South Africa does not have a specific policy on township renewal, there have been some high-level government initiatives in this area.

SPECIAL INTEGRATED PRESIDENTIAL PROJECTS
As part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the first democratic administration launched the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs) within its first 100 days in office. Thirteen projects were selected, and were based on an integrated, multi-sectoral approach. The political intent of these projects was to quickly and visibly demonstrate government's commitment and capacity to improve the living conditions of its people. Independent evaluations judged the SIPPs as a success. Many of the lessons learnt from this initiative informed subsequent township interventions, and this Sourcebook has also drawn on this experience.

URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME

In 2001, government launched the Urban Renewal Programme (URP). The URP targeted eight urban nodes: Alexandra, Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha, Inanda, KwaMashu, Mdantsane, Motherwell and Galeshewe. All these areas displayed common features: they were townships established under apartheid, experiencing high rates of poverty and crime, and deteriorating engineering infrastructure. The majority of residents had formal housing stock but there was also an informal housing component. All had very little in the

way of economic opportunity and public transport was poor. The resident populations in general had low education and skills levels.

While the primary objective of the URP is poverty alleviation and development, the manner in which it seeks to do this is through 'joined-up' governance that combines and coordinates resources from national, provincial and local levels.

The considerable experience generated in the URP continues to be documented by the Department of Provincial and Local Government and

other authorities, and forms a large part of the practice-based materials used in this Sourcebook.

NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMME

South Africa's townships, being home to a significant proportion of the population, form a vast reservoir of underutilised social and economic potential. In response to weak long-term planning for townships, as well as the less-than-optimal focus on investment in economic infrastructure in those areas, the National Treasury designed a conditional grant known as the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Programme (NDP).

The NDP, targeted at specific municipalities, recognises that strategic public-sector investment in community facilities can help draw in sustainable private-sector investment. The programme aims to encourage future-oriented township development; to kick-start township regeneration by creating a critical mass of commercial and community facilities; to create internal linkages within townships and/or between townships and economic centres; and to bring about environmental improvements.

The NDP works to stimulate and accelerate investment in poor, underserved residential township neighbourhoods by providing technical assistance and capital grant financing for municipal projects that have either a distinct private-sector element or an intention to achieve this.

As a pilot programme, the NDP has a strong learning and knowledge-sharing agenda. The intention is that experiences and knowledge gained through the programme will help government and the private sector to improve the balance between social and economic investment in all townships.

1.6 TOWNSHIP RENEWAL OUTCOMES

The material presented up to this point provides a useful basis for identifying the range of outcomes that could form the focus of South African township renewal interventions, presented as 'for place' outcomes and 'for people' outcomes.

'FOR PLACE' OUTCOMES

'For place' outcomes aim to capture the economic potential in an area and its people, eliminate inherited physical constraints, and address relevant urban management issues.

Activating the economy

Currently, township economies are marginal and undiversified. For example, Soweto houses 43 per cent of Johannesburg's population, but contributes only 5 per cent to the city's gross geographic product. Economic activity in many townships is generally limited to retail (frequently informal), trade, transportation and government services.

Retail and services

According to several studies, township residents spend most of their disposable income outside the townships. The Soweto Retail Strategy found that in 2006, only 25 per cent of disposable income was spent in that township. The study considers the doubling of local spending to be a realistic projection if more attractive and cheaper shopping facilities are made available.

Currently, shopping malls or centres are being developed in many townships. Of these, the Maponya Mall in Soweto is the biggest and sets a high standard. Malls appear to satisfy the aspirations of residents for a choice of high-quality goods and an exciting shopping experience. Such developments may contribute to retaining existing, or attracting new, middle-income residents to the townships.

The Soweto Retail Strategy acknowledges the role of informal trade in the township economy. The strategy suggests a spread of retail across the township in a way that might benefit all residents. It notes that shopping centres at various nodes are not sufficient or adequately convenient to supply township residents, and that individual shops or small groups of shops and informal businesses also have a role to play.

A study in Soshanguve by the Bureau of Market Research (Unisa, 2006) found that large shopping malls can have a negative impact on informal retailers and, to a lesser degree, small formal shops near the malls. The Soweto Retail Strategy argues that a balance between shopping centres, local businesses and informal providers needs to be achieved. The study stresses that small businesses play a vital role in increasing local economic activity.

The level of economic activity can be measured by determining how often each Rand that comes into a certain area (e.g. through wages or pensions) circulates before it leaves the area. Where economy thrives, each

Rand typically circulates eight to 10 times, but in townships it circulates, on average, only 1.3 times (Business Day, 6 September 2006).

Often the lack of premises for small businesses is raised as a problem that hinders establishment of small enterprises. This is partly true but does not explain the large number of home-based businesses.

The main reasons that businesses operate from residential premises are costs and security. According to the Soweto Retail Strategy, large retailers consider crime in townships a manageable risk. Presumably, in shopping centres economies of scale allow for the installation of elaborate security systems. However, individual and small groups of shops are more exposed and their owners have little means to protect themselves, as demonstrated in the photograph on the left.

Residential markets
Under apartheid, Africans were not allowed to own land in urban areas, but township houses could in principle be rented or owned. This policy has resulted in a legacy of different legal forms of ownership. Private letting and subletting has existed as a tenure option since the building of townships, although this practice was illegal under apartheid. Today, different (often informal) forms of tenure are common in townships – from letting out backyard space to build shacks, to letting out the complete property by absentee landlords.

Many township residents have invested significantly in their homes. Most had to do this out of their own pockets because until the late 1990s banks did not operate in townships (redlining).

Despite media reports of 'buoyant' property markets in the better parts of townships, this market is less viable than expected. Banks have begun to provide bonds in townships, but selling and buying remains difficult because 'transferring properties is a long and tedious process that requires a lot of patience' (Mercury, 22 September 2005).

In a 2005 study, FinMark Trust found an extremely stable ownership structure in townships. None of the owners of old houses who were interviewed considered selling. To appreciate why, it is worth considering that most township houses are paid-up and are therefore an affordable, secure place to stay. They may constitute family homes that are often inherited, and the legal owners may feel obliged to keep the house for the benefit of the family. In addition, many use their properties to run businesses and/or to generate income by letting out rooms or backyard shacks. The study casts doubt on the idea that regularising tenure (ownership) arrangements will change the attitude of township residents towards their property as a

social – rather than a financial – asset. The study also suggests that more consideration should be given to rental forms of tenure.

Complicated legal issues also apply to non-residential properties. Even vacant sites in township centres and sub-centres are often difficult to buy or lease as the example in *No easy road to leasing* illustrates. The legal issues are particularly difficult to navigate for individuals and small local institutions.

With regard to housing, the emphasis has been on dealing with the backlog for lower-income houses, while commercial housing investment opportunities have often been ignored. Many townships have large areas around the town centres that cannot be developed solely as retail areas. They offer great prospects for small and large investors in the provision of infill and mixed-income housing. This will also help to attract new and retain existing, middle-income earners.

Module 2 of this Sourcebook will examine the issues related to the activation of township markets in more detail.

Remaking the physical infrastructure

Earlier, this module discussed the physical legacy that continues to disadvantage townships.

This legacy includes:

- peripheral location

- polarised city growth

- unidirectional transport flows

- poor transport connections between townships and new economic nodes

- dispersed and restricted movement

- low-density built form and overcrowding

Diversity of residential properties

These photographs show the diversity of housing stock in KwaMashu. Often the residential housing stock in old townships is quite diverse because residents have extended and improved their homes. Some have replaced the houses with new ones or even small blocks of flats. But there are also houses that have strongly deteriorated or have added backyard shacks.

- limited range and quality of social facilities

- limited range of economic infrastructure and services

- limited range of residential choice

- insecure or unsafe space

- lack of identity and 'sense of place'.

Module 3 of this Sourcebook will examine these problems in greater detail and identify interventions.

Module 4 examines how necessary inputs can be assembled and applied to execute the required physical interventions. Inputs refer to accessing the land, capital, human resources and legal authority to execute programmes and projects.

No easy road to leasing

In the case of Durban's townships many sites are privately owned. During the 1980s the then KwaZulu government gave away sites in sub-centres to individuals, presumably as political favours. Most of them never developed the land. Today it is often difficult to find the registered owners or their heirs. Accessing state land can also be difficult. In KwaMashu it took a community-based organisation, that had funding to build an art centre for youth, three years to secure a 10-year lease for a piece of state land in a neighbourhood centre that had been vacant for more than 45 years.

Improving regulation, maintenance and operations

Until the mid-1970s all aspects of township life were strictly controlled. After the Soweto rebellion in 1976, the apartheid state focused on stamping out growing political resistance and petty controls gradually broke down. In the democratic era, much of the focus has been on capital investment and development – especially to reduce backlogs in service infrastructure and housing.

Urban management is a necessary complement to sustainable development. To date, however, urban management has simply not featured in townships. Many municipalities have not introduced or enforced regulations such as by-law and town planning schemes. Township residents complain about 'lawlessness', and want rules to be introduced and enforced. Municipalities are slowly beginning to introduce regulatory systems.

A study commissioned by FinMark Trust in Katlehong, Orlando East and Mamelodi found that home-based businesses operated on 14 per cent of all residential sites. While 30 per cent of these entrepreneurs are aware that their businesses do not comply with zoning regulations, another 40 per cent do not know whether their businesses comply. Research (Tipple and Kellet 2002) shows that most home-based enterprises do not have a negative effect in their neighbourhoods because of their small scale, but there are exceptions, as the story on shebeens illustrates.

Township renewal practitioners need to strike a balance between regulations that deal with nuisance, and serious land use conflicts, while allowing residents to make a living from informal economic activities.

Urban management is a complex mix of boosting managerial acumen, and aligning people, plans and budgets. It needs to be more than councils urging everyone to be part of planning as a wish-list exercise, with the management of this promise being taken care of by the state. Urban management is also about fostering joint accountability by ensuring that people are also part of the delivery process. This may imply, for example, the accommodation of community-based organisations in government procurement systems.

The infrastructure in many townships is more than 50 years old and requires significant maintenance and upgrading, even as new infrastructure is built to deal with backlogs in service provision. Module 4 of this Sourcebook examines these challenges in greater detail and discusses strategies for urban management in townships.

'FOR PEOPLE' OUTCOMES

In township renewal, documenting people-centred initiatives has not yet received the same attention as place-centred initiatives. The challenges, however, are no less important and include:

• high levels of crime

• high rates of drug and alcohol abuse, and risky sexual behaviour

• low high school achievement levels for many scholars

• low vocational and life skills, and a lack of information about the labour market

• high levels of gangsterism and weak community support structures

• low levels of self esteem and widespread stigmatisation.

These problems contribute to the continuous outflow of upwardly mobile segments of the populace, which in turn depletes the human resource base.

1.7 CONCLUSION

The table below summarises key outcomes for township regeneration.

PHYSICAL	MARKETS /ECONOMIC	URBAN MANAGEMENT	SOCIAL
Reduced transport costs and times for commuters	Improved competitive position of workers and work seekers in regional labour markets	Vibrant, safe, regulated, well-managed and maintained public and private environments	Enhanced access to a range of regional social opportunities
Greater access to regional opportunities	Better performance and competitiveness of township businesses	Increased end-user/ community involvement in urban management	Elimination or co-option of gangsterism and the other exploitative structures
Reduced physical segregation/isolation from adjacent city/town	Optimal performance of township residential property markets	Higher equity standards in township services and public facilities	Increased number, range, capacity and connectivity of local community institutions
Increased access to facilities, goods and services in the township	Improved performance of retail and services market to benefit residents	Higher rates of social and economic returns from investment in township public infrastructure	Reduced outmigration of human capacity and role models
Enhanced intra-township mobility and accessibility		The quality of residential accommodation is improved	Greater capacity of adults and those in positions of authority to act effectively against risky and antisocial behaviour
Improved use of existing capital/ infrastructure assets			

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