

**Enhancing Capabilities or Delivering Inequality? Contestation and Service Delivery
in Urban South Africa**

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AEC – Anti-Eviction Campaign
- ANC – African National Congress
- APF – Anti-Privatisation Forum
- BEE – Black Economic Empowerment
- BID – Business Improvement District
- CBD – Central Business District
- CCID – Central City Improvement District
- CDF – Community Development Forum
- CJP – Central Johannesburg Partnership
- COPE – Congress of the People
- CORC – Community Organisation Resource Centre
- COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions
- CPF – Community Policing Forum
- CTICC – Cape Town International Convention Centre
- CTP – Cape Town Partnership
- NGO - Non-Governmental Organization
- DA – Democratic Alliance
- DCDF – Diepsloot Community Development Forum
- FDI – Foreign Direct Investment
- GEAR – Growth, Employment, and Redistribution
- GIS - Geographic Information Systems
- GDP – Gross Domestic Product
- GVA – Gross Value Added
- IDP – Integrated Development Plan

IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party

ISC – Interim Steering Committee

ITMU – Informal Trade Management Unit

JDA – Johannesburg Development Agency

KDF – Khayelitsha Development Forum

MSDF – Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework

NP – National Party

OECD – Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OKM – Operation Khanyisa Movement

PT – Partido dos Trabalhadores

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

SACP - South African Communist Party

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SANCO – South African National Civic Organisation

SAPS – South African Police Service

SDF – Spatial Development Framework

SECC – Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee

TAC - Treatment Action Campaign

UDZ – Urban Development Zone

URP – Urban Renewal Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“In contrast to Johannesburg, Cape Town is promoting both pro-growth *and* pro-poor policies” (Lemanski 2007:454).

For non-white residents of South African cities, apartheid implied more than strict residential segregation; it impacted on every facet of life. The racialized division of the labor force meant that non-whites were barred from well paid, prestigious jobs, essentially locking them into a state of perpetual poverty. The jobs in which they were able to find employment were subject to exploitive wages and working conditions. Black Africans were prohibited from owning their own homes or businesses, increasing dependence on the white-run state and economy. In non-white communities the most basic necessities of urban livability were absent or woefully inadequate. Healthcare facilities were severely overcrowded and understaffed, resulting in the ineffective provision of medical care. Electricity connections were rare, resulting in a reliance on highly flammable paraffin oil for heating and lighting. Fires caused by paraffin lamps and stoves were often devastating to communities as there was limited access to emergency services and fires could spread quickly. Basic sanitation infrastructure such as proper sewerage and waste collection was also lacking in non-white communities. The poorly provided infrastructure that did exist was not properly maintained and sewer pipes would frequently burst, sending raw sewage running through the streets. The limited trash collection created a breeding ground for health issues. This lack of basic service provision was an explicit strategy by the apartheid state to prevent the illegal migration of non-whites to the city. It was argued that if the state invested in creating more livable non-white townships, non-whites would migrate to the cities en masse, undermining

efforts to reserve the cities as spaces of white privilege. The cumulative effects of apartheid served to construct and reproduce racial hierarchies not only by segregating racial groups from one another but also by creating starkly divergent living conditions within these spatially segregated urban spaces.

In the post-apartheid era, significant attempts have been made to address the inequalities inherited from the previous system. Legislation was passed that restructured the country's employment system. Affirmative action programs were instituted to expand non-whites' access to middle class professions. Programs such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) have attempted to expand non-white corporate ownership. The need to address inequalities in service provision has been prominent throughout post-apartheid legislation. However, the success of these programs has varied significantly.

This dissertation specifically examines the extent to which municipal governments have succeeded in addressing inequalities in access to public investment in services and infrastructure in non-white communities. While economic inequality is often recognized as an obstacle to local development, it is increasingly acknowledged that improved access to basic services is a prerequisite for successful development. Therefore, gaining a better understanding of the conditions that facilitate or constrain efforts to expand access to these services is a vital for fostering local development both in South Africa and in cities around the world. In post-apartheid South Africa, there has been significant variation in the extent to which the inequitable patterns of service provision associated with apartheid have been remedied. This has meant that service delivery has become one of the most politically charged issues in South Africa. As demonstrated in

Chapter 3, the municipal government in Cape Town has been more successful in expanding access to services in historically marginalized communities than its counterpart in Johannesburg. This dissertation seeks to explain the causes of this variation, providing an important opportunity to understand the potential and constraints for expanding access to services and thereby fostering local development.

While service provision is seemingly a technocratic process, it is deeply embedded in social, economic, and political dynamics. It is through an examination of these factors that we can understand the causes of divergence in service provision in Cape Town and Johannesburg. I argue that the ability of the municipal government to expand access to services is contingent on the configuration of the urban governance regime. As developed here, the concept of the urban governance regime consists of two key components. The first is the coalition of actors that influence municipal decision making processes. An inclusive governance coalition is one that incorporates actors from the state, business, and most importantly subordinate civil society, thereby offering greater potential for a more equitable distribution of public resources and improving access to services and infrastructure in previously neglected communities. Engagement between the state and subordinate civil society in the governance coalition is particularly important in addressing inequalities in service provision, as it offers the potential for fostering synergistic relationships, which are critical in ensuring services are delivered in an effective manner. While I contend that an inclusive regime offers the best potential for fostering development, previous literature has argued that urban governance regimes frequently exclude community interests – especially those of poorer communities - and privilege collaboration between the state and businesses and property owners. These

dynamics have been magnified in the context of neoliberal globalization. While there is some evidence that more inclusive coalitions are possible, there is little work that systematically explores how these coalitions shape local development or the conditions that foster them. Through a comparison of dynamics in Cape Town and Johannesburg, this dissertation seeks to fill this gap.

I argue that the greater inclusivity of Cape Town's urban governance coalition has been a crucial factor in explaining the city's more dramatic improvements in access to services relative to Johannesburg. In Cape Town, there have been more opportunities to create a synergistic relationship between the state and subordinate civil society, allowing the needs of the urban poor to be incorporated into decisions about where public investment occurs and how it is used. In Johannesburg however, the urban governance coalition is largely exclusive of subordinate civil society, instead prioritizing the interests of capital and political actors. Here the relationship between the municipal state and civil society has been combative rather than collaborative. Instead of incorporating the voice of civil society into the urban governance coalition, the state has actively attempted to sideline and silence independent community groups. This has translated into an inability of civil society to engage with the state to ensure that service provision needs in disadvantaged communities are met.

The degree of inclusivity of the urban governance coalition is contingent upon two factors. The first is the local political context and the second is the organization of civil society. The fact that Cape Town's urban governance coalition has been inclusive of civil society while Johannesburg's has been exclusive can be attributed in part to

variation in the political dynamics of each city. In Johannesburg, the African National Congress (ANC) has held uncontested political power in the municipal government since the end of apartheid. This has meant that lines between the state and the party have become blurred. The municipal government has therefore become a channel for individual political advancement rather than an arena in which a variety of voices can be heard and incorporated into governance decisions. As a result of these dynamics, political connections have become the most powerful channel for making demands on the state. Those that do not have access to these connections, largely the urban poor, have organized into civil society groups to make their demands heard. However, to the extent that these groups are organized outside the purview of the party, they threaten the entrenched power structure and are therefore not viewed as partners in development by the local state. Their demands for service provision are largely ignored and/or silenced, resulting in an exclusive urban governance coalition. However, because capital serves to reinforce political power, collaborative ties between the municipal government and businesses and property owners are actively sought out and remain a stable source of influence for both capital and state officials.

In Cape Town, however, political channels do not offer this same kind of stable channel for influence. This is due to the fact that in Cape Town there has been legitimate political competition and transfer of power between the ANC and the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA). The unpredictable nature of urban politics means that while an official may have clout during one term, that power can easily disappear after the following election. This has meant that the convergence between party and state seen in Johannesburg is not possible in Cape Town. In order to maintain relevance and garner

votes, each party is incentivized to respond to the needs of citizens. It can do this by establishing synergistic relationships with community groups and ensuring that their needs are incorporated into governance processes. At the same time, this political competition also incentivizes civil society to remain autonomous from party affiliations. The instability of party power means that these connections are less productive in influencing governance decisions and civil society is better served by remaining non-partisan so that it can curry favor with the municipal state regardless of which party holds power. This political configuration in Cape Town has resulted in a relatively inclusive urban governance coalition and has had important implications in terms of ensuring that public investment reaches disadvantaged communities. The broader inclusion of subordinate civil society in the urban governance coalition, however, does not mean that capital has been absent. Particularly in the space of the central business district (CBD), capital has continued to exercise an important influence over the urban form. However, political dynamics have ensured that it does not dominate the urban governance regime as in Johannesburg.

The inclusivity of the urban governance coalition is critical in shaping the potential for directing public revenues toward service provision in historically neglected communities. However, in addition to the presence of a state willing to engage with communities, inclusivity assumes a well-organized subordinate civil society able to effectively engage with the state. In many cities throughout the world, and in communities in Cape Town and Johannesburg, this is not always the case. Social, political, and economic conditions associated with apartheid as well as post-apartheid dynamics have left many communities fractured. Where this civil society is not organized

cohesively at the community level, it is difficult for it to effectively engage with the state even when there is political will for collaboration, essentially creating an exclusive governance coalition. This can be seen particularly in informal settlements in both cities (see Chapter 5).

The absence of a cohesive civil society to make demands on the state does not necessarily imply that public investment is completely absent in communities. It does however highlight the importance of the second component of the urban governance regime that influences patterns of investment in service delivery – the bureaucratic configuration of the municipal state. In addition to an inclusive governing coalition, an effective urban governance regime is also characterized by a bureaucratically cohesive state. This cohesion allows municipal governments to create and implement comprehensive plans for the development of the urban space and direct public resources accordingly. Without this cohesion, public investment in the city tends to be fragmented and efforts at urban integration are less feasible. In the absence of a well organized subordinate civil society that can make demands on the state, there is still potential for public investment in poorer areas given a bureaucratically cohesive state that is equipped to create and implement comprehensive urban plans that direct resources toward disadvantaged areas of the city.

In Johannesburg, the municipal state has remained highly fragmented around issues of service provision. Service provision line departments have operated in a manner that is disconnected from municipal planners. This has meant that the potential to implement comprehensive plans that direct public resources toward disadvantaged

communities and integrate the urban space is limited. Rather than acting in concert with one another, municipal agencies instead operate in a manner that reflects individual agency priorities and profits, with little oversight exercised by urban planning. In Cape Town on the other hand, there has been much more effective integration between the municipal planning department and various service providers. This has facilitated the creation and implementation of more effective urban plans that direct public investment toward those areas most in need.

The two components of the urban governance regime, coalitions and bureaucratic configurations, operate in concert with one another to determine the extent to which inequalities in service provision are addressed. The most effective use of public investment occurs where there is bureaucratic cohesion that is able to generate and implement effective municipal plans as well as inclusivity that allows community needs to be incorporated into decision making. While cohesive planning can enable investment in historically neglected communities, without the creation of effective synergistic relationships with citizens, the resulting public investment is less likely to meet the needs of residents.

While the general contours of the urban governance regimes of these two cities can be seen at the municipal level, their specific dynamics are best observed at the community level. In addition to examining municipal dynamics (see Chapter 3), this dissertation uses three communities in each city as a lens through which to understand how urban governance regimes influence service delivery on the ground. While Cape Town and Johannesburg show general patterns of divergence in their urban governance

regimes, there is additional variation in these trends that is captured at the community level. Therefore, this level of analysis allows for a better understanding of the specific ways in which the presence or absence of inclusive coalitions and bureaucratic cohesion influence local development, given contextual factors.

In Chapter 4, the largest black African townships in each city are examined. In Cape Town, this is the township of Khayelitsha and in Johannesburg, the township of Soweto. Townships represented the epitome of apartheid planning. These were the segregated, state-planned communities to which the apartheid government moved non-white urban residents. These spaces saw very limited public investment and were identified as important sites of intervention in the post-apartheid period. However, subsequent efforts at local development in the townships of each city have seen significant divergences. In these townships, the role of inclusive governance coalitions in fostering local development is particularly apparent. In Khayelitsha, civil society has been very well organized and engaged in a synergistic relationship with the state. This has resulted in more substantial improvements in access to services as well as other forms of public investment relative to Soweto. Through processes of engagement between the state and local civil society organizations, these public investments have effectively served community needs. In Soweto on the other hand, political ties have become the exclusive channel for making demands on the state for fostering public investment. Those groups attempting to work outside of political channels are marginalized by the state, creating a much more contentious relationship between the municipal government and subordinate civil society than is seen in Khayelitsha.

In the global south, poverty along with rapid urbanization have resulted in an increase in the number of residents living in transitory spaces and informal settlements. These have been areas where governments have sought to temporarily relocate residents living in informal conditions elsewhere or sites of settlement for migrants who have been unable to enter the formal housing sector. Because of the often “temporary” nature of these spaces, the state’s approach to service provision has varied dramatically. Chapter 5 examines how urban governance regimes have impacted service delivery and public investment in the transitory spaces of Philippi in Cape Town and Diepsloot in Johannesburg. Dynamics in these communities highlight the importance of the inclusivity of governance coalitions in conjunction with bureaucratic cohesion in expanding access to service provision. Both of these communities originated as temporary informal communities, inhabited by residents who had been forced out of informal settlements in other parts of the city. Both communities were also slated to be sites for substantial investment in public housing, services, and infrastructure in the post-apartheid period. While they continue to exhibit divergent patterns of public investment, with Philippi drawing greater attention from the state than Diepsloot, the challenges faced in terms of creating a synergistic relationship between the state and community in these areas have been different than those faced in townships. Both communities have highly fragmented social histories. Residents come to these areas from a variety of urban and rural spaces with divergent resources, creating tension between various residential groups. These varied histories often correspond to spatial segmentation and lack of social cohesion of the communities. The conditions under which particular groups arrived have dictated differential access to services, needs, and demands among those living in various parts of

each community. In both Philippi and Diepsloot, this fragmentation has made the creation of synergistic relationships between the state and civil society particularly challenging. In the absence of effective engagement with the state, divergences in investment in these communities highlight the importance of bureaucratic cohesion in influencing the distribution of public investment.

In Cape Town, there have been concerted efforts by the state to direct public resources toward Philippi. This is due in part to the political dynamics described above, in which political competition incentivizes responsiveness to community needs. Additionally, the Cape Town municipal government has been able to maintain a greater degree of bureaucratic coherence than its counterpart in Johannesburg and has been better able to implement spatial planning initiatives that direct resources toward incorporating historically peripheral areas (such as Philippi) into a more integrated urban structure. Efforts at creating this integration have meant greater public investment for Philippi. However, the lack of cohesion of civil society in the area has resulted in a locally exclusive governance coalition with limited engagement between communities and the municipal state. Public investment therefore has not served the needs of residents as effectively as in Khayelitsha.

In contrast to Philippi, Diepsloot has generally been neglected by the local state, in part because of the interests of developers and wealthier property owners. This has resulted in the virtual absence of public investment in necessary services and infrastructure. It has been only very recently, in response to massive waves of violence, that the state has used public investment as a means to integrate Diepsloot into the urban

space. Previously, the only time that Diepsloot garnered the attention of the state was when it served the political interests of particular ANC officials. Once the area lost its political relevance, public investment stopped. With the absence of cohesive planning to integrate Diepsloot into the urban space, the lack of an organized civil society, and Johannesburg's neglect of non-politically affiliated engagement, Diepsloot saw very limited improvement in access to services.

While the cases described above are important for understanding the role of urban governance regimes in directing public investment toward disadvantaged areas of the city, it is also important to understand how urban governance regimes operate in those spaces of the city where capital is centered. Structural theories argue that capital is the dominant actor in shaping the use of public resources and in dictating the urban form, particularly in the context of neoliberal globalization. This significantly limits the potential for the creation of an inclusive urban governance coalition. It is also likely to fragment broader municipal planning agendas in favor of the interests of capital. While the demands of business and property investors influence the shape of the city as a whole, their power is felt most acutely in the central business district (CBD). Therefore, an understanding of the influence of capital relative to other stakeholders in the urban governance regime necessitates an understanding of urban processes in the CBD. It is here that the constraints associated with attracting private investment and competing in the global economy play out. It is also here, more than in any other space in the city, that a wide variety of interests converge, often in a contentious manner, to claim the right to urban space. So while issues of service provision are less relevant in the CBD, the

dynamics that occur here shed significant light on the urban governance regimes in these two cities.

In both Cape Town and Johannesburg, capital has exerted a powerful influence over the processes shaping the CBD. In the Johannesburg CBD, capital virtually dictates how urban space is used and whose interests are served. The urban governance coalition has been particularly exclusive of subordinate civil society. This has privileged attempts to increase property values and securitization while pushing the urban poor, who rely on the CBD for much of their livelihood, toward the periphery. In Cape Town, a similar trend was seen in the immediate post-apartheid period. The interests of business and property owners were privileged while the urban poor were sidelined. However, the competitive political dynamics described earlier ensured that the prioritization of business over the urban poor had its limits and eventually shifted the approach to CBD regeneration toward a more pro-poor orientation.

The configurations of the urban governance regimes of these two cities and the way they play out in local communities are summarized in Table 1-1.

Table 1-1. Urban Governance Regimes in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

		INCLUSIVITY OF THE GOVERNANCE COALITION	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
BUREAUCRATIC COHESION OF MUNICIPAL STATE	Cohesive	Cape Town <i>(Khayelitsha, Cape Town CBD)</i>	<i>(Philippi)</i>
	Fragmented		Johannesburg <i>(Soweto, Diepsloot, Johannesburg CBD)</i>

The dynamics uncovered in these two cities, as well as the communities that compose them, build on previous theory to illustrate a number of points that are crucial to understanding the potential for addressing intense urban inequalities in cities in South Africa and around the world as well as the prospects for fostering local development. First, the urban governance regime framework developed here provides a lens for understanding how political and societal dynamics work together to influence the potential for addressing entrenched urban inequalities. This framework highlights the importance of the formation of synergistic relationships between the state and communities in facilitating the effective provision of public investment in a manner that serves community needs. When the state fails to effectively engage with communities, public investment is unlikely to be directed toward those spaces with the most pressing needs and when it is, it is unlikely to meet the needs of residents. Second, this research identifies factors that are critical in expanding the potential for creating an effective urban governance regime; specifically the local political context as well as the configuration of

civil society. The fact that there is regular competition for municipal elections in Cape Town is more conducive to the formation of inclusive urban governance regimes than the single party dominance that exists in Johannesburg. Additionally, in those spaces where civil society is highly fragmented, the potential for effective engagement with the state regarding public investment is limited. Finally, the distribution of public resources depends not only on the inclusion of subordinate civil society in governance coalitions but also on the presence of a bureaucratically cohesive state with the ability to design and implement cohesive plans that prioritize spaces for public investment and integrate the urban space. Taken together, these dynamics provide greater insight into the conditions necessary for fostering local development.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN GOVERNANCE REGIMES AND PATTERNS OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT

The legacy of apartheid has meant that access to basic services has been unequally distributed within South African cities. Because access to these services is essential in fostering local development, it is critical to gain a better understanding of the factors that enable a more equitable distribution of public investment. While previous literature can provide clues as to how we might foster this type of development it provides either pessimistic predictions or incomplete explanations. The urban governance regime model developed here provides a framework for understanding the potential and challenges for expanding access to services and fostering local development.

PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN URBAN SOUTH AFRICA

Generating Urban Inequality: Public Investment under Apartheid

The official implementation of apartheid in 1948 by South Africa's National Party (NP), was an effort to further institutionalize the economic and social privileges that had long been enjoyed by the country's white population. Racial categories had served as the central axis of stratification in South African society since the beginning of colonialism in the 1600's. However, as the country began a process of independent nation-building in the early 20th century, these distinctions increasingly took on a legal character and became a central concern of the state, culminating in the legally sanctioned segregation and exploitation of apartheid. Marx (1996) argues that the codification of white racial privilege and apartheid were the result of efforts at post-colonial state building. In order to unify the previously warring white English and Afrikaner populations and consolidate

an economically and politically viable state, the government attempted to create solidarity among white South Africans at the expense of other racial groups. It did this by turning its attention toward the “Native Question” – seeking to create a system that integrated the non-white majority into the new state while preserving white privilege and dominance (Tilly 1998).

The consequence of these goals was the rapid expansion of legal mechanisms for establishing and maintaining racial boundaries and inequalities both economically and socially. Various pieces of legislation, as well as informal employment practices, solidified white economic privilege by ensuring that better paid and more prestigious occupations were reserved for whites – essentially creating an employment-related color bar (Legassick 1974). For whites, this privileged access to more prestigious jobs meant limited competition for employment and relatively high incomes. For the country’s non-white majority, the color bar limited employment to low-skilled occupations while ensuring heightened competition for jobs. The relatively large size of this non-white labor force and the lack of sustainability of rural livelihoods created a surplus of labor for low-skilled urban industrial jobs. This allowed for the maintenance of low wages while ensuring a relatively docile labor force, further concentrating profits among the white elite (Legassick 1974).

As rural migrants moved to the cities in the hopes of obtaining mining, industrial, and domestic service jobs that were available to non-whites, the non-white urban population grew. In response, legislation was enacted to ensure white privilege beyond access to employment. One of the most significant pieces of legislation toward this end

was the Urban Areas Act of 1923, also known as the Pass Laws. This act declared the cities of South Africa to be spaces reserved for white residents and required black Africans who worked in the city to carry a passbook specifying their working status and reason for being there. Failure to produce this passbook upon request would result in immediate arrest. The Pass Laws ensured that the economic centers of South Africa and their associated resources would exclusively be the sphere of white residents. Non-whites would be granted access only when it served the interests of white employers. With the election of the National Party in 1948, a more aggressive approach to segregation, known as “grand apartheid” began, which further divided the population based on racial categories. This was epitomized by the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, both passed in 1950. The Population Registration Act required that every South African resident be racially categorized. The Group Areas Act used this information to codify the relationship between race and space in South African cities. This legislation designated separate areas of each city to be the exclusive residential, social, and economic domain of specific racial groups. In order to ensure white privilege, the CBD and its surrounding suburbs were designated as white areas while other racial groups were forced to live in the spatially peripheral areas known as townships.

Non-whites’ limited access to well-paid employment opportunities in conjunction with the spatial segregation of various racial groups had important implications in determining access to public resources such as basic services (Beavon 2004). The racial boundaries established under the Group Areas Act served important administrative functions as each group area was responsible for generating its own tax revenue to fund local development and infrastructure. As described, white residents had privileged access

to a broad range of well-paid employment opportunities in addition to the ability to own businesses and property. The relationship between race and space, which was institutionalized through the Group Areas Act, ensured that these wealthier white residents were concentrated in specific communities, thereby generating a large concentrated local tax base. The disproportionate size of public revenues in these areas resulted in greater resources for local investment in services such as sanitation, electricity, education, and healthcare. However, in the poorer, non-white group areas, residents had only limited access to low paying employment opportunities and were prevented from owning their own homes or businesses, resulting in a very small local tax base and limited funds for public investment. These dynamics solidified the correlation between space, race, and urban livability¹. Without sufficient revenue for public investment, access to basic services and infrastructure were severely lacking in non-white communities. This is reflected by the fact that in 1979, only about a fifth of all households in Soweto – the largest black African township in Johannesburg – had access to electricity (Mandy 1984).

The segregation of the urban tax base along racial lines and the resulting concentration of service and infrastructure provision in white areas was an explicit tactic of the apartheid state to exploit the non-white urban population and to hoard opportunities among white residents. These processes of exploitation and opportunity hoarding are identified by Tilly (1998) as the key mechanisms for generating what he termed “durable inequality.” According to Tilly, exploitation occurs when “powerful

¹ Evans (2002b) defines urban livability in terms of livelihood as well as environmental sustainability. Livelihood encompasses access to jobs and services. Based on this definition, the current research is particularly concerned with the service component of livelihood.

connected people command resources from which they draw significantly increased returns by coordinating the effort of outsiders whom they exclude from the full value added by that effort” (1998:10). Opportunity hoarding occurs when a category of network actors “acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and enhanced by the network’s modus operandi” (1998:10). Through dynamics of exploitation and opportunity hoarding, various social categories are established - such as male/female or black/white - that distinguish those who benefit from these processes from those who are disadvantaged. As the inequalities associated with these categorical divisions are emulated across social settings and adapted to a variety of daily routines, they become deeply entrenched in the broader social structure. The durability of this categorical inequality makes these disparities especially difficult to reverse.

The imposition of racial categories and the state’s allocation of public and private resources, typifies these processes as described by Tilly. By institutionalizing the administrative relationship between group area boundaries and tax boundaries, the apartheid system ignored the fact that the operation of the entire urban economy was dependent on the contributions of residents of various races from across group areas. In contrast, residential areas were viewed as fiscally self-sufficient. Thus, the exploitation of the non-white population under apartheid reached beyond low wages and the confiscation of land. Exploitation made possible the fact that those living in non-white areas did not see the benefits of the public revenue their own labor made possible. Instead, opportunities to benefit from public revenue generation and public investment in services and infrastructure were hoarded by residents of the white areas of the city.

Undoing Inequality: The Potential for Transforming Apartheid Patterns

Opposition to this inequality in public investment was one of the central rallying points of the anti-apartheid struggle. Activists mobilized around the slogan of “one city, one tax base,” demanding the integration of municipal revenue sources and ultimately the transformation of patterns of public investment across the city. This campaign rejected the notion of fiscal independence of group areas and drew attention to the common structure of apartheid urban geography, demanding a more equitable form of revenue distribution (Chipkin 2002). In the post-apartheid era, responsiveness to these demands and the necessity of addressing spatial inequalities in service provision became a key mandate of municipal governments (South African Cities Network 2006). Through a process of demarcation, administrative boundaries were redrawn in a manner that allowed for the incorporation of wealthier and poorer areas of the city into a single tax base (Cameron 1999). This provided the potential for the taxes collected in wealthier white areas to be invested in the development of poorer non-white areas and address the significant service backlogs inherited from apartheid (South African Cities Network 2007). The newly elected government deemed these efforts to be an important mechanism for equalizing opportunity and improving livability for all urban residents (RSA 1998). The prioritization of addressing these inequalities was reflected in the Reconstruction and Development Programme’s (RDP) Urban Development Strategy, which emphasized access to good infrastructure and services as a key priority of post-apartheid urban development (Mabin and Smit 1997). These goals were to be achieved in part through improved access to basic household services, affordable housing, paved roads, healthcare, and schools, particularly in non-white communities.

While the task of addressing these inequalities is daunting, South African cities were endowed with many of the political, bureaucratic, and economic resources necessary for generating transformation. With its roots in urban non-white communities, the ANC had spearheaded efforts to call attention to the inequalities of the apartheid regime and bring an end to its oppressive rule. In the post-apartheid era, the rise of the ANC to political dominance in South Africa was conditioned on a transformative agenda of remedying the inequalities generated under apartheid, offering substantial political will to deal with these issues (Parnell and Mabin 1995). This is reflected in the 1996 RDP White Paper, which laid out priorities for the South African government. This document identifies the expansion of access to basic services as one of the six basic principles driving the government's agenda (RSA 1994). In the post-apartheid context, the mandate for fostering this change was largely devolved to municipal governments and planners, who had inherited a highly capable state and bureaucratic structure from the previous regime (Cameron 2000). The implementation of the racial privilege associated with apartheid necessitated the construction of a highly capacitated bureaucracy. In the post-apartheid era, it was argued that this capacity could be used to undo the apartheid form. Additionally, the inherent spatiality of addressing apartheid inequalities has been a core concern of municipal approaches to transformation. Unlike in the United States, where the spatial causes of inequality are often underestimated (Massey and Denton 1993), South African policy makers are acutely aware of the importance of these dynamics and have incorporated spatial concerns into key pieces of legislation (City of Johannesburg 2008, City of Cape Town 2001). Addressing inequalities in service provision comes with financial costs as expanding services requires substantial public revenues. While in many

parts of the global south this may be a limiting factor, in urban South Africa it is argued that the state has the capacity to extract sufficient revenue for public investment from the population of well-off white property owners (Lieberman 2003). These efforts are consistent with stated municipal goals of generating economic growth as well as ensuring equitable service delivery, as reflected in the planning documents of both cities (City of Cape Town 2002, City of Johannesburg 2002).

In the post-apartheid era, it was recognized that the needs of the urban poor were great and mechanisms needed to be instituted that allowed residents to engage with the state and make local needs known. The anti-apartheid struggle had generated a wide network of progressive community organizations and urban planning NGOs seeking a space for the inclusion of grassroots organizations into more progressive governance processes. Many of those who would become instrumental in developing post-apartheid policy had been affiliated with these organizations and brought this participatory vision into the creation of planning institutions (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008). In addition to giving voice to advocates of participatory governance, negotiations over the form of the post-apartheid government were themselves relatively participatory. Negotiating forums were established at both the national and local levels. At the local level, civic organizations and newly constituted development forums became sites for communities to share their needs and vision for the new government. This was to allow for a more inclusive discussion of the goals and tactics of urban planning while also demonstrating the potential of participatory processes, which were given a central role in the resulting legislation. At the municipal level, the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) was envisioned to be the key mechanism for engaging communities in local governance. Each

city was required to hold participatory forums in which community members could voice their needs, including those related to public investment and service delivery. The feedback from these meetings would then be incorporated into the final municipal IDP document, which was to guide the priorities and allocation of resources of the municipal government. In addition to serving as a setting in which citizens could voice concerns regarding service delivery, the IDP forums were also intended to be a site for engagement between communities and officials where the municipal government could be held accountable for addressing community needs. In principle, participatory processes, bureaucratic capacity, financial resources, and political will offer considerable potential to address the inequalities in public investment in service provision inherited from apartheid.

Despite this potential, almost 20 years after democratization, service provision remains an explosive issue in South Africa. Since the end of apartheid, and more specifically since 2004, the country has experienced a number of volatile service delivery protests. Between 2004 and 2005 alone, there were reported to be approximately 900 protests, located primarily in urban areas (Booyesen 2007). For example, in September of 2004, one such protest broke out in Harrismith in the Free State, following the failure of the local government to respond to community requests for engagement regarding inadequate service provision (Atkinson 2007). Residents demanded the resignation of the mayor and local ward councilors, burned tires, and dumped excrement and trash in the road. In the resulting skirmishes with the police, a young boy was killed. Similarly violent protests followed in other parts of the Free State, Ekurhuleni, Mpumalanga, the Western Cape, Port Elizabeth, and across South Africa. In 2009 and 2010, there was a

further upsurge in the number of service delivery protests, which began to take on an increasingly violent nature (von Holdt et al 2011). These protests have been concentrated in poorer communities such as informal settlements and townships and have tended to focus on demands for services such as sanitation, electricity, healthcare facilities, and police stations as well as calls for greater accountability in the responsiveness of municipal governments to these needs (Alexander 2010). They have been centered on Gauteng Province and Johannesburg but have occurred throughout South Africa (von Holdt et al 2011). In July of 2009, massive protests erupted in the underserved Johannesburg informal settlement of Diepsloot. Demonstrators threw burning tires into nearby roads and threatened to attack the councilor's house on account of poor service provision and the non-responsiveness of the government to local needs (Sinwell et al 2009). As noted by Sinwell et al:

"The frustrations with government service delivery and the protests which result from this, will remain part of the South African political landscape as long as people do not have access to basic services and are unable to find effective channels through which to express their demands (2009:1)."

The state's response to these service delivery protests has been mixed, with some local governments denying the legitimacy of the demonstrators' claims while others have been spurred into action (Atkinson 2007). These protests have however made issues of service delivery one of the primary points of political discourse in South Africa, particularly at the municipal level. Translating rhetoric into action is especially important as the stakes of improving access to services in South Africa are particularly high. This is not only because of the need to quell potentially violent protests but also because improving access to services is directly related to facilitating local development.

REFRAMING DEVELOPMENT: CAPABILITIES AND SERVICE PROVISION

Addressing inequalities in service provision is critical to fostering local development and urban livability. In recent years, the discursive goals of development have shifted from an exclusive focus on generating economic growth toward a broader emphasis on promoting human capabilities. This implies taking more seriously the notion that increased GDP alone cannot be understood as a marker of development. Instead, development must take into account the quality of life for a broad array of individuals and communities. Exemplifying this approach, Sen (1999) conceptualizes development not merely as economic growth but more importantly as enhancing the capabilities of each individual to live a life he or she has reason to value. He argues that understanding development solely as a function of income fails to adequately represent actual deprivation or well-being. Instead, the capacity to use commodities or resources as one sees fit is critical to Sen's capability approach (Clark 2005). The emphasis here is on expanding the array of options available to individuals by providing a structure that makes their goals more attainable. This necessitates fostering both the freedom to choose the type of life one values as well as enhancing the capabilities required to achieve those goals. According to this approach, enhancing the capabilities that provide individuals with broader opportunities and choices about how to better their lives is critical, as it can have implications for economic productivity as well as for individuals' freedom to shape their own lives. Capability enhancement prioritizes services such as healthcare and education that have a direct impact on the array of opportunities available to individuals and their potential for living a life they have reason to value (Clark 2002). Because capability enhancement is related to the provision of public goods it is not only about

individual preferences but also community goals (Evans 2002a). For Sen, this expansion of capabilities is constitutive of development in itself.

While a capability approach is useful in shifting the goals of development away from a singular focus on economic growth and demonstrating the importance of prioritizing human development, its emphasis on the ability of individuals to choose and attain a life they have reason to value presumes a certain level of access to even more basic services than education and healthcare. In the impoverished slums of Mumbai, Appadurai (2004) demonstrates that before individuals can have the capacity to aspire to improve their living conditions or decide what kind of life they might value, more fundamental needs of basic livability must first be met. These include stable access to the most basic of public services such as sanitation, water, and electricity. Once these needs are met, the advantages of education and healthcare are more likely to be realized. Therefore, in cities across the global South, Sen's conception of development is contingent on creating what Evans terms "livable cities" in which the urban poor have access to basic services that allow for healthy living conditions (Evans 2002b). Combining Sen, Appadurai, and Evans, we can therefore conceptualize development as requiring the expansion of capability-enhancing services that include the education and healthcare that directly allow individuals to engage in economic productivity and increase agency (Sen 1999) as well as the basic services such as sanitation and electricity that provide the "capacity to aspire" to broader goals (Appadurai 2004, Evans 2002b).

The emphasis of the capability approach on expanding the array of options available to citizens does not divorce it from economic development. It has been widely

recognized that human development and economic growth can go hand in hand. Evans (2008) makes the case that as the global economy becomes increasingly service-oriented, fostering capabilities has become central to economic growth. A modern knowledge-based economy that relies on the stock of ideas (Negroponte 1996) is dependent on the human capital fostered by an increase in capabilities. Therefore, economic growth is predicated on the expansion of capability-enhancing services. Bloom and Canning (2000) for example argue that increases in life expectancy lead to greater economic output as opposed to the other way around. They note that real per capita incomes in healthier countries increase 0.3 – 0.5% more each year in comparison to their less healthy counterparts. By increasing capabilities across the population, the benefits of this economic growth are likely to be more evenly distributed.

URBAN GOVERNANCE REGIMES AND EXPANDING ACCESS TO CAPABILITY-ENHANCING SERVICES

The explosiveness of the politics of service provision in South Africa and other areas of the global South (Holston 2008), as well as its importance in enhancing capabilities and fostering development, warrants a better understanding of how to expand access to capability-enhancing services both in South Africa and around the world. While previous literature can provide some clues as to how we might begin to understand the possibilities for directing public resources toward this end, there is an absence of systematic analysis of the conditions that facilitate this type of investment. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, there is significant variation in the ability of South African municipalities to address inequalities in capability-enhancing services. This variation provides the opportunity for a more thorough comparative examination of the processes

that foster capability enhancement and those that limit it. In two of South Africa's largest cities, Cape Town and Johannesburg, the ability of local governments to address inequalities in service provision has diverged greatly. In Cape Town, those non-white communities that had seen limited public investment under apartheid have seen much more dramatic increases in access to services than their counterparts in Johannesburg, offering greater potential for local development. The divergence between these cities exists despite the fact that both were subject to the same exclusionary legislation under apartheid and both have similar economic and institutional potential for transformation in the post-apartheid era. The exploration of the causes of this variation can be instructive for more effectively fostering development in cities both in South Africa and throughout the world.

There is of course a technical component to service delivery. Municipal engineers argue for example that infrastructure has a finite capacity and technical expertise is necessary in order to expand access (Scott 1998). However, the explanation for the divergence in expanding access to services seen in Cape Town and Johannesburg lies in social and political rather than technical factors. Specifically, variation can be explained by divergences in the urban governance regimes of each city. In Cape Town the urban governance regime has been more conducive to addressing inequalities in capability-enhancing services than in Johannesburg. As developed here, the term urban governance regime has two key components. The first is the potentially broad coalition of actors including state officials, service providers, business interests, and civil society actors, that are involved in influencing policy (Melo and Baiocchi 2006). This draws on Stone's concept of an urban regime as "informal arrangements by which public bodies and

private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions (1989:6).” The second element is related to the bureaucratic cohesion of the municipal state. Following Migdal (2001), the state itself is viewed in a disaggregated manner and various municipal departments are examined individually as well as in their relations to other sectors of the municipal government in order to determine the degree to which they form a cohesive bureaucracy able to advance organizational goals and institute comprehensive urban plans (Evans 1994).

I argue that because Cape Town’s urban governance regime is characterized by a more inclusive urban governance coalition and more cohesive bureaucracy, it is better positioned to address inequalities in service provision relative to Johannesburg’s urban governance regime, which has an exclusive governance coalition and fragmented bureaucracy. While these cities can be broadly characterized along these axes at the municipal level, it is also noted that the ways in which these factors influence local community development varies based on context. As demonstrated in Chapters 4-6, this generates deviation from these broader municipal trends, resulting in sub-municipal variation in outcomes of service provision. The configurational approach that an urban governance regime perspective offers provides for a broader understanding of the variety of ways stakeholders and institutions engage around governance processes. Therefore it is uniquely positioned to explore variation along the axes of inclusion and bureaucratic cohesion that exist between Cape Town and Johannesburg as well as within them, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between urban governance regimes and service provision.

Urban Governance Regimes: Coalitions

Examining which stakeholders are able to influence governance decisions is critical to understanding the extent to which municipal decisions address urban inequalities. Often in governance processes, the goals of one group of municipal stakeholders are irreconcilably at odds with those of another, suggesting that when the interests of one faction prevail, it is at the expense of others (Logan and Molotch 1987). The dominance of certain actors in the urban governance coalition can therefore have important implications in terms of whose interests the city serves. In order to understand the potential for addressing inequalities in service provision and directing public investment toward poorer communities, we must examine which actors are included in the coalitions that make decisions about urban governance and how that participation influences patterns of public investment. The coalition of actors engaged in urban governance regimes is potentially quite broad and not all stakeholders have an interest in expanding access to capability-enhancing services. A variety of interests such as real estate developers, municipal officials, community organizations, and businesses, along with a number of others all have a stake in decisions about municipal governance (McDonald 2008, Logan, Bridges Whaley, and Crowder 1997, Castells 1985). However, not all of these interests are necessarily represented in municipal decision making. The distinction between which actors are included in governance decisions and which are excluded can have a significant impact on the resulting form of the city. In expanding access to capability-enhancing services, it is argued that the inclusion of stakeholders from subordinate civil society in the governance coalition is of particular importance as this can provide an arena for the needs of marginalized citizens to be heard and met

(Evans 2008, Baiocchi 2005). However, the presumed dominance of business and property interests and the alliance of the state with capital in urban governance coalitions can potentially undermine the potential for investing public resources toward the expansion of capability-enhancing services, especially in poorer parts of the city (McDonald 2008, Stone 1989, Logan and Molotch 1987).

Civil society in the urban governance coalition.

The inclusion of civil society actors in urban governance coalitions offers greater potential for fostering equitable local development and expanding access to capability-enhancing services than can be achieved by the state and market alone. State attention to the maintenance of elite political power and market concerns with profit maximization can direct institutional action towards ends that are not necessarily equitable or developmental. However, given certain conditions, civil society represents a potential arena from which the marginalized may be able to exercise a voice in urban governance. In setting an agenda for post-apartheid development, South Africa's White Paper on Reconstruction and Development identified civil society as a key governing partner, stating that "consultation processes at all levels of government will be introduced to ensure participation in policy-making and planning as well as project implementation" (RSA 1994:39). This governance partnership was intended to serve a number of developmental goals. First, it was seen as fostering a consensus around policy-making by providing a space for public deliberation that enabled communities to coordinate their concerns and convey their priorities to the state. To the extent that this allows for historically marginalized communities to identify service provision needs and make

demands on the state, it offers greater potential for capability enhancement. As seen in Chapter 4, given certain contextual conditions, civil society groups can provide an important space for coordinating community demands for service provision and conveying these needs to the state. It was also argued that the inclusion of civil society in governance processes could promote more equitable development by serving as a check on the power of the state and ensuring its responsiveness to the needs of marginalized communities. As stated in the RDP White Paper, "mass-based organisations will exercise essential checks and balances on the power of the Government to ensure that Government does not act unilaterally, without transparency, corruptly, or inefficiently" (RSA 1994:41). As demonstrated in Cape Town in Chapter 6, this role for civil society can provide a check on the extent to which the state is able to align itself with capital in a way that neglects the interests of the urban poor. Finally, civil society was viewed as a partner in finding innovative solutions for obstacles encountered throughout the implementation of a developmental agenda. When obstacles to transformation were encountered, "a series of agreements or accords will be negotiated to facilitate the full participation of civil society, together with the Government, in order to take down the barriers which emerge during the course of the RDP" (RSA 1994:41). As demonstrated in Chapter 5, when there is a lack of cohesive civil society to engage with the state around these issues, developmental obstacles remain unresolved and resultant public investment often fails to meet community needs. Through the inclusion of civil society in governance, it was envisioned that the state could more effectively meet the needs of South Africans, particularly those who had been marginalized as a result of apartheid.

An understanding of the potential offered by civil society for fostering more equitable development necessitates a more specific formulation of the concept itself, as well as a specification of which segments of civil society are more likely to serve developmental ends. As used here, civil society refers to the movements and associations - including community organizations and more professionalized NGOs - that occupy a space separate from the state and the market (Cohen and Arato 1992). Because the state is concerned with maintaining the power of political parties and political organizations while the market is concerned with the realm of production and distribution, the incentives of these spheres differentiate them from the normative and communicative realm of civil society. The separation of these spheres however, does not necessarily imply that they are engaged in a zero-sum dispute for power as some liberal notions of civil society assume. Instead, as described below, engagement across these spheres can offer the resources and cooperative networks necessary to enhance the potential for more equitable development. Therefore, as considered here, civil society occupies this interstitial space of publics that engage across institutional boundaries. Emirbayer and Sheller (1999) define publics as "the open ended flows of communication that enable socially distant interlocutors to bridge social network positions, formulate collective orientations, and generate psychical working alliances in pursuit of influence over issues of common concern" (156). It is in these interstitial spaces that civil society is able to establish bridging networks with actors in the state and the market and potentially influence the behaviors of these institutions toward more equitable development.

Despite this potential, the interests of actors and organizations within civil society are diverse and do not necessarily coincide with fostering equitable development. For

example, ratepayers associations in wealthy white South African suburbs are undoubtedly a part of civil society, however their primary interests of maintaining property values and reduced tax rates have often limited the potential for redistributive public investment rather than expanding it (Lemanski 2006, Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002). Demands for equitable development are more likely to come from particular segments of civil society, specifically those representing historically marginalized groups. Therefore, in examining the potential for expanding access to capability-enhancing services, I argue that the inclusion of subordinated civil society in the urban governance coalition is particularly important. For Fraser (1990), the presence of a space for subordinate civil society allows for the representation of non-elite interests in public dialogue. This does not imply that these civil society groups are necessarily democratic; however, their presence does expand the discursive space for non-elite interests to be represented and potentially influence policy and the trajectory of development.

The presence of a subordinate civil society is especially important in a stratified context such as urban South Africa where the dire needs of marginalized citizens have not necessarily been addressed through the conventional institutions of liberal democracy alone. To the extent that these institutions have failed to foster local development, civil society actors have increasingly mobilized to assert their right to the benefits of citizenship, including the provision of services and infrastructure (Holston 2008). Much of this claim making has taken place outside of the institutions of liberal democracy and has reshaped those institutions. Holston (2009) argues that through the participation of civil society groups in alternate grassroots public spheres, a new understanding of citizens as bearers of rights and dignity has been asserted. This has in turn transformed

relations between the state and civil society by fostering more participatory spaces for engagement. This conceptualization of citizenship offers the potential for more mobilized subordinate civil society that is able to engage in urban governance coalitions and make demands for more equitable public investment in capability-enhancing services.

Spaces of Subordinate Civil Society in South Africa

In South Africa, subordinate civil society is organized into a variety of spheres, each of which play an important role in advocating for more equitable urban development. These organizations can be broadly placed into three categories; civics, labor organizations, and NGOs. Under apartheid, among the most effective and dynamic arenas of subordinate civil society were the neighborhood civics organizations that were formed in townships to mobilize neighborhoods against the apartheid regime. In the post-apartheid era, these civics were intended to become particularly important sites of transformation. They were to transition from arenas of revolution into deliberative settings for aggregating community needs and fostering the type of engagement with the state described in the RDP White Paper. While some of these civics still serve as an influential voice for the urban poor, many have either withered away or been co-opted by political structures (Heller 2001). In addition to civics, the country's powerful labor union organization, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), has also been a visible advocate for the urban poor. COSATU has been formally incorporated into governance processes through its coalition with the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in what is referred to as the governing Tripartite Alliance. This has provided COSATU an important space for influencing policy but has also resulted in

a move away from its base in civil society toward greater alliance with the ANC in order to access the power and patronage the party is able to bestow (Buhlungu 2003). Finally, a highly professionalized and effective contingent of NGOs have occupied an influential space in South African civil society. This is especially true in respect to fostering and guiding urban transformation with the aim of meeting the needs of the urban poor. The RDP White Paper identified NGOs as playing a key role in enhancing service provision and serving as a conduit between communities and the state. A notable example of one of these NGOs is PlanAct, a Johannesburg organization which grew out of the civics movement and has been staffed by various anti-apartheid activists and urban planners. PlanAct has been especially prominent in influencing post-apartheid municipal policy and working with township and informal settlement communities to facilitate local development. The state has worked to actively create space for NGOs such as these to occupy a more empowered position within civil society (Habib 2003), however this has also left NGOs open to the criticism that they are overly dependent on the resources of the state, a position that potentially inhibits their ability to serve as a check on government policy when it fails to meet the needs of marginalized populations (Habib and Taylor 1999). This alliance between NGOs and the state is also likely to have reduced NGO autonomy and limited space for innovative approaches to transformation (Heller 2001). Intentions of providing a space for each of these groups to engage with the state around local development have often fallen short of participatory ideals as they have either been co-opted by the state or marginalized (Southall 2003, Zuern 2002, Heller 2001), a dynamic that limits the potential of civil society to serve the developmental functions spelled out in the RDP White Paper. However, these trends have not been

ubiquitous and as demonstrated in Chapters 4-6, these organizations' ability to further a pro-poor developmental agenda depends a great deal on the local political context.

An inclusive urban governance coalition necessitates both a state willing to engage with these various civil society actors as well as capacity of civil society to engage with the state. As demonstrated in Chapters 4-6, the ability of civil society to effectively engage in the urban governance coalition and address inherited inequalities is contingent on the form of civil society as well as its relationship to the state. Where civil society is relatively cohesive and is able to remain autonomous from the state, it has the greatest potential to expand access to capability-enhancing services (Berman 1997, Cohen and Arato 1992). I argue that this mutual engagement between subordinate civil society and the state is the defining component of inclusive urban governance coalitions, which are more likely to expand access to capability-enhancing services. It is through these inclusive coalitions that the necessary synergistic relationships between the state and civil society are fostered.

State-Society Synergy

As noted, post-transition legislation in South Africa emphasized the need for engagement between the state and civil society in order to foster optimal developmental outcomes. This approach mirrors Evans' (2008) argument that mutual engagement between the state and civil society is increasingly important in expanding access to capability-enhancing services. These relationships allow for information about citizens' needs to be transmitted to the state and enable more effective implementation of state projects of development. The role of this engagement in fostering development highlights

the importance of an inclusive urban governance coalition to facilitate interaction between the state and subordinate civil society in order to address the inequalities inherited from apartheid.

Because states remain the key provider of healthcare, education, and basic services, capability enhancement relies heavily on public investment. However, expanding access to these services in a state-driven, modernist technocratic manner is unlikely to be compatible with the goals of increasing capabilities. Sen (1999) has argued that deliberation is critical in capability expansion. As noted, his approach to development emphasizes the ability of citizens to live lives they have reason to value. This suggests the importance of choice and variation in conceptions of value, which shapes the subsequent allocation of public investment necessary for enhancing capabilities to achieve goals. In making these allocative decisions, Sen emphasizes the importance of civil society deliberation in deciding upon values and setting priorities. Therefore, decisions about how public investment should be used to enhance capabilities depend on the actions of civil society, while implementation depends on engagement between civil society and the state. The process of capability enhancement is therefore intensely democratic and often messy.

The central role of the state in service delivery, along with the importance of community engagement in setting developmental agendas, implies that in order to expand capability-enhancing services and therefore foster development, the state and civil society must work together. Evans (2008, 1996) refers to this type of collaboration as “synergy.” In a synergistic configuration, relations between the state and civil society are

characterized by a degree of embeddedness or “ties that connect citizens and public officials across the public-private divide” (Evans 1996:1120). An inclusive urban governance coalition provides the structure through which embeddedness occurs. This synergistic relationship can allow for more effective public investment in a variety of ways. First, embeddedness fosters information sharing by providing the state with knowledge about local needs while also providing communities with information about state programs that might affect their lives. Lam (1996) demonstrates that in a successful Taiwanese irrigation project, the embeddedness of state irrigation officials in the communities they served resulted in more effective project design and sustainability. This was due in part to the fact that engagement between state officials and communities made the state more knowledgeable about the needs and social arrangements of constituents, thereby allowing for more effective and sustainable implementation of the project in a manner that met citizens’ demands.

Without this knowledge and consideration of community needs, centrally planned development projects are less likely to be sustainable and often result in “white elephants” that consume substantial public funds but go unused (Scott 1998). These projects impose the state’s vision of what constitutes development onto communities, neglecting local nuances and histories. In his description of the development of Brasilia, Holston (1989) critiques the high modernist approach of city planners, which prioritized a technocratic vision for urban space rather than allowing for the more organic emergence of a city that reflected the lives of residents. A similar result can be seen in the case of Philippi in Chapter 5. Here, the municipal government invested in public services in the community, however without effective engagement between the state and residents, the

resulting projects reflected the state's vision of development rather than the community's. On the other hand, in the Cape Town township of Khayelitsha, synergistic relationships between the state and civil society resulted in the effective use of public investment to expand access to capability-enhancing services (see Chapter 4).

While synergy can enhance information sharing between the state and citizens, its benefits are more extensive. In Brazil, Ostrom (1996) demonstrates how this type of relationship facilitated the co-production necessary to expand access to sanitation services in the context of extensive need and budgetary constraints. Co-production consists of the "process through which inputs used to produce a good or services are contributed by individuals who are not 'in' the same organization" (Ostrom 1996:1073). Often this refers to civil society groups and the state. Co-production is most effective when individuals within these separate spheres have access to divergent but complementary resources. In the case of Brazilian sanitation systems, fiscal and organizational constraints prevented the state-led expansion of large cast iron sewer systems into many rapidly expanding poorer neighborhoods. In order to increase access, a project was instituted in which individual communities would deliberate and decide upon which type of alternative sewer system they would like to see incorporated into their neighborhood. The community would then be responsible for installing and maintaining this system. Municipal officials would be responsible for connecting new feeder sewer lines into the already existing bulk infrastructure. In this case, successful co-production of services involved the community making use of its resources such as time and labor while the state contributed its infrastructural and organizational capacity. This synergistic

relationship resulted in expanding access to an important service that would otherwise have been impossible to provide.

The potential for synergy: governance coalitions and the politics of influence.

While the creation of synergistic relationships is theorized to expand access to capability-enhancing services in a sustainable and efficacious manner, there must be institutionalized mechanisms for fostering and maintaining these relationships. Sporadic engagement between the state and subordinate civil society is unlikely to generate the synergy necessary to address the types of large-scale inequality that exist in places such as urban South Africa. Therefore, synergy must be institutionalized by effectively incorporating civil society into the broader urban governance coalition. This was the intention of institutional mechanisms in South Africa such as the IDP process and the local participatory forums that were created during the democratic transition. However, the ability of these types of mechanisms to effectively incorporate subordinate civil society into the urban governance coalition and reflect the interests of historically disadvantaged communities remains disputed. On the one hand, a large body of literature based in structural theory argues that the potential for subordinate civil society to have an effective voice in the urban governance coalition is limited by the prioritization of the interests of capital, particularly in the context of neoliberal globalization (McDonald 2008, Davis 2007, Brenner and Theodore 2002, Bond 2000, Logan and Molotch 1987). This results in the sidelining of the interests of poorer residents and limited public investment in their communities. On the other hand, there is a growing literature arguing that there have been instances where civil society has been an effective partner in the

urban governance coalition and has shaped decisions in a manner that reduce inequality (Baiocchi 2005, Evans 2002b). The current research engages with both of these literatures to develop an understanding of how and when a more inclusive urban governance coalition can expand access to capability-enhancing services, as well as the conditions that make this type of coalition possible.

Structural perspectives: economic pressures and limited space for civil society.

Clarence Stone's (1989) work on urban regimes in Atlanta argues that municipal governance decisions are a function of the interests of the actors engaged in the governing coalition. This includes stakeholders from the public as well as private sectors, such as businesses, municipal officials, community organizations, and other segments of civil society. Rather than municipal influence being exerted through elections or other institutionalized channels of liberal democracy, Stone argues that it is through the networks established among the coalition of actors in the urban regime that the real work of governance is done. This conception of an urban regime offers the potential to be a setting in which synergistic relationships can be established with subordinate civil society as an influential member of the governance coalition. However, Stone argues that in the regime, the influence of the business community tends to marginalize the voices of civil society. This is due to business' systemic power; meaning that its economic position predisposes municipal officials to prioritize business interests above others (Stone 1980). Because the local state depends upon wealthier residents and businesses for a large portion of tax revenue, these actors are able to exert an inordinate amount of pressure on the municipal government, ensuring that their interests are being met (Peterson 1981). If

these groups disapprove of state action they can threaten to move to another location where policies are more favorable to their interests, leaving municipal governments with fewer resources.

Because of its systemic power, business is able to exercise pre-emptive power, whereby its representatives can dictate the policy direction of the governing coalition in order to protect their own interests (Stone 1988). These interests are often diametrically opposed to the aim of addressing urban inequalities. The influence of capital often leads to the adoption of neoliberal policies such as subsidies for businesses, tax relief, and regulatory relaxation (Fainstein 2001). These tactics generally reduce municipal revenues; thereby limiting the resources available for investing in service provision in poorer communities (McDonald 2008). The influence of business is also likely to divert remaining public revenue toward projects that serve its interests but do little to reduce inequalities, such as high speed communications networks or large-scale entertainment facilities (Graham and Marvin 2001). While Stone's regime theory provides the hypothetical space for subordinate civil society to engage with the state in a manner that expands service provision, these efforts are likely to be undermined by business whenever the interests of the two groups are in conflict, which occurs frequently (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Because of the power of capital, specifically property developers, it has been argued that rather than there being a variety of potential urban governance coalitions, cities are instead dominated by a growth coalition, often to the detriment of civil society and the urban poor (Logan and Molotch 1987, Molotch 1976). A growth coalition - in

which the voices of capital interests such as land developers, business and property investors, and political officials dominate - prioritizes growth above all other urban issues, as it serves the common interests of participants. Under this coalition, standard neoliberal mechanisms such as tax breaks, labor deregulation, and land incentives are instituted in hopes of luring and maintaining investment. While members of the growth coalition disproportionately benefit from this type of configuration, a type of Gramscian hegemony is forged in which growth is presented as being in the interests of all urban residents. This creates a dominant consensus in favor of growth that crowds out and delegitimizes oppositional voices, such as those residents seeking to foster use over exchange values. The resulting pattern of public investment in the city thus reflects the interests of the growth coalition and sidelines the needs of the poor; entrenching rather than addressing urban inequalities.

These theories focus on elite coalitions without accounting for the ways that pressure from subordinate civil society can shape urban governance. They suggest that urban governance coalitions generally exclude civil society and even where civil society is able to engage in these coalitions, its ability to shape municipal dynamics is limited. In his discussion of urban political economies, Elkin (1987) identifies federalist regimes as those where the pro-growth coalition was sustained in the urban regime but was under constant threat by neighborhood groups concerned with use values. This creates a tension in the urban coalition but does not necessarily result in the sidelining of the pro-growth agenda. Logan et al (1997) have argued that even where more diverse governance coalitions such as these are able to pass legislation limiting the dominance of capital

interests, those groups interested in urban growth are often able to circumvent these policies.

In recent decades, the privileged role of business in the urban governance coalition has likely intensified as a result of pressures associated with neoliberal globalization. In the context of globalization, Peterson's (1981) argument that cities are forced to adopt pro-business policies in order to compete with one another to attract capital takes on a broader scope. With economic globalization, competition to attract and maintain investment has become particularly intense as declining barriers to international trade increase the number of locations around the world vying for a finite amount of highly mobile capital (Rodrik 1997). For fear of disincetivizing investment and in order to prevent capital flight, governments, including the ANC, have reacted by becoming more responsive to the demands of businesses and reshaping policies in ways that are particularly responsive to the needs of capital (Bond 2000). Reductions in corporate taxation, the adoption of fiscal austerity, and deregulation represent the key mechanisms of this dynamic and can be viewed as primary strategies under the broad umbrella of neoliberal policies (Brenner and Theodore 2002). In order to avoid becoming economically uncompetitive, governments view themselves as having no alternative to adopting these policies. If the demands of business are not prioritized, corporations and private investment will merely seek more favorable conditions elsewhere. This magnifies a universal decline in the willingness of states to extract taxes and speeds the adoption of austerity policies, thus limiting the potential to engage in redistribution. Given that addressing inequalities in service provision in urban South Africa depends on the generation of municipal revenues and investment of those funds in poor communities that

are unlikely to be key sites of private investment, these dynamics are likely to hinder the potential for addressing apartheid-era inequalities.

According to Castells (2004), this imperative to appease capital has reshaped spaces of power and minimized the potential for effective engagement between the state and locally based civil society. For Castells, influence is increasingly divided between what he calls the “space of flows” and the “space of place”. The space of flows consists of the information and capital that is constantly moving around the globe. The place of space is the much more localized context in which most people live their day to day lives. As a result of globalization, economic and political influence is increasingly concentrated in the global networks of power associated with the space of flows. On the other hand, because issues of urban livability and the everyday demands of residents are rooted in particular places (“the space of place”) as opposed to global flows of information, capital, and influence; the spaces of power have become disconnected from the places of livability. Thus, as governments become more responsive to the needs of global networks of mobile capital rather than local citizens, the ability of place-based, non-capital interests to engage with municipal governments and influence decision making is said to have declined (Castells 2000). These dynamics imply that in the context of globalization, locally-based civil society is an increasingly irrelevant actor in shaping urban dynamics and is becoming less likely to be an influential member of the urban governance coalition.

Urban South Africa and the Pressures of Capital

Urban South Africa presents an important site for examining the extent to which this structural growth logic inhibits the potential for creating inclusive urban governance coalitions and investing in capability-enhancing services. While there is a significant need for more equitable public investment as well as potential for transformation, cities in South Africa are simultaneously subject to the pressures from capital described above. Much of the South African literature argues that the potential for addressing apartheid-era inequalities is severely limited by the extent to which structural pressures have inhibited redistribution (Arrighi, Aschoff, and Scully 2010, McDonald 2008, Murray 2008, Bond 2000). During the democratic transition, the ANC assumed that granting concessions to capital would foster the economic growth necessary to address socioeconomic inequalities (Arrighi et al 2010). The adoption of the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996 marked a significant neoliberal turn and further opened the South African economy to global competition while emphasizing the need to attract and maintain foreign direct investment (FDI) in order to stimulate urban economic growth (Tsheola 2002, Bond 2000). It was also an attempt to ensure uneasy domestic investors that the ANC would adopt an economic approach that would be conducive to their investment priorities rather than nationalizing industries as previously proposed. This stance was largely a reaction to concerns of capital flight (Mohamed and Finnoff 2005) and the consensus among ANC officials that in the wake of globalization, there was no alternative (Bond 2000). These policies have by and large failed to result in the promised economic growth (Arrighi et al 2010). The contents and adoption of GEAR

demonstrate a prioritization of the needs of capital in governance decisions while potentially limiting the resources available for investing in capability enhancement.

The mechanisms of GEAR reflect many of the economic pressures that are likely to inhibit the type of redistribution necessary to invest in capability-enhancing services. These include deregulation, an emphasis on economic efficiency, and privatization (Chipkin 2002). GEAR also limited state intervention in the market, inhibiting the ability and willingness of government to tax capital. The responsiveness to capital has had important implications for whose voice is prioritized in the urban governance coalition as well as the resulting service delivery. As, quoted in Hart (2002:236), a report released by the South African organization Centre for Development Enterprise in 1998 declared:

“[W]hile any local authority in the new dispensation must be concerned about redress of the disadvantages suffered by poor areas as a consequence of the Group Areas and other discrimination from the apartheid period, this must not in any way lead to a deterioration in the quality of administration and services as they impact on wealthier neighbourhoods. While this balance cannot be justified on a moral basis, it is a practical imperative and an essential precondition for the investment and employment creation which will eventually benefit the poor much more in the longer run than administratively-driven redistribution in the short run.”

These comments were made in a political context in which local governments were tasked with significant power over the revenue generation necessary to pay for efforts to remedy spatial inequalities in public resource investment (RSA 1998), leading the most globally connected cities - Cape Town and Johannesburg - to actively foster a local climate more attractive to global investment. Johannesburg began marketing itself as a “World Class African City” (Bond 2007) and Cape Town’s municipal department of

economic development adopted an explicit strategy of marketing the city to foreign investors as a “world class city.” Both cities have poured huge sums of money into shopping complexes, sports stadiums, and transportation infrastructure that cater to a global capital class rather than the needs of the historically disadvantaged segments of the population. The economic imperative of maintaining investment is likely to bias the urban governance coalition in favor of capital and limit the resources available for investment in capability-enhancing services.

Making space for civil society in the urban governance coalition.

Structural theorists have painted a rather bleak picture of the potential for creating an inclusive urban governance coalition, particularly in the wake of neoliberal globalization. While this is important in highlighting the potential power of capital in the urban governance coalition, there is evidence that the prospects for creating more inclusive coalitions are not so uniformly grim. There is still space for the inclusion of pro-poor civil society actors in urban governance coalitions, providing the urban poor an effective voice, even when their demands are in opposition to capital, and creating the potential for synergy (Stone 2006; Putnam, Feldstein, and Cohen 2004; Evans 2002b, Clark 1994). One of the most successful examples of this has been the implementation of participatory budgeting in Brazil (Baiocchi 2005). When the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) came to power, they implemented a process of participatory budgeting whereby communities were given discretion over the allocation of a significant portion of the municipal budget. Through engagement in local forums, residents are able to deliberate and engage with municipal officials to set priorities for public investment. In cities such

as Porto Alegre, this has created a more inclusive governance coalition, which Baiocchi (2005) refers to as a state-civil society regime. This is a regime in which “there is a high degree of openness to societal demands, few constraints on civil society, and bottom-up empowered participation as a way to process societal demands” (Baiocchi 2005:19). As a result of this process, the majority of public investments have been small-scale infrastructure projects rather than the types of large scale sports arenas or transportation networks that are used to attract and maintain capital investment (Abers 2001). Additionally, public investment has been greater in poorer areas relative to wealthy areas and access to services such as sewers, water, and housing has increased (Baiocchi 2001).

In the case of Porto Alegre, the state explicitly created an inclusive urban governance coalition, which fostered synergistic relationships between the state and subordinate civil society that were effective in expanding access to capability-enhancing services. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the institutional mechanisms designed to foster this type of relationship in South Africa, such as the IDP and ward committees, have largely failed. In the absence of such effective institutional channels, the potential for synergy may not be as sustainable. Clark (1994) suggests that there have been sporadic cases where community mobilization has had success in limiting a municipal emphasis on growth and diverted attention toward use values. However, this cannot necessarily explain what allows a more institutionalized synergistic relationship to develop where civil society is an influential actor in the urban governance coalition. Evans (2002b) suggests that given the inclusion of a particular “ecology of actors” in municipal governance decisions, there may be spaces for the demands of the poor to be heard and met, creating potential for greater livability and investment in capability-enhancing

services. It is through this ecology of actors, that community members can interact with sympathetic voices in the municipal government and potentially foster synergistic relationships. Again, this perspective provides some insight into potential for engagement between the state and civil society but treats this as an anomaly rather than exploring the structural conditions that make inclusive governance coalitions possible and sustainable.

In subsequent chapters, it is demonstrated that the inclusion of civil society in the urban governance coalition is critical in explaining the variation in expansion of capability-enhancing services between Cape Town and Johannesburg. In Cape Town, where civil society is organized, the urban governance coalition is inclusive and provides the potential for a synergistic relationship between the state and civil society. As a result, community activists play a critical role in influencing patterns of public investment. For example, in the township of Khayelitsha, the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) has effectively engaged with the municipal state to ensure both that public investment is directed toward the township and that the resultant services and infrastructure reflect community needs (see Chapter 4). In the CBD, capital exerts a powerful influence in the urban governance coalition (see Chapter 6), however as a result of political dynamics described in Chapter 3, there is still space for civil society to influence governance decisions. The current research argues that the inclusive coalition that characterizes urban governance in Cape Town is a result of the fact that local political competition creates space for a more efficacious civil society, incentivizing a synergistic relationship between the state and urban communities around issues of public investment.

On the other hand, evidence from townships, informal settlements, and the central business district (CBD) in Johannesburg suggests a very different configuration of actors engaged in the city's urban governance coalition. The ability of subordinate civil society to influence the distribution of public investment has been severely limited relative to capital and political actors. Community groups demanding increased access to services have been sidelined in governance processes and have had very limited success in effectively engaging in the city's urban governance coalition. In Johannesburg, the ANC has dominated municipal politics with little competition. This absence of political competition has entrenched the dominance of party power and political channels as a means of allocating public resources and garnering state attention. Those without access to these channels – largely the urban poor – attempt to exert influence by organizing into civil society organizations that work outside party channels. Because these groups pose a threat to the status quo of party power, they are seen as a danger to the political structure and any potential for them to foster collaborative engagement with the state is severely limited.

Urban Governance Regimes: Bureaucratic Configuration

While the inclusion of civil society in the urban governance coalition is critical for fostering synergistic relationships between the state and civil society, these relationships alone are not sufficient for addressing the kinds of large-scale inequalities inherited from apartheid. Urban regime theory focuses primarily on the coalitions that govern the city. However, the institutional nature of the state is ignored. Because the expansion of capability-enhancing services depends on public investment and state

implementation, it is important to complement the coalitional aspects of governance with an institutional component. Effective service delivery necessitates an active role for the state in development (Evans 2008); however, the potential for state intervention and its efficacy are contingent on the institutional form of the state itself. States with cohesive bureaucracies are more likely to be able to design and implement integrated development policies than those with fragmented bureaucracies (Kohli 2004, Chibber 2002, Evans 1994). A key benefit of a cohesive Weberian style bureaucracy is that bureaucrats' self-interest is maximized by pursuing institutional goals, since it is through adherence to these goals that professional advancement occurs. This allows for the creation and implementation of common agendas throughout the administrative apparatus and prevents the establishment of clientelistic relationships with non-state actors that address only particularistic interests (Sellers 2000).

A coherent bureaucracy consists not only of individuals who work on behalf of a common goal of development but also coordination between state agencies. Various branches within the state must work toward a common vision, as the promotion of development requires states to "act as corporate entities with broadly collective goals, rather than as the sum of the individual strategies of their functionaries" (Chibber 2002:952). This cohesion among bureaucrats as well as state entities allows for the coordination and implementation of developmental planning throughout state structures. In the case of service delivery, it is therefore critical that municipal planners, who are responsible for integrating the urban space into municipal infrastructure, are able to actively engage with those agencies responsible for service delivery in the municipality.

Without this engagement the potential for implementing comprehensive planning is limited. In the absence of a cohesive bureaucracy, resulting patterns of public investment are less likely to represent the needs of citizens in general and more likely to reflect the demands of specific groups, particularly capital (Clark 1994). In a study of Canadian and Swiss bureaucracies, Giaque (2003) found that institutional fragmentation provided more points for influential economic and social interests to influence bureaucratic action.

It has been argued that neoliberal policies, such as those associated with the adoption of GEAR in South Africa, make bureaucracies particularly vulnerable to fragmentation. O Riain (2000) argues that in order to foster service industries in a global economy, the state apparatus must become more flexible with more decentralized and relatively autonomous agencies. This has had the impact of fracturing state bureaucracies and potentially undermining the creation and implementation of developmental agendas. The impact of neoliberalism has also threatened to undermine the municipal revenues that sustain effective bureaucracies. This can have dramatic impacts on the institutional structure of the state and its capacity to effectively engage in service provision. As described previously, many of the pro-business policies designed to lure and maintain investment have had the effect of reducing the state's financial resources by limiting taxation. Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue that in order to reduce administrative costs in the face of increasingly limited tax revenue, states are forced to roll back their bureaucracies.

Frequently, because the administrative capacity of the state as well as its financial resources have declined, state functions are outsourced to businesses in the private sector. This dynamic often takes the form of privatization of service delivery in which there is a shift in control over provision from the state to private, for-profit companies (Bakker 2003). However, rather than wholesale shifts in control, levels of privatization are often incomplete and are characterized by public-private partnerships in which private companies manage service delivery contracts on behalf of public owners. These moves toward privatization lead to market based incentives for service delivery such as competition and maximization of profits. Priorities are shifted from ensuring social equity to economic equity, from security of supply to cost recovery, and from conceptualizing services as public to private goods (Bakker 2003). This process tends to fragment the municipal bureaucracy by introducing private actors into decision making processes and creating competing goals of profit maximization versus serving the public good. Additionally, various service provision entities become controlled by separate entities rather than falling under the umbrella of state coordination. By forging ties between private interests and splintering agendas, fragmentation exposes greater opportunities for capital interests to direct municipal policy in favor of maximizing profits rather than increasing access to services. It also limits the municipal state's oversight of these service provision entities, making it more difficult to engage in comprehensive urban planning processes. Thus the effects of neoliberal policy are assumed to not only reduce the financial capacity of the state but its planning and implementation capacity as well. By reducing subsidies for service provision, fragmenting bureaucracies, and prioritizing

profit maximization; neoliberal globalization increases the costs of services for the poor and limits access to many of the basic needs of urban livability (Davis 2007).

Given the adoption of neoliberal policies in South Africa and an emphasis on increasing engagement with the global economy, a structural approach suggests that despite the transformative context and the high stakes of transformation in urban South Africa, efforts to address inequalities in service provision are likely to be hindered by dynamics associated with the ways in which economic power dominates urban governance processes. While structural theories suggest that economic forces limit the effectiveness of municipal bureaucracies to engage in cohesive planning and implement a common vision for the city (Brenner and Theodore 2002), there is variation in the degree to which this is true. This structural vision is more closely approximated by Johannesburg where service providers are semi-privatized and operate in a manner that is largely independent from one another as well as from the municipal government, thereby creating a fragmented municipal structure lacking cohesive planning (Murray 2008, South African Cities Network 2006). This institutional fragmentation makes it especially difficult to integrate the fragmented urban space created under apartheid. Without effective integrated planning, priorities of redistributing public investment toward disadvantaged areas of the city are unlikely to move beyond mere rhetoric. In Cape Town however, privatization has been far more limited and the municipal state has largely retained its control over the financial and planning priorities of service providers. These service provision entities are thus more integrated with one another as well as the municipal planning department (Watson 2002). As Evans (1994) suggests, a coherent bureaucracy in Cape Town makes the city less susceptible to the interests of particular

capital influences whose interests do not align with municipal planning priorities. It is argued that differences in the bureaucratic cohesion within these governance regimes significantly contribute to the variation in patterns of public resource investment.

RESEARCH METHODS

In this dissertation, I use a variety of methodological approaches to examine the extent to which there has been increased access to capability-enhancing services in Cape Town and Johannesburg and then to explain the differences in outcomes between these two cities. First, as detailed in Chapter 3, post-apartheid changes in access to capability-enhancing services are examined in each city. This analysis relies on data from multiple sources. Changes in access to the types of basic household services that Appadurai (2004) argues increase the "capacity to aspire" and Evans (2002b) suggests contribute to urban livability are examined using data from the 1996 and 2001 South African censuses as well as the 2007 Community Survey, all conducted by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA). Using these data, changes in access to electricity, trash collection, and sanitation are examined over time at both the municipal and community levels. In understanding patterns of public investment in service provision, it is particularly important to compare changes in access in non-white communities as these were the areas that were most neglected during apartheid. Therefore, census and Community Survey data on the racial composition of communities are also used to examine the relationship between race and access to services in the post-apartheid era.

In addition to the basic household services measured by the census, data from the South African Department of Health are used to examine patterns of public investment in

healthcare facilities in each city. These data include the locations of public clinics and hospitals as well as the dates on which they were opened or saw additional public investment. This includes all facilities that were in existence at the point of democratic transition as well as those opened or improved upon through 2009, allowing for the identification of sites of post-apartheid public investment in clinics and hospitals. Using geographic information systems (GIS), the spatial distribution of these facilities is mapped in conjunction with the racial composition of communities. If the post-apartheid discourse about expanding access to capability-enhancing services has been realized, we would expect to see a significant amount of investment in healthcare facilities in non-white communities.

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, there is variation in the extent to which there has been expanded access to capability-enhancing services in these two cities in terms of both household services and expansion in healthcare facilities, with residents in Cape Town seeing greater improvements than those in Johannesburg. This holds true not only at the municipal level but also within townships and informal settlements as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5. In order to understand the potential for local development, it is therefore necessary to examine the dynamics that contribute to the divergence in service provision between these cities. As noted above, I argue that variations in the urban governance regimes are particularly important in explaining these differing patterns of public investment. This assertion is based on extensive fieldwork conducted in each of these cities over the course of four years. My understanding of the dynamics of urban governance regimes as well as their role in service provision is the result of numerous interviews conducted with stakeholders in each city. Between 2008 and 2011, I made six

trips to South Africa, spending a total of approximately nine months conducting fieldwork in Cape Town and Johannesburg. To explore the political and social dynamics associated with addressing inequalities in service provision, approximately 80 interviews were conducted in each city.

First, officials in the municipal governments of Cape Town and Johannesburg were interviewed in order to gain an understanding of how municipal service provision operates. This entailed examining the potential for expansion of service provision as well as the constraints faced by municipalities in terms of financial, political, and social dynamics. It also included an examination of the processes through which municipal governments identified needs and engaged with communities regarding provision. Informants included officials in the various service provision agencies of each city as well as municipal planning officials. Access to informants was gained in a variety of ways. Some had been informants in a separate project I had been working on, which examined patterns of spatial change across South African cities. Based on relationships formed as a result of that project, many officials were willing to have additional conversations about the dynamics of municipal service provision and engagement with communities. Frequently, they were also able to refer me to other officials who were engaged in relevant processes. Through these connections, I was able to gain access to many of the actors in the municipal government who were familiar with the dynamics I was researching. There were however cases where connections had not already been established with officials in relevant positions. In these cases, I was able to find email addresses or phone numbers online and schedule interviews.

In addition to exploring the dynamics of urban governance regimes at the municipal level, Chapters 4-6 examine the relationships between urban governance and service provision in specific communities in each city. These include townships, informal settlements, and the CBD in both Cape Town and Johannesburg. Examining community level dynamics allowed for a better understanding of the ways in which state action and community organization influence processes of local development on the ground. In each community, key informants were interviewed in order to understand the dynamics of local service provision. These included local political officials such as ward councilors and political party branch representatives, officials from local NGOs, business owners, community activists, and educational and religious leaders. Informants were asked questions related to service provision deficits, changes in public investment since the end of apartheid, the presence and efficacy of community organizations, and relationships between communities and the state. Informants were identified in a number of ways. Newspaper articles about issues in each community were collected and many of the articles' informants who had relevant knowledge were contacted for interviews. Additionally, internet searches allowed for the identification of many local political and NGO officials. Also, a number of contacts in academia as well as in the local governments of these cities had established connections in the communities being studied and were able to provide contact information for community stakeholders. Finally, time was spent in the communities identifying key public service facilities and public spaces where officials as well as users of the space were asked for an interview. After each interview, informants were asked if there were additional actors that might have relevant knowledge and be able to inform this research. This allowed for snowball sampling

within the communities. Some of these community interviews were conducted in conjunction with teams of graduate students at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and the University of Cape Town. I was supervising these students as they conducted community-based research for a separate project I was working on regarding spatial changes in post-apartheid cities. Some of the communities being studied in that project overlapped with communities studied for this dissertation and it was through these interviews that some of my initial suppositions about the relationship between variations in governance regimes and service provision were formulated. Where communities and interview topics intersected, some data collected for this earlier project were incorporated into this dissertation. To complement the interviews these research teams had done, I spent time in the communities that overlapped between studies to follow up with the informants they had spoken to and conduct additional interviews with key informants.

CONCLUSION

Through an examination of municipal structures as well as communities in each city, it is evident that Cape Town's urban governance regime is more inclusive and more effectively engages with civil society while retaining a more cohesive bureaucratic structure relative to Johannesburg. It is argued that these characteristics of the urban governance regime have allowed for a more equitable distribution of public resources in capability-enhancing services in Cape Town and thus greater potential for local development. The importance of the respective urban governance regimes in dictating the urban forms calls for a more in depth understanding of the ways in which local dynamics offer potential for addressing urban inequalities. In examining this variation, this work

builds on previous theory by developing a systematic understanding of how and when highly unequal municipalities are able to effectively foster more equitable local development. It takes seriously the notion that capital often exercises disproportionate influence in the urban governance coalition. However, this work also explores the potential for subordinate civil society to engage in these coalitions in a manner that allows for inequalities to be addressed. This allows for a more complex understanding of the interplay between capital pressures, governance configurations, and patterns of public investment.

The divergence in patterns of public investment in these two cities results from the fact that Cape Town is characterized by a more inclusive governance coalition and a cohesive bureaucracy while Johannesburg is characterized by an exclusive coalition and bureaucratic fragmentation. The following chapters provide evidence to support these claims through an analysis of quantitative as well as qualitative data. Chapter 3 uses census and spatial data, as well as GIS to support the claim that the municipal government in Cape Town has been more successful than its counterpart in Johannesburg in improving access to capability-enhancing services in historically disadvantaged communities, thus offering greater potential for local development. Through analysis of interviews with government officials and community stakeholders, it goes on to further elaborate the municipal-level processes that can explain this divergence. This includes an examination of both components of the urban governance regime - the governance coalition as well as the bureaucratic configuration.

While the urban governance regimes of these two cities exhibit general trends in terms of inclusivity of coalitions and bureaucratic cohesion, the way these dynamics play out in specific communities is varied. An examination of this variation allows for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between urban governance regimes and prospects for local development. Chapters 4 through 6 examine these dynamics in particular communities in each city. First, Chapter 4 focuses on the context of the largest apartheid-era African townships in each city - Khayelitsha in Cape Town and Soweto in Johannesburg. As the non-white population was removed from areas reserved for whites under the Group Areas Act, they were moved to government provided housing in these townships on the periphery of the city. These communities were severely under-serviced during apartheid and were the proclaimed beneficiaries of the potentially more redistributive post-apartheid public investment patterns. Chapter 5 then examines the local implications of urban governance regimes within the context of urban informal settlements. These are communities that have historically had varied legal title to the land on which they live as a result of land occupations and state action. Public investment has been particularly contentious given the extreme levels of poverty as well as the often illegal status of land tenure. As illustrated in Chapter 5, municipal governments in Cape Town and Johannesburg have taken starkly different approaches to enhancing capabilities in these communities. Chapter 6 provides an examination of the central business district of each city. While not necessarily sites of historic deprivation, these areas are important in shedding light on the role that capital plays in the urban governance regime as these are historically the sites of capital concentration in both cities. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of this research and suggests implications for our understanding

of potential for public investment in capability-enhancing services in cities of the global south given a context of severe inequality and economic pressures.

While this work is focused on an outcome of expanded service provision, the urban governance framework developed here underscores the fact that development is about more than just expanding access to services. It is also about the institutional challenges of building an inclusive developmental agenda. It is argued that institutions in both the state and civil society are critical in expanding access to capabilities. However, as evidenced in the subsequent chapters, the ability of these institutions to foster development is dependent on the linkages between them and the configurations of engagement between the state and subordinate civil society.

CHAPTER 3

MUNICIPAL VARIATION IN PATTERNS OF SERVICE DELIVERY

Given the potential for both transformation as well as stagnation in the post-apartheid urban form, it is necessary to closely examine if and how cities in this context have been able to address inequalities in capability-enhancing services. Addressing inherited inequalities and fostering local development requires that those areas of the city neglected under apartheid see substantial public investment. As argued by structural theorists, prospects for remedying these inequalities are increasingly constrained in a context of increased capital mobility, which shifts the goals of municipal policy further toward the needs of capital rather than the use values of urban residents. However, it is possible that local context and capacity play a crucial role in determining the degree to which inequalities can be addressed. Specifically, urban governance regimes are particularly important in influencing patterns of investment in capability-enhancing services. Rather than assuming stagnant inequality, it is therefore necessary to more closely examine whether there has been substantial public investment in the disadvantaged areas of these cities since the end of apartheid and the factors that have allowed for this variation.

CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG AS COMPARATIVE CASES

Urban South Africa provides an important site for understanding the conditions that allow for investment in local development. As noted previously, under apartheid, racially segregated group areas were responsible for generating their own tax revenue to fund local development and basic services (Beavon 2004). This system left large segments of the non-white urban population without access to the most basic services (McDonald 2008, Manby 1984). While post-apartheid discourse emphasized the need to

address these inadequacies, cities in South Africa were confronted with increased liberalization of the economy through GEAR, an economic strategy that seeks to expand growth through neoliberal mechanisms and attracting foreign investment. As described in Chapter 2, this has been theorized to influence the configuration of the urban governance regime in ways that limit the type of redistributive state action required to address inequalities in capability enhancing services (Bond 2000). Because GEAR is a national policy, both Cape Town and Johannesburg have been similarly subject to these constraints.

The similarity of economic bases in these two cities has also meant that the impacts of exposure to the global economy are likely to be felt similarly in each city. Sassen (2001) argues that those cities with agglomeration economies - those dependent on service industries such as finance and information - are particularly subject to pressures of competition for investment, incentivizing municipal governments to reduce taxation and offer pro-business incentives in order to attract and maintain investors. This is likely to impact the amount of revenue available for public investment in service provision. Additionally, fostering these types of economies incentivizes cities to invest the public revenue that is generated into high tech infrastructure that might attract additional finance and service firms, rather than investing those resources into use values in poorer neighborhoods (Marvin and Graham 2001). As seen in Table 3-1, the economic structure of both Cape Town and Johannesburg revolves around the financial and service sectors, both of which lend themselves to the capital pressures described by these structural theories (Sassen 2001). Divergence in the ability of these cities to address

redistributive inequalities cannot, therefore merely be explained by differential economic bases.

Table 3-1. Comparing Cape Town and Johannesburg.

	Cape Town	Johannesburg
Population - 2007 (Community Survey 2007)	3,497,101	3,888,182
Economy – 2005 (South African Cities Network 2006)	32% finance, 17% commerce, 19% service, 16% manufacturing	33% finance, 18% commerce, 17% service, 15% manufacturing
Gross Value Added – 2004 Per Capita in South African Rands (South African Cities Network 2006)	41,528	51,591
% of National Gross Value Added – 2004 (South African Cities Network 2006)	12.9	17.7
% of Population that is not white – 2007 (Statistics South Africa 2007)	80.66	84.98
% of population with service – 1996 (Statistics South Africa 1996)	Electricity – 87.14 Trash – 89.27 Toilet - 89.40	Electricity – 85.99 Trash – 88.54 Toilet – 87.06
% of population that is unemployed (Statistics South Africa 2007)	16.77	21.69

EXAMINING DIVERGENT PATTERNS OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT

Despite the similar circumstances of these two cities, there has been a clear divergence in the extent to which their residents have seen a more equitable distribution of services. This is particularly evident in non-white communities. As noted previously, capability-enhancing services tend to fall into two broad categories, both of which are examined in Cape Town and Johannesburg. The first are services that Appadurai (2004) argues are critical in increasing the capacity to aspire. These include basic household services such as sanitation and electricity. Lack of access to these types of services reduces human dignity and can limit capabilities by reducing the potential for residents to aspire beyond their current conditions of poverty. These are also the types of services that Evans (2002) argues are critical to fostering urban livability. The absence of these services can have detrimental effects on capability enhancement. For example, lack of access to sanitary toilets and limited collection of trash is likely to result in increased levels of disease, shortening life expectancy and reducing the potential for individuals to engage productively in education and economic pursuits. Electricity is critical in providing a safe lighting for working and learning after dark (Chaurey, Ranganathan, and Mohanty 2004), allowing for expanded opportunities. Electricity also provides an important source for heat and cooking. In its absence, many households in South Africa use paraffin oil to meet these needs, which all too frequently results in fires that burn down homes and destroy possessions.

In addition to these household services, access to public services, such as healthcare and education, are crucial in allowing individuals to increase their capability to

live the types of lives they have reason to value (Sen 1999). Healthcare is critical in enhancing the capability of individuals to live to old age as well as engage in the types of activities they value; economic and otherwise. In terms of healthcare, public investment in clinics and hospitals in the post apartheid era is examined at both the municipal and community levels in Cape Town and Johannesburg. Educational and economic opportunities as well as emergency services are also argued to be central to capability enhancement (Evans 2008, Evans 2002b, Sen 1999). For example, education provides a critical mechanism for increasing the array of options available to individuals, expanding the ability to live lives of their choosing, and public investment in employment opportunities enhances the ability for residents to convert their knowledge into income generation, which further expands individual options. In order to examine changes in access to these services, comparable data about the locations of public investment beyond household services and healthcare facilities would need to be examined over time in both cities. Unfortunately, comparable systematic data identifying these locations is not available at the municipal level. Therefore, changes in public investment in education, employment opportunities, and emergency services is examined through analysis of qualitative interviews at the community level in Chapters 4-6.

To determine whether there have been substantial changes in access to basic household services, the percentage of residents with access to electricity, toilets, and weekly trash collection are compared between 1996 and 2007. This information comes from a variety of databases produced by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), including the 1996 and 2001 censuses as well as the 2007 Community Survey. The 1996 census represents the first complete post-apartheid census while the 2001 census represents the

most recent. In order to gain a more current picture of South African society, Stats SA conducted the Community Survey in 2007. This study addressed similar topics to the full census but was based on a sample of the country's population. With these data sources, municipal level trends in access to household services can be measured in 1996, 2001, and 2007, however, in order to analyze changes in historically disadvantaged non-white communities since the end of apartheid, only data from the 1996 and 2001 census will be used. While the 2007 Community Survey is helpful in examining municipal-level trends, it cannot be used for analysis at the sub-municipal level because its sample size is too small. Despite being limited to examining community-level changes between the relatively short time span of 1996 to 2001, the data show that this is enough time to see substantial shifts. Additionally, understanding changes that took place between 1996 and 2001 provides insight into a key period of transition when there were active efforts at addressing inherited inequalities in service provision. Understanding community-level shifts during this period can therefore shed light on the effectiveness of these efforts.

As noted, the household service data from the census and the Community Survey include information about access to basic household services such as electricity, toilets, and trash collection². Households were categorized as having access to electricity if they responded that electricity was their primary source for lighting in the house. Households with sufficient access to toilets are those with access to a flush or chemical toilet. Those who responded that they have trash collection at least once a week are considered to have sufficient trash collection. Changes in access to these services are used as an indicator of

² Household access to water is also included in the census but was not included in the current analysis because of the lack of reliability of the data (Pillay, Tomlinson, and du Toit 2006). Data about telephone access was also collected by the census but was not included in the analysis because of its high levels of private rather than public provision.

shifts in access to capability-enhancing services as they represent the basic everyday needs that are important to create a livable environment for city dwellers (Evans 2002b) as well as the services that Appadurai (2004) argues increase the capacity to aspire.

The first step in this analysis compares access to these services at the metropolitan level for Cape Town and Johannesburg. Tables 3-2 and 3-3 breakdown the overall levels of access to services between 1996 and 2007. In 1996, soon after the collapse of the apartheid regime, the portion of the total population with access to each service was relatively similar across cities, ranging from about 86 to 90 percent of the population. By 2007, however, this percentage had increased for all services in Cape Town, while Johannesburg saw smaller increases and in the case of toilets, there was a substantial decline in access. Across these services, between 1996 and 2007, residents in Cape Town saw an average increase in access of 5.26 percentage points while residents in Johannesburg saw an average decline of 4.6 percentage points. The importance of these services implies that the different trajectories of provision between these two cities is likely to have important implications for local development, especially if trends continue at their current trajectories.

Table 3-2. Percent of Population with Access to Services: Cape Town.

	% with service 1996 ³ (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	% with service 2007 ⁴ (n)
Electricity for lighting	87.14 (570,056)	88.79 (690,369)	94.38 (851,574)
Trash collection at least once a week	89.27 (579,735)	94.21 (732,496)	94.20 (849,943)
Chemical or flush toilet	89.40 (586,111)	87.46 (680,000)	93.00 (839,100)

Table 3-3. Percent of Population with Access to Services: Johannesburg.

	% with service 1996 (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	% with service 2007 (n)
Electricity for lighting	85.99 (618,037)	85.00 (891,338)	89.36 (1,041,085)
Trash collection at least once a week	88.54 (629,044)	90.78 (951,883)	90.22 (1,051,079)
Chemical or flush toilet	87.06 (627,747)	86.76 (909,746)	72.02 (839,100)

Racial Patterns of Segregation and Service Provision

As a result of apartheid, it is particularly important to compare these divergences in correlation with race. Through this analysis it becomes even more evident that Cape Town has been more successful than Johannesburg in expanding access to household services. Because services were heavily concentrated in urban areas reserved for white

³ In both Cape Town and Johannesburg, the 1996 figures include an unspecified category. In 2001 and 2007, Stats SA reapportioned these responses based on their weighting formula. Since I am unable to follow the same process, I have dropped the 1996 unspecified responses from the total household count in 1996.

⁴ The 2007 data is based on the Community Survey conducted by Stats SA. This is a sample survey so the n's are weighted.

residents under apartheid, capability enhancement and local development requires public investment in increasing access to services specifically in the non-white areas of these cities. Examining changes in these communities necessitates a sub-municipal analysis, which relies on subplace level service information. The subplace is a geographic unit defined by the census and is the smallest unit for which data is available in 1996 and 2001. Subplace boundaries generally correspond to neighborhoods recognized by residents of these cities⁵. Because residents' perceptions of neighborhood boundaries play an important role in how resources are allocated across urban communities (Massey and Denton 1993), the subplace provides an ideal unit at which to examine changes in services. There are 683 subplaces in Johannesburg and 682 in Cape Town.

In the post-apartheid period, the relationship between race and space remains imprinted on the urban landscape. Because of the relationship between race, space, and service provision, it is important to understand the distribution of racial groups across the urban space. Under apartheid, South Africans were categorized into one of four population groups – African, coloured, Indian, and white - with whites at the top of the racial hierarchy and Africans at the bottom. As part of the Group Areas Act of 1950, the strict spatial segregation of apartheid was institutionalized and the residential space of the city was carved up based on race. Through a brutal and disruptive process, urban residents living in areas designated for a racial group other than their own were forcibly removed and relocated into their designated group area. Non-white communities were left with the fewest economic resources and therefore saw severely limited public goods

⁵ Based on focus groups and interviews conducted with residents, public officials, and city planners in Cape Town and Johannesburg, I am confident that subplaces do indeed correspond to recognizable named neighborhoods. Therefore, the terms neighborhood, community, and subplace are used interchangeably.

provision. The distribution of the non-white population in each city just after the collapse of apartheid can be seen in Figures 3a and 3b. Because this data was collected only two years after the end of apartheid, it is not surprising that the non-white population in each city remained spatially concentrated.

Figure 3a. Spatial Distribution of Non-White Population in Cape Town – 1996.

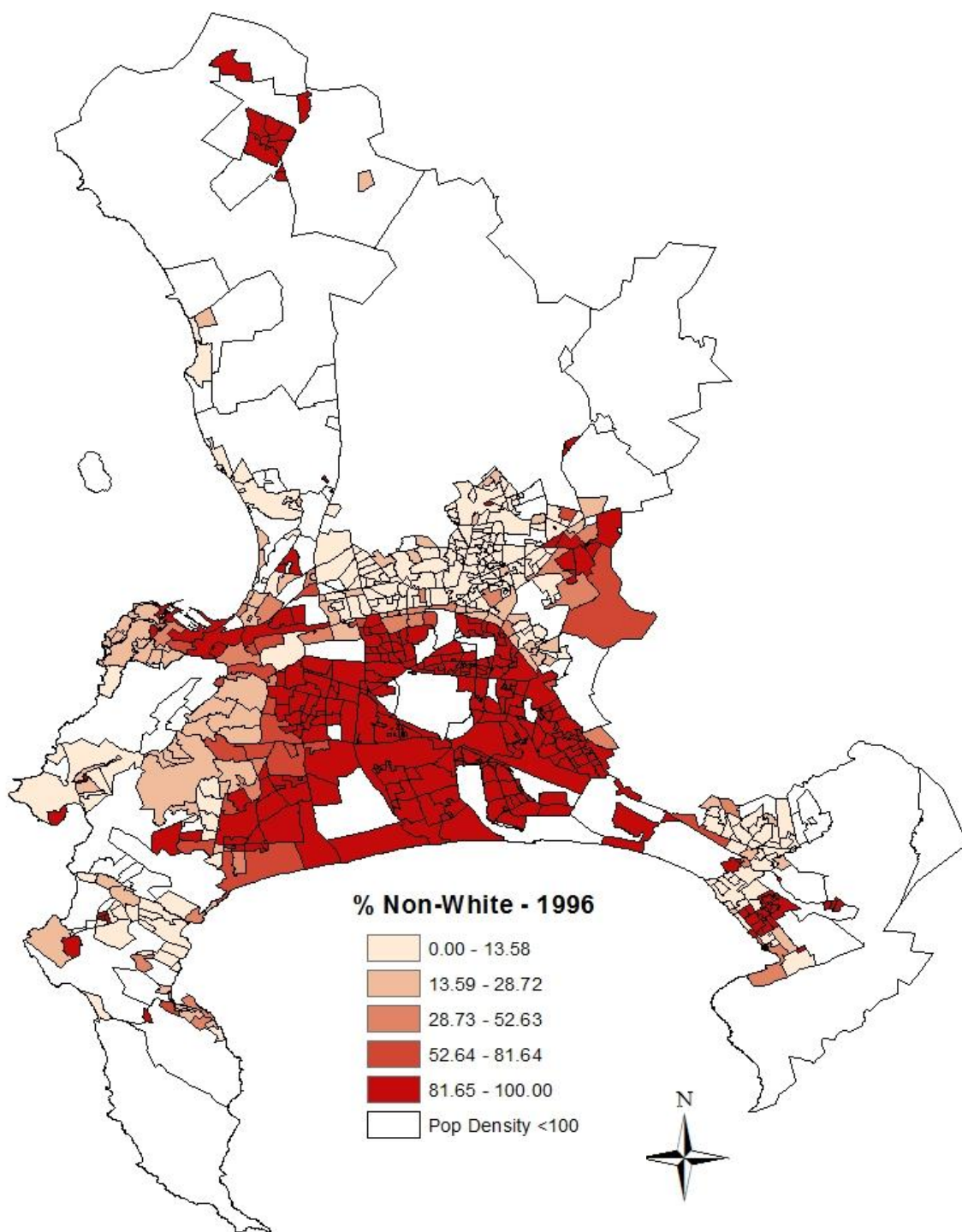
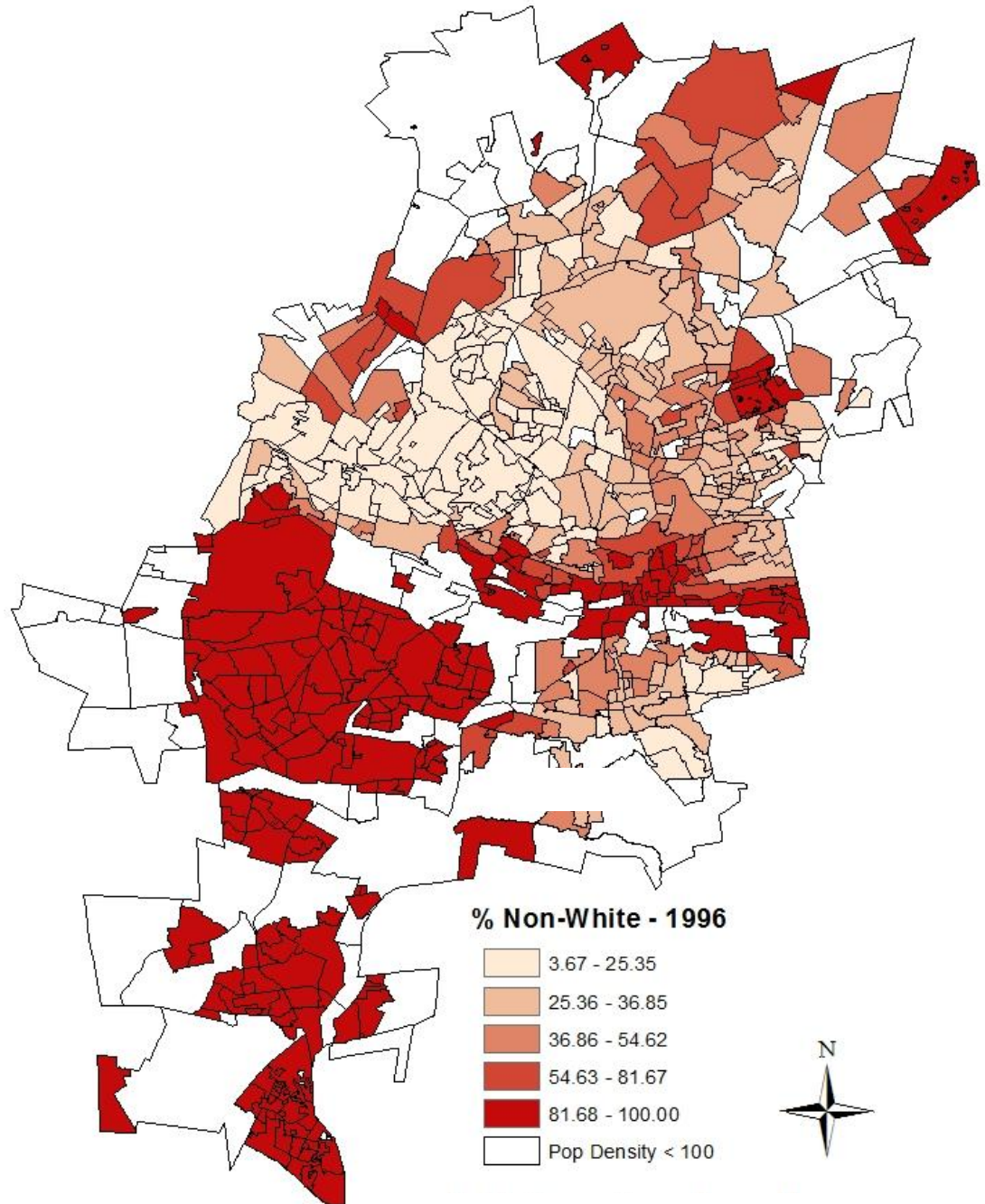


Figure 3b. Spatial Distribution of Non-White Population in Johannesburg 1996.



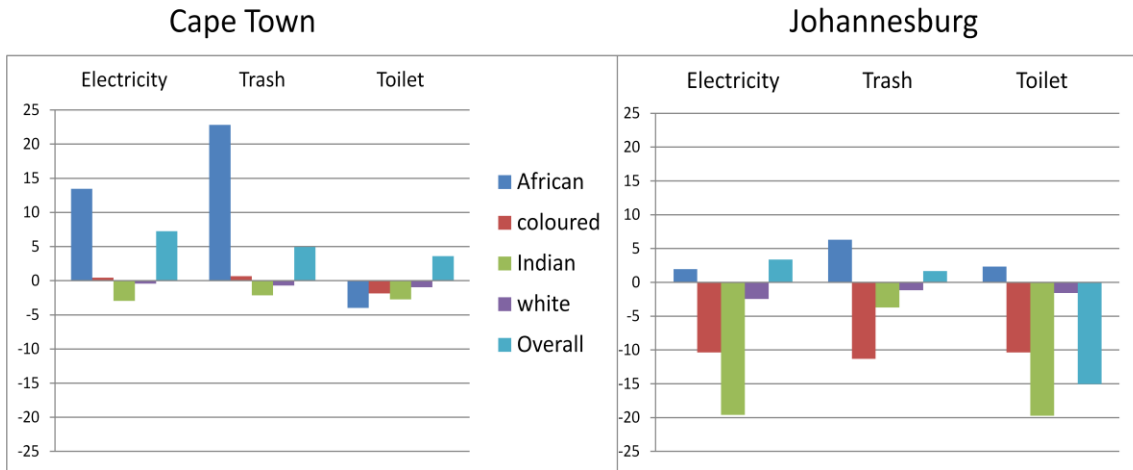
The relationship between race and geography in apartheid-era South Africa may have important implications for equalizing access to capability-enhancing services. Massey and Denton (1993) note that in American cities, when there is a spatially concentrated scarcity of public goods, as has frequently been the case in African-American communities, prospects for remedying these inequalities are particularly limited. In the American context, they argue that this is largely a result of the limited political influence of segregated African-American communities. However, in South Africa, where the dominant political party is largely African and members gained their political and activist credentials in these non-white group areas, racial segregation is unlikely to have the same political consequences for redistribution that are seen in the US. In fact, contrary to the American situation, the racial segregation that characterizes these two cities does not necessarily lead to the lack of public investment seen by Massey and Denton. In order to examine how access to services has changed in the non-white areas of each city, those subplaces with a high proportion of residents of each of the four designated racial groupings in the period immediately following apartheid were selected for further comparison. These subplaces were chosen based on the distribution of each racial group in each city. Through an examination of the distribution of the proportion of each racial group across subplaces, a visible break point was selected, above which a community was considered to be primarily composed of members of that racial group⁶. Changes in access to capability-enhancing services were then examined across these racially homogenous communities in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

⁶ In Cape Town, the cutoffs are as follows: African = 94.72%, coloured = 93.60%, Indian = 64.94%, and white = 77.26%. In Johannesburg, the cutoffs are as follows: African = 95.11%, coloured = 61.3%, Indian = 54.93%, white = 63.00%.

Changes in access to services in racially segregated communities are presented in the graph in Figure 3c, which compares the change in the percent of the population with access across service types and across cities. The changing levels of services in communities of each racial group are based on comparative data from the 1996 and 2001 censuses; however, the overall change is measured at the municipal level and is therefore updated to include changes between the 1996 census and the 2007 Community Survey. This graph demonstrates that in Cape Town, between 1996 and 2007, there have been substantial increases in the overall proportion of residents with access to all of the basic household services measured, with the largest increase being in access to electricity. In Johannesburg, however, overall improvements in access to electricity and trash collection have been substantially smaller than those seen in Cape Town. Additionally, overall access to toilets has declined dramatically. The fact that at the beginning of democratic transition, both cities had similar levels of overall service provision but increases in access were much greater in Cape Town suggests that between 1996 and 2007, the municipal government in Cape Town was substantially more successful in expanding access to capability-enhancing services among residents relative to its counterpart in Johannesburg.

In addition to overall shifts in service levels, Figure 3c highlights key trends in terms of racial divisions associated with service provision. For the most part, in Cape Town, African communities are seeing much larger increases in access to services than their counterparts in Johannesburg. At the same time, other racial groups in Cape Town, which were somewhat better off than Africans under apartheid, are seeing much smaller declines in service provision than in Johannesburg.

Figure 3c. Changes in Percent of Population with Access to Capability-Enhancing Services.



Tables 3-4 and 3-5 provide a more detailed backdrop to the trends shown in Figure 3c, demonstrating changes in the portion of residents in racially segregated communities that have access to basic services. In each city, the racial hierarchy of apartheid is reflected in the levels of service provision among each group, with white communities experiencing the highest levels of access, followed by Indian, coloured, and African communities, respectively. This trend generally holds across both cities. African communities, which were the most severely underserved in 1996, show improvements across most services, with the exception of access to toilets in Cape Town. However, the magnitude of these improvements is far greater in Cape Town than in Johannesburg. For example, the percentage of residents with trash collection at least once a week in African communities in Cape Town increased by 22.82 percentage points while it increases by only 6.31 percentage points in Johannesburg. While African communities in Johannesburg started out at a higher level of service provision, there was still room for significantly larger increases than those being seen.

In both cities, coloured communities were fairly well-serviced in 1996, with levels of access similar to residents of white communities. While levels of access show changes in Cape Town – with slight increases in electricity and trash collection and a slight decline in access to toilets – coloured communities in Johannesburg have seen large declines in access to all household services. The largest decline is in regular trash collection, which drops 11.30 percentage points. A similar pattern is evident with regard to service provision in Indian communities. In both cities in 1996, levels of service provision in Indian communities were very similar to white communities. While there was a slight decline in access to services among Indian communities in Cape Town, they saw a substantial decline in Johannesburg. In terms of access to toilets, communities in Johannesburg saw a decline of almost 20 percentage points, resulting in Indian areas becoming less serviced than their African counterparts in regard to access to toilets and electricity. With the exception of trash collection in Cape Town, white communities remain the most highly serviced in each city. This is despite slight declines in access to all services in these communities. However, the magnitude of these declines is smaller in Cape Town than in Johannesburg.

Table 3-4. Race and Service Provision in Cape Town.

	1996			2001		
Race ⁷ (number of communities)	Electricity for lighting (number of households)	Trash collection at least once a week (number of households)	Chemical or flush toilet (number of households)	Electricity for lighting (number of households)	Trash collection at least once a week (number of households)	Chemical or flush toilet (number of households)
African (n=37)	59.79 (70,924)	68.62 (79,492)	69.69 (82,770)	73.24 (108,686)	91.44 (135,692)	65.70 (97,489)
Coloured (n=150)	97.55 (202,955)	98.00 (202,806)	97.88 (204,217)	98.00 (228,036)	98.68 (229,615)	96.02 (223,405)
Indian (n=4)	98.76 (3,553)	98.85 (3,579)	98.33 (3,551)	95.80 (3,902)	96.71 (3,940)	95.58 (3,893)
White (n=285)	99.80 (159,107)	99.33 (158,233)	99.81 (159,439)	99.37 (179,284)	98.61 (177,901)	98.84 (178,326)

⁷ The methodology for distinguishing which communities could be categorized as predominantly of a specific racial group are the same as described on page 78.

Table 3-5. Race and Service Provision in Johannesburg.

Race ⁸ (number of communities)	1996			2001		
	Electricity for lighting (number of households)	Trash collection at least once a week (number of households)	Chemical or flush toilet (number of households)	Electricity for lighting (number of households)	Trash collection at least once a week (number of households)	Chemical or flush toilet (number of households)
African (n=123)	77.04 (273,480)	82.76 (289,574)	77.63 (276,260)	78.99 (395,404)	89.07 (445,872)	79.96 (400,293)
Coloured (n=24)	96.10 (26,285)	97.44 (26,242)	96.31 (26,381)	82.20 (34,179)	86.14 (35,817)	85.95 (35,738)
Indian (n=26)	94.51 (20,018)	96.14 (20,254)	96.66 (20,513)	74.91 (26,687)	92.42 (32,927)	76.94 (27,410)
White (n=296)	98.87 (186,715)	98.42 (185,013)	99.39 (188,637)	96.42 (253,460)	97.27 (255,685)	97.81 (257,117)

⁸ The methodology for distinguishing which communities could be categorized as predominantly of a specific racial group are the same as described on page 78.

In comparison to other parts of the developing world, the rates of provision of household services in both of these cities are relatively high. For example in rural India, 44% of residents lack access to electricity (Chaurey et al 2004) (although this is not substantially different from the approximately 40% of residents in African communities in Cape Town that lacked access to electricity at the end of apartheid). In some Asian cities, approximately half of residents lack access to toilets with sewer connections (Cairncross 2003). Despite relatively high levels of servicing in South African cities, there are a number of reasons to still expect large increases in access to household services. First, there remained a substantial portion of the population without access to these services at the end of apartheid, particularly in non-white areas. Remedying this inequality was one of the central demands of the anti-apartheid struggle and has featured prominently in the post-apartheid government's agenda. As can be seen in the frequency and fervor of service delivery protests, it is evident that service delivery remains an important concern of citizens and plays a prominent role in national and local policy dialogues. Second, because a large portion of the population in these cities already has access to services, much of the bulk infrastructure is already in place. Expanding access to the remaining population is a far less costly task than in other parts of the world where the necessary bulk infrastructure is completely lacking. Third, as seen in Tables 3-4 and 3-5, service deficits are largest in the African townships of these two cities. Given the rise to power of the ANC, which has its roots in the African townships of these cities, it would be expected that these areas would see dramatic improvements - especially in Johannesburg where the ANC has maintained political power since democratic transition. However, it is in these areas that the divergences between these cities are most obvious,

with Cape Town seeing greater improvements than Johannesburg. Finally, as noted previously, the links between service provision and local development mean that the stakes of capability expansion are particularly high, a fact that is recognized by the South African government.

Public Investment in Healthcare Facilities

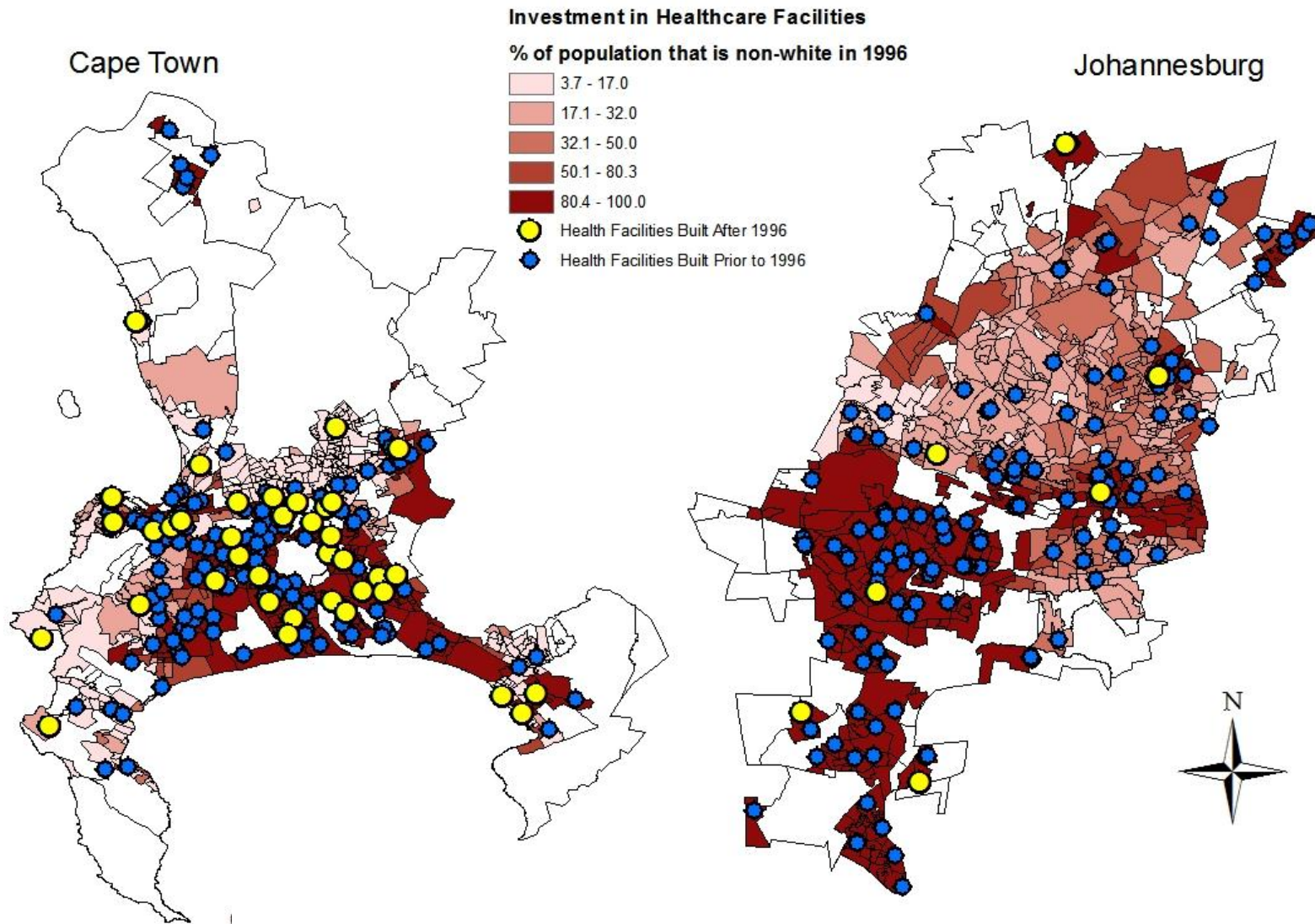
While the service data captured in the census provide important insights into changing access to basic needs, it is important to complement this analysis with an examination of other types of capability-enhancing services, such as access to healthcare. For Sen (1999), healthcare provides individuals with the capacity to pursue their goals in living a life they have reason to value. Access to healthcare also has important implications for fostering local economic development (Evans 2008). In a knowledge-based economy, workers become less substitutable and must be healthy enough to access training opportunities and consistently participate in the economy. In a country like South Africa, which is ravaged by diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, access to healthcare has become especially important in fostering a Senian approach to development where individuals have the capabilities to live the kind of life they have reason to value.

Data from the South African Department of Health, which list the location and opening date of public healthcare facilities in Cape Town and Johannesburg are used to examine whether access to these facilities has increased in the non-white areas of the city since the end of apartheid. Those facilities that existed prior to 1996 are mapped relative to those that were built or expanded between 1996 and 2009. This allows for the

identification of sites where investment in new facilities has occurred. Figure 3d displays the locations where new healthcare facilities have been built or existing facilities have been expanded between 1996 and 2009. These facilities include publicly funded clinics, hospitals, and community health centers. The map on which these points are overlaid represents the percent of the population of the community that is non-white. In 1996, there were a total of 175 facilities in Cape Town and 212 in Johannesburg. By 2009, there were 234 facilities in Cape Town and 219 in Johannesburg, suggesting that authorities in Cape Town have been more effective in expanding access to healthcare facilities than their counterparts in Johannesburg. By 2003, Cape Town had 0.36 clinics per 10,000 people while Johannesburg had 0.30 (South African Cities Network 2004). If Cape Town were building and expanding facilities in formerly white neighborhoods, these investments might have little impact on equalizing access to capability-enhancing services. However, Figure 3d demonstrates that these investments have been concentrated almost exclusively in non-white parts of the city⁹. With the exception of investment in Johannesburg's Flora and Wilgeheuwel clinic indicated by the dot in the west-central part of the city, all of Johannesburg's new investments have been located in non-white areas of the city as well. However, the number of sites of investment has remained relatively small. This suggests that in Johannesburg many areas that were geographically underserved under apartheid are not seeing necessary improvements in health services for residents.

⁹ The absence of these public facilities in white communities is related to the fact that the relatively affluent white residents have relied on private provision of healthcare services.

Figure 3d. Changes in Distribution of Healthcare Facilities in Cape Town and Johannesburg – 1996-2001.



POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS FOR DIVERGENCE: FINANCES, INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS, AND SERVICE PROVISION

Finances

There are a number of simple factors that could explain the divergence in improvements in service provision between these two cities. If the municipal government in Cape Town had access to significantly greater financial resources than its counterpart in Johannesburg, this could explain its ability to more effectively use public revenue for investing in capability-enhancing services. However, the observed differences are not simply due to variation in financial capacities. Table 3-6 demonstrates that in 1996, Johannesburg had a higher per capita gross value added (GVA) than Cape Town, meaning that Johannesburg had a larger tax base from which to extract revenue for investment in capability-enhancing services. Additionally, between 1996 and 2004, both cities experienced high levels of economic growth, with Johannesburg seeing more rapid growth than Cape Town. Across this time period, Johannesburg maintained a higher GVA per capita than Cape Town, suggesting that from a financial viewpoint, it had an advantage in providing services.

Table 3-6. Gross Value Added Per Capita in Cape Town and Johannesburg 1996 – 2004 (in South African Rands)¹⁰.

	1996	2001	2004	Change 1996 - 2001	Change 2001-2004
Cape Town	27,889	38,819	41,528	10,930	2,709
Johannesburg	30,003	44,923	51,591	14,920	6,668

A disparity in the size of municipal budgets is also unable to account for the differential changes in access to services in the two cities. Table 3-7 demonstrates that for the years in which the data is available, municipal revenue per capita is not substantially different between Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Table 3-7. Municipal Revenue Per Capita 2002-2005 (in South African Rands)¹¹.

	2002 -2003	2004 – 2005
Cape Town	3,297.67	3,838.63
Johannesburg	3,269.27	3,641.44

Informal Dwellings

Among the most under-serviced communities in cities of the developing world are informal settlements (Davis 2007). The OECD defines informal settlements as “areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally” (OECD 2001). In South Africa, these areas generally

¹⁰ Based on data from South African Cities Network State of the Cities Report 2006 and South African Cities Network State of the Cities Report 2004.

¹¹ Based on data from South African Cities Network State of the Cities Report 2006.

consist of informal dwellings constructed out of corrugated metal or other scrap materials. As described in Chapter 5, the provision of services to these dwellings tends to be particularly contentious due to their supposed temporary nature, therefore the state tends to be hesitant in providing services. If the portion of the population living in informal housing arrangements is growing much more rapidly in Johannesburg relative to Cape Town, this could account for a sizable portion of the divergence in access to services. However, as Table 3-8 demonstrates, this is not the case. In Cape Town, the percent of households living in informal shacks in the backyards of formal housing units increases over this period while in Johannesburg it decreases. However, Cape Town sees a slightly larger decline in the proportion of households living in shacks in informal settlements than Johannesburg. Despite these slight differences, the overall proportion of households living informally changes in a similar manner in each city, with Cape Town seeing an overall decline of 0.41 percentage points and Johannesburg seeing a decline of 0.32 percentage points.

Table 3-8. Changes in Informal Living Arrangements in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

	Cape Town			Johannesburg		
	1996	2001	Change 1996- 2001	1996	2001	Change 1996- 2001
Backyard Shack (n)	3.35 (21,837)	4.32 (32,801)	0.96	8.06 (58,407)	7.82 (78,755)	-0.24
Shack in Informal Settlement (n)	15.99 (104,149)	14.49 (110,109)	-1.50	13.47 (97,532)	13.28 (133,712)	-0.19
Tent or caravan (n)	0.12 (789)	0.27 (2,081)	0.15	0.12 (836)	0.25 (2,541)	0.14
Homeless ¹² (n)	0.02 (150)			0.03 (236)		
TOTAL ¹³	19.49 (651,181)	19.08 (759,763)	-0.41	21.68 (724,306)	21.35 (1,006,925)	-0.32

EXPLANATIONS FOR DIVERGENCE: SERVICE PROVISION, POLITICS, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Given that fiscal and demographic factors cannot account for the divergence in service provision between Cape Town and Johannesburg, an explanation must be sought elsewhere. Based on extensive fieldwork in South Africa and numerous interviews with a variety of urban stakeholders, it is argued that an understanding of the divergences in public investment identified above are related to the ways in which variations in the urban governance regimes of these two cities influence dynamics of service provision. While the municipal structures of each city are guided by a common national policy,

¹² This was only a response option in the 1996 census.

¹³ This is the total number of households in the city not including those that were unspecified or institutions.

organized in similar manners, and subject to similar economic pressures, it is the divergence in urban governance regimes that explains the variation in the ability of these two cities to address apartheid era inequalities in access to capability-enhancing services. As noted previously, the urban governance regime in Cape Town is characterized by an inclusive coalition and a cohesive bureaucracy while the urban governance regime in Johannesburg is characterized by an exclusive coalition and a fragmented bureaucracy. The variation in the nature of governance regimes is attributed to the divergent political dynamics of these two cities. As described below, these differences have significant impacts on the potential for effectively addressing inequalities in service provision inherited from apartheid. The remainder of this chapter will outline the nature and impacts of urban governance regimes at the municipal level in each of these cities while the subsequent chapters will examine their impacts on issues of service delivery in specific communities.

While there is undeniably a technical component to service provision, viewing it purely as the technocratic terrain of engineers and planners detached from political processes overlooks the associated power dynamics. Moving beyond a technocratic understanding and examining the role of urban governance regimes in directing the use of public resources, creating urban space, and engaging with urban stakeholders allows for a more explicit recognition of the sociopolitical aspects of service provision. In Cape Town and Johannesburg, the form of urban transformation has been influenced by a variety of stakeholders, including the municipal state, civil society, and capital. While each of these groups has an interest in the evolution of the city, their visions and priorities in terms of municipal spending on public investment, associated taxation, geographic focus, and state

institutions frequently do not align. In this context, the potential for transformation is an outcome of the ways in which the power relationships between these various groups play out in the context of the urban governance regime. In order to understand urban governance regimes and the power dynamics embedded within them, it is important to first develop an understanding of the broader municipal processes that govern these cities and the ways in which municipal policies structure the potential for various types of urban governance regimes to impact upon service delivery.

Local Government as Provider of Municipal Services

A key component of South Africa's post-transitional constitution of 1996 was the devolution of power from what had been a highly centralized national state to more autonomous provincial and local state structures. With this decentralization, the municipal government was given the primary mandate over service delivery. In the period immediately following transition, policy in South Africa was guided by the RDP, a framework which outlined the roles and responsibilities of government as well as created a space for engagement between the state and civil society in governance processes. The RDP's guiding White Paper emphasized the municipal state as the primary provider of services, stating that "local authorities are key institutions for delivering basic services, extending local control, managing local economic development, and redistributing public resources" (RSA 1994:18). It was argued that the proximity of local government to communities provided it with greater knowledge about local needs and therefore allowed it to be a more effective agent of delivery (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002). This combination of delivery and engagement were described as fostering

developmental local government. The 1998 White Paper on Local Government defined developmental local government as “local government committed to working with citizens and groups to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives” (RSA 1998:38). The creation of more equitable access to services in South African cities has been identified as a key focus of this developmental local government agenda. However, in order to translate these goals into action, significant institutional reforms were necessary.

Local Government Transformation and Mechanisms for Addressing Inequalities in Service Provision

The implementation of municipal reform across South Africa took place primarily between 1995 and 2001, an era often referred to as the interim period of municipal government (Beall et al 2002). During this time, national negotiating forums were established to set guidelines for how municipal governments would be organized and function. These negotiations were generally characterized by tension between members of the National Party - lobbying for a strong municipal state as way to maintain political relevance and white privilege at a time when the ANC dominated the national government – and the ANC, preferring a more centralized power structure in order to maintain its dominance as well as provide a broader base for redistribution (Cameron 1999). In the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, which legislated the final form of the municipal state, a substantial amount of power was devolved to the municipal government. However, the municipal structure itself remained highly centralized. These negotiations over the form and function of municipal government had a number of

important implications for the prospects of addressing inequalities in the provision of capability-enhancing services.

Fiscal redistribution.

Addressing decades of inequitable public investment in urban South Africa requires significant fiscal resources. As noted, service delivery became the domain of the municipal state and was to be paid for out of the municipal budget which is derived from two sources. First, funds termed the “equitable share” are dispersed to municipalities from the national government. However, the size of the equitable share tends to be relatively small and makes up only a fraction of the overall municipal budget (van Donk and Pieterse 2006). The largest portion of the budget comes from local revenues. In South Africa, approximately 90% of local government revenue is sourced from local taxes (Wooldridge 2002). As evidenced above, local revenues and local service delivery needs in Cape Town and Johannesburg are relatively comparable, providing similar fiscal potential for addressing inequalities in service provision. However, the potential for effectively redistributing these revenues into historically neglected communities required significant efforts to reconstruct the fragmented urban space of apartheid into a cohesive urban form.

As noted, under apartheid, each group area constituted its own tax base, resulting in a direct correspondence between race and access to public resources. In response to apartheid-era demands for “one city, one tax base,” the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 sought to remedy inequalities in service provision by establishing integrated municipal boundaries to create a more equitable distribution of public investment. While

national-level legislation guided the demarcation process, it was left to individual municipalities to redraw their own administrative boundaries. Across South Africa, this became a highly politicized and contentious process. Those living in the wealthier areas of cities feared that pairing their communities with historically neglected townships would dilute political influence and result in a decline in the quality of local services (Cameron 1999). In Cape Town, these tensions were particularly acute as the NP maintained substantial support in the city and was able to compete with the ANC for municipal leadership. As the NP lost power at the national level, party officials fought to construct municipal boundaries that served to maintain influence at the local level. In Johannesburg, the process of negotiating the character of the municipal government was divided between residents of the city's wealthier northern suburbs, seeking to maintain their own standard of living and the remainder of the city that sought to create a larger single metro area with a single tax base available for redistributing resources into the townships (Wooldridge 2002). Through a drawn out process of contentious political battles, both cities eventually reached an agreement on new municipal boundaries that incorporated the economically wealthy nodes of the city such as the CBD and white suburbs, along with the historically disadvantaged non-white townships. By 2001, under the Municipal Systems Act, the new integrated uni-city structure was officially established. In the uni-city, municipal boundaries had been clearly demarcated and all areas within them shared a single tax base, offering greater potential for redistributing fiscal resources from wealthy areas toward historically neglected communities.

Community engagement in policy making.

As argued in Chapter 2, creating an inclusive urban governance coalition can offer greater potential for the needs of historically marginalized groups to be heard and met by the municipal state. This in turn can influence how public resources are distributed and whether or not they are focused on the most disadvantaged urban communities. As noted in Chapter 2, the importance of including civil society in urban governance processes was explicitly recognized in South African legislation on local government and an emphasis on public participation in municipal decision making permeates South African legislation. The Constitution, RDP White Paper, and the White Paper on Local Government all attribute significant value to fostering civil society participation in policy making. According to the RDP White Paper:

“Although the Government has a crucial role in facilitating and coordinating the RDP, the programme will be implemented through the widest possible consultation and participation of the citizenry of South Africa...The empowerment of institutions of civil society is a fundamental aim of the Government’s approach to building national consensus. Through this process the Government aims to draw on the creative energy of communities” (RSA 1994:39).

As spelled out in the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, this participation was seen as critical in allowing communities to contribute to “strategic decisions relating to the provision of municipal services” (RSA 2000:30). This Act also spells out the importance of community participation in the development of the city’s Integrated Development Plan (IDP) – discussed below – which provides guidance as to how public investment will be used. While on paper these institutional mechanisms offer the potential for the creation of

an inclusive urban governance coalition, their potential for fostering public participation in policy making has seen only limited success in both Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Local development forums.

The RDP mandated that rather than merely engaging in technocratic delivery of services, local governments should actively engage with communities in order to better understand and address their needs (RSA 1994:18). This approach was largely influenced by the transformative role that local civic organizations had played in mobilizing communities and bringing about the country's democratic transition. Many leaders negotiating the democratic transition envisioned broad democratic and redistributive transformation and saw local participatory organizations as the channels for advancing this agenda. The RDP White Paper encouraged the formation of local consultative bodies consisting of stakeholders within a community. It was through engagement with these community development forums (CDFs) that local government would promote local development. The RDP White Paper also spelled out a number of ways in which the state would encourage capacity building and training among of these forums in order to give them a more effective voice in shaping policy (RSA 1994). Through these processes, civil society was to become a key stakeholder in the urban governance regime with an ability to shape the way public resources were allocated. This process was particularly intended to expand access to the state among poorer urban communities. According to the RDP white paper: "The government must ensure that its service arms are accessible to civil society, especially mass organizations with limited resources. They must be able to

provide even-handed service even in areas...where interests may be opposed to current government policies” (RSA 1994:40).

The effectiveness of these CDFs as liaisons between communities and the municipal state was somewhat varied. In some of the poorer areas of the cities, they did in fact become an effective voice for the urban poor (Beall et al 2002). A member of a CDF in Cape Town argued that in the immediate post-transition period, the local forum became a center for harnessing the participatory spirit of local residents (Interview July 29, 2009). However, he noted that the shift in policy at the national level which suspended the RDP in favor of GEAR in 1996 cut resources to these forums, making them dysfunctional and driven by particularized political agendas rather than local development. This particular forum collapsed around 2002. This scenario was not unique. In Johannesburg, there have been complaints that these forums had fallen into disuse, limiting potential spaces for consultation between communities and local government (Heller 2001). One of the important processes limiting the efficacy of these community forums was replacement of the RDP by legislation that focused on ward committees as the key facilitator of engagement between communities and the municipal state.

Ward councilors and ward committees.

In establishing a system of post-apartheid local government, it was argued that facilitating an effective developmental local state implied bringing government officials closer to the people. To foster this link between state and citizens, a ward councilor system was implemented. The municipal demarcation process described above was designed not only to restructure urban tax bases but also divided cities into political

wards, each represented by a councilor who would serve as a voice for community interests in the municipal council (Cameron 1999). Each ward is represented by one elected councilor as well as a proportional representation councilor¹⁴. The first municipal elections were held in 1995, and it was at this point that the first democratically elected ward councilors were seated. In Cape Town, however, the fact that party loyalties in the metro were split between the ANC and the NP meant that the process of ward demarcation was particularly contentious and drawn out, therefore the first round of municipal elections in Cape Town was delayed until 1996 (Cameron 1999). The ward council system was further formalized in the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, which institutionalized a comprehensive system of representation through the establishment of metropolitan ward councils. The metro ward council was to be the key political body of the municipal government and comprised local ward councilors who would serve as the representatives of the state in communities and channel community demands to the state.

The Municipal Structures Act was passed in 1998, a time when the incipient national policy in South Africa was already undergoing major transformations. In 1996, the national government had abandoned the RDP, with its redistributive goals, for the more neoliberal GEAR. This had a number of implications for the structure of the municipal state and the potential for public participation in urban governance processes. As noted above, the end of the RDP meant that many of the local development forums were no longer sustainable and their potential to offer legitimate space for public participation in urban governance was severely limited. The language of the Municipal

¹⁴Following municipal elections, each party is able to select a number of proportional representation ward councilors that corresponds to the ratio of votes they received.

Structures Act however, still emphasized public participation in the process of municipal governance. Rather than the apolitical development forums of the RDP, the institutional mechanisms for channeling this participation under the Municipal Structures Act were local ward committees, which were intended to be the primary channel of communication between communities and the municipal council (Piper and Deacon 2008). Ward committees were to be comprised of up to ten local stakeholders representing a variety of community interests and would be chaired by the councilor. Initially, these members were appointed by the ward councilor but eventually served on an elected basis. Ward committees were given no authoritative power over local decisions but instead served to advise the ward councilor (Benit-Gbaffou 2008). They were however viewed as the sole legitimate channel for engagement between communities and the municipal government (Piper and Deacon 2008).

A number of residents in both Cape Town and Johannesburg argued that rather than enhancing participation, the ward committees have instead limited channels for engagement between communities and the state. One activist in Johannesburg argued that the local CDF had been particularly active but the emergence of ward committees closed the space for this effective channel of local mobilization and engagement (Interview April 19, 2009). He argued that the ward committees have now been set up to serve the purposes of the councilor and thereby the party. Using an example from Soweto, he claimed that ward committee elections had been rigged and ANC party bosses had taken over meetings in an effort to influence the outcomes. He viewed the power of the party to influence these outcomes as “the final nail in the coffin of ward committees.” The political control over the ward committee meant that oppositional voices were unlikely to

be heard and the agenda of the ward committee became dictated by party interests as opposed to community needs (Benit-Gbaffou 2008). This is reflected in cities across South Africa as ward councilors often recruit members of a single organization to stand for ward committee seats and/or vote for ward committee members. The result is that the membership of the ward committee merely reflects the local party branches or municipal governance bodies rather than being representative of the diversity of the community it is intended to serve (Piper and Deacon 2008).

The effectiveness of the ward committee in serving as a channel for demand making between citizens and the municipal government also relies on the ward councilors themselves (Piper and Deacon 2008). While there are of course exceptions, residents and activists in both Cape Town and Johannesburg frequently voiced displeasure with their local ward councilors. The reasons usually centered on the lack of responsiveness to community needs (Interview with community activist August 18, 2008). There were frequent charges that councilors would not show up to community meetings (Interview with community activist April 29, 2009) or that they lived outside of the communities they served and were unable to understand local issues (Interview with community activists August 13, 2008). Other times, complaints were of a more malicious nature where the councilor would purposely play community factions off one another for individual political gain (Interview with community leader April 6, 2009). The ability of the ward councils to serve as a channel for bringing community demands to the local state is reliant on the engagement of ward councilors in these processes. To the extent that councilors are absent or fail to engage with the diversity of community needs, the

role of the ward committee in fostering engagement is stymied; a phenomena that as has frequently occurred across urban South Africa.

Integrated Development Plans.

The Local Government Transition Act of 1996 laid the foundation for another important piece of participatory legislation. The Act spelled out the requirement that each municipality construct an Integrated Development Plan that would provide guidance for post-transition planning efforts. The IDPs were intended to provide an integrated prioritization of urban needs and guide the allocation of public funds for investment. Ideally, the IDP allows the municipal government to perform a variety of important functions including; assessing economic and social needs of various groups across the city, prioritizing needs, creating a framework for addressing those needs, developing projects for implementation, and directing budgets in a manner consistent with municipal priorities (Parnell and Pieterse 2002). The generation of IDPs was required to include a process of community consultation in order to ensure that needs were being met and local development was being facilitated. During the initial phase of municipal government, the purpose of the IDP in relation to other municipal planning instruments was relatively unclear and the generation of the plan was largely contracted out to private planners (Harrison 2006, Mabin 2002). The objectives were further clarified in the 1998 White Paper on Local Government and eventually the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, which further specified the necessary components of the IDP and the processes that must be undertaken in its development. Across these documents, it was argued that public

participation in the identification of needs was a mandatory component of the IDP process.

The success of the IDP as a tool for effectively fostering community participation in urban governance has been mixed. There is some evidence that municipal governments are increasingly operating in a manner consistent with their IDPs (Harrison 2006) and that IDPs have shifted the framework of municipal planning from state to community centered priorities (Harrison et al 2008). However, in many cases, this emphasis may still be quite limited. As noted by one municipal official, once the IDP is created, "it ends up sitting on a shelf collecting dust" (Interview July 23, 2008). One of the frustrations with the IDP process has been its limited ability to serve as a mechanism for communities to have a true participatory voice in the allocation of public investment. When asked about the IDP process, residents in both Cape Town and Johannesburg voiced frustration that they never saw the outcomes of their recommendations to the IDP (Interview with NGO official May 21, 2009). Frequently, politically active residents were not even aware of the existence of the IDP or the procedures for community input (Interview with community activists August 13, 2008). When there are community meetings with officials regarding the IDP, residents complain of being presented with a plan that has already been constructed by government officials with limited room for real community input around local needs. When an IDP official arrived to meet with community members in a suburb of Johannesburg, he was met with a number of suggestions from residents about how to better address local development. Frustrated by the amount of community input, he ultimately declared in frustration that "this is not a debate" (Interview with community activist August 14, 2008). From the perspective of government officials, meetings with

communities in preparing the IDP can be frustrating as there is a feeling that the scale of engagement with communities is unproductive. Officials feel that rather than leaving these meetings with useful input, they instead come away with a shopping list of demands that are difficult to prioritize (Interview with NGO official January 14, 2011). As noted by one NGO official, the IDP represents a broader problem with participatory legislation aimed at improving access to services in South African cities in that there are goals of fostering real participation but implementation is difficult. In his words this legislation is comparable to “the engine of a Porsche in the body of an old VW” (Interview January 14, 2011). Like ward committees and RDP forums, the IDP aims to create a more inclusive urban governance regime but its actual impact is significantly limited.

MUNICIPAL POLITICS AND INCLUSIVE URBAN GOVERNANCE COALITIONS

As noted previously, the inclusion of civil society in urban governance coalitions offers potential for creating a synergistic relationship between civil society and the state that allows communities to make demands on the municipal government. This in turn provides the state with the information necessary to understand and address community needs, potentially creating a more equitable distribution of investment in capability enhancing services. Therefore, this type of synergistic relationship is mutually beneficial (Evans 1996). While the importance of public participation in governance processes is widely acknowledged in South African municipal legislation, it is evident that the institutional mechanisms for engagement between the state and civil society have not been particularly effective in creating an inclusive urban governance coalition. However,

this does not mean that this potential is completely absent. Instead, the political context of Cape Town and Johannesburg create divergent possibilities for creating inclusive urban governance coalitions through alternate sites of engagement.

In Cape Town, where civil society is cohesively organized, it has effectively contested state action and worked with the municipal government in ways that ensure the expansion of public investment in services in historically neglected communities. The synergistic relationship that has evolved has not only directed public investment to these areas but also helped to ensure that state interventions reflect the needs voiced by communities. On the other hand, in Johannesburg, independent subordinate civil society groups have not been able to establish this type of collaborative relationship with the state. They are instead viewed as a threat to the ANC's stranglehold on municipal power and are therefore sidelined from urban governance processes. This has meant that groups lobbying for improved access to services have had little impact in shaping state action or improving access to service delivery.

This variation in the inclusivity of urban governance coalitions is directly related to the ways in which municipal politics operate in each city. Specifically, the presence of political competition results in more inclusive urban governance coalitions. Political dynamics in Johannesburg close off spaces for collaborative engagement between subordinate civil society and the state while dynamics in Cape Town provide greater potential for synergistic relationships. In Johannesburg, the ANC has dominated local politics since the initial round of municipal elections in 1995 and has faced limited competition to threaten this power. This single party dominance has resulted in a context

that limits space for civil society in the urban governance coalition. Political competition in Cape Town, on the other hand, has created an environment where the state and civil society are more dependent on one another, fostering the type of synergistic relationship described by Evans (1996).

Politics and Subordinate Civil Society in Johannesburg

In Johannesburg, “the inclusion of people’s concerns or demands into policy-making at the municipal level happens as an exception and as a response to (media- or judiciary-driven) urgency, much more than through current management of daily affairs.... In other words, participation is not part of the actual city governance structure” (Benit-Gbaffou 2008:5). While literature on Johannesburg has widely acknowledged that the municipal government has an ineffective track record in terms of engaging with subordinate civil society, what is often ignored is the way in which local politics shape this dynamic. Instead, critiques frequently center on the fact that the neoliberal reforms of municipal policies in the city have sidelined civil society in favor of capital when it comes to influencing urban governance (Bremner 2004, Bond 2000). While these structural changes have had an important impact on the ability of the city to create a more equitable distribution of public investment (as seen in Chapter 6), these critiques fail to acknowledge the ways in which political configurations in the city also limit the potential for creating an inclusive urban governance coalition and prevent more equitable investment in capability-enhancing services.

In Johannesburg, the line between the municipal state and the ANC has become blurred. Because the party has faced limited contestation in municipal elections, party

influence has been relatively stable and political connections have become entrenched as the primary mechanism for facilitating state action (Benit-Gbaffou 2008). This dynamic has resulted in the development of clientelistic networks that privilege those with party connections, which has significant implications for the townships and historically marginalized parts of the city. According to both government and NGO officials working in these historically deprived areas, access to political channels has become an incredibly important source of influence and power (Interview January 15, 2011; Interview January 14, 2011). Demands on the state come through political connections through the local ANC branch, the ward councilor, or other party members. This dynamic privileges the interests of those who have established connections. For example, residents in the wealthier parts of Soweto argue that many of their neighbors hold influential positions in the ANC, providing them direct access to the state. If service delivery needs were not being met, these connections ensured that political influence could be quickly mobilized and the issue would be promptly remedied (Interview with local business person February 12, 2009; Interview community activist April 19, 2009). While this channel may effectively allow for the demands of these residents to be met, it does not provide the opportunity for broad collaborative action that is necessary to ensure an equitable distribution of resources. It facilitates clientelism rather than synergy. As an official with the city's roads agency argued, road maintenance is politically motivated and those communities receiving attention are those with ward councilors that have a lot of political clout and give money to politicians to upgrade the roads (Interview June 20, 2008). This serves to undermine the efforts at comprehensive planning and equitable distribution of resources emphasized in documents such as the IDP. The importance of ANC ties in

influencing public investment and garnering the attention of the municipal state applies not only to individual residents with political connections but also to NGOs working in these communities. Officials from an established Johannesburg NGO noted that their effectiveness in fostering local development in the poorer parts of the city has been predicated less on effectively organizing civil society than on staff members' relationships with particular political leaders in the state (Interview January 14, 2011). It is through these ties that the NGO was able to get municipal support for many of its projects.

The importance of political ties in influencing urban governance in Johannesburg is recognized not only by those working on issues in local communities but also by bureaucrats in the municipal government. One high ranking official whose mandate related to the allocation of public investment across the city, noted that in his tenure with the municipal government, community issues were brought to the attention of the state via political channels rather than through civil society organizations (Interview January 14, 2011). The influence and power of these channels has its basis in the political dynamics of the city. Although there have been some internal divisions, the ANC has faced no real threat to its control over politics in Johannesburg. This has meant that party-based channels of influence are especially stable. There have been only three mayors in Johannesburg in the post-apartheid period. Isaac Mogase served between 1995 and 2000 under the interim phase of municipal government when the mayoral position held limited powers (Beall et al 2002) and Amos Masando served as mayor from 2000 through 2011, a period where mayoral influence was particularly strong. While there were some policy shifts throughout Masando's term, the political structure of the municipality remained

relatively stable. It was only in May of 2011 that Masando was replaced by Parks Tau. Each of these mayors was a member of the ANC and each served with an ANC dominated municipal council, creating a relatively stable political climate within the city. This stability has meant that those with party connections can wield a significant amount of influence in local decision making over an extended period of time. For those serving in the municipal government, it also means that serving party interests can be a stable channel for advancement through the political ranks. Ward councilors and other party officials that are well connected in the party are able to rely on the stability of those ties to build support and influence and eventually propel themselves through the ranks of the party. Benit-Gbaffou (2008) argues that this has created a situation in which ward councilors in Johannesburg are more invested in pleasing the higher ups in the ANC than being responsive to their constituents. If councilors oppose party policies, they generally do not do so publicly or they risk their own political career and potential expulsion from the ANC.

The dominance of a single party in Johannesburg has shifted the focus of governance away from creating space for sometimes contentious engagement between communities and the state and towards implementing a technocratic administrative agenda (Beauregard and Tomlinson 2007). The fact that political ties have become the primary mechanism for advancement in party and municipal structures in the state in Johannesburg has meant that alternative channels that call into question party agendas are seen as a threat to the entrenched power structure. In South Africa, as in most places, political ties are not accessible to the entire population. Instead, the politically connected tend to be of a particular class status. And as the city's upper middle class – which

includes legislators and government officials (Stats SA 1996, 2001) becomes increasingly spatially segregated (Kracker Selzer and Heller 2010), many of the poorer historically disadvantaged residents are left without access to state. Their ward councilors are responsive to the party rather than their constituents and poorer residents are increasingly spatially disconnected from those in positions of influence. In order to attempt to carve out space in the urban governance regime, those without political connections have mobilized into civil society organizations, many of which draw attention to the fact that political actors have used their position for individual gain and the gain of their political connections rather than the general betterment of the community as a whole. These organizations therefore question the status quo of political power in the city and are seen as a threat to those with political influence (Zuern 2002). As demonstrated in Chapter 4, many of these organizations have formed to call into question the inability of the existing power brokers to sufficiently address issues of service provision. However, they have essentially been denied a voice in urban governance as their demand making threatens entrenched power structures. In essence, “public forums still exist, but public politics is meant to focus on achieving efficient government and economic growth, not challenging governmental policies” (Beauregard and Tomlinson 2007:247). Under these conditions, the potential for inclusion of an independent subordinate civil society in the city’s urban governance coalition is significantly limited. The only civil society organizations that have been included in urban governance decisions in Johannesburg are those that have become co-opted by the ANC (Cherry, Jones, and Seekings 2000). This dynamic has resulted in the uneven distribution of public investment across the space of the

municipality as can be seen in the cases of Soweto, Diepsloot, and the CBD in the subsequent chapters.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, by closing space for civil society engagement, the state is able to forge a more collaborative relationship with capital. The lack of engagement with an independent civil society that can effectively question the actions of the state has essentially allowed a growth coalition to go unchecked in Johannesburg. In issues such as inner city regeneration, where the interests of the state and capital coincide in a way that disadvantages the urban poor, there is limited viable opposition. This has meant that governance decisions reflect the interests of the ANC and capital with only limited regard for creating a more equitable urban form.

Politics and Subordinate Civil Society in Cape Town

Unlike in Johannesburg, municipal politics in Cape Town are regularly contested between the ANC and the DA, the successor to the NP. The ANC controlled the municipality from 1996 until 2000, followed by the DA from 2000 to 2002, the ANC from 2002 to 2006, and the DA from 2006 to present. This vacillation in party power is due primarily to the relationship between race and electoral politics in South Africa. Throughout the country, the white population generally aligns with the DA while the African population aligns with the ANC. In Johannesburg, the fact that Africans make up the majority of the urban population has solidified the dominance of the ANC in municipal politics. In Cape Town, however, there is a significant coloured population whose electoral preferences have been more fluid; although in Cape Town, the DA and its predecessors have been more effective than the ANC in capturing this base (Eldridge

and Seekings 1996). This dynamic of fluctuating political power has meant that party channels are a less reliable source of influence and prevents the kind of prioritization of advancement through local party ranks that occurs in Johannesburg. It also does not allow for the use of stable political connections as a mechanism for influencing municipal governance processes. Even if a certain area is dominated by a single party, the influence of the ward councilor or other local political figures over the municipal state is not guaranteed in the way it is in Johannesburg because the party holding power in the municipal state fluctuates.

This dynamic has a number of important implications. First, unlike in Johannesburg, civil society is not viewed as a threat to entrenched power structures as power is more fluid. This means that civil society's efforts to question state action are not met with the same vehement opposition seen in Johannesburg. Additionally, the absence of stable political channels between localized political structures and the municipal state means that the state must rely on alternative channels for information about needs on the ground. As noted previously, many of the institutional channels such as ward committees and IDPs have proven less than effective in this task. Therefore, to the extent that the local state is motivated to address needs on the ground (which it is incentivized to do in Cape Town given that political power is relatively evenly split between parties) alternative channels must be established. This allows for the creation of a more synergistic relationship between the state and civil society and incentivizes the creation of a more inclusive urban governance coalition that includes subordinate civil society groups.

These political dynamics have not only shaped the way the state engages with communities but have also shaped the character of civil society. The fact that political power within the municipal state is subject to change incentivizes civil society to stay non-partisan so that it remains on good terms with whichever party holds power. This can be seen in the case of the Khayelitsha Development Forum described in Chapter 4. The organization has maintained its non-partisan stance in an effort to retain support from across political lines. This means that its efforts are able to represent a broader cross-section of the local population rather than serving narrow party interests. In Johannesburg, this lack of allegiance to the ANC would have meant that the organization would be sidelined from urban governance. However, because of the nature of politics in Cape Town, it is exactly this non-partisan position that has allowed the KDF to survive and thrive as an effective channel for engagement between the state and communities on issues of service provision.

The local political configurations in these two cities play very important roles in the prospects for establishing an inclusive or exclusive urban governance coalition. The greater inclusion of a broad base of subordinate civil society in Cape Town allows community demands to be heard and met to a greater degree in Cape Town than in Johannesburg. This has in turn meant that the needs of local communities can be more effectively incorporated into decisions about how public investment is allocated, allowing for synergistic relationships and a more equitable distribution of capability-enhancing services. The ways in which municipal politics impact on the inclusivity of the urban governance regime and the ways in which this inclusivity translates into a more equitable distribution of public investment can be seen in the case studies presented in chapters 4-6.

Additionally, these chapters demonstrate that while the inclusivity of the urban governance regime is critical in shaping the distribution of public investment in service delivery, it does not tell the entire story. For example, in the Cape Town community of Philippi, civil society is fragmented and does not present a cohesive voice in making demands on the state for local service provision. It is therefore unable to engage in the urban governance coalition. However, the local state has still made significant efforts to direct public investment toward the area. Many of these efforts have not successfully met the needs of residents because of the absence of effective engagement with the community around how to best prioritize and meet local needs.

This case highlights the importance of the second key component of the urban governance regime – the bureaucratic nature of the state. In Philippi, it is the cohesive bureaucratic structure of the municipal state that plays a critical role in better equipping the government to engage in public investment in poorer communities in the city. However, the fragmented bureaucratic structure of the municipal state in Johannesburg has made it more difficult for the government to create a comprehensive plan that invests public resources in historically disadvantaged areas of the city. Thus, while the creation of an inclusive urban governance coalition is critical in ensuring that the needs of subordinate civil society are heard, it is also critical that the local state have a cohesive bureaucracy that allows it to implement a developmental agenda.

MUNICIPAL BUREAUCREACY AND SERVICE DELIVERY

The politics of municipal governance influence not only how demands are made for services but also the ways in which services are delivered. In Johannesburg, service

provision has changed dramatically since the end of apartheid with the municipal government reducing its level of control over delivery. As noted previously, structural theorists have argued that the adoption of neoliberal policies has meant that the delivery of municipal services is increasingly being privatized and driven by cost recovery (Bakker 2003). This limits public accountability over these institutions and focuses the incentives of the service providers on profit generation rather than cost sharing across the municipality (Brenner and Theodore 2002). Additionally, by privatizing municipal service providers into separate entities and reducing state oversight, the tasks of coordination across providers and coordination of provider activities with the broader planning goals of the municipal state are likely to become more difficult. In the context of South Africa, this has the potential to limit the development of the cohesive municipal plans that are necessary to direct public resources toward those areas of the city with the greatest needs. Instead, a lack of cohesion is likely to amplify the particularistic distribution of resources associated with the clientelistic political ties described in Johannesburg.

In South Africa, the creation of a cohesive municipal plan that guides how public resources are invested is an important function of the IDP. As mandated by the Municipal Systems Act of 2000, the IDPs are to be accompanied by a Spatial Development Framework (SDF), which adds a spatial component to the use of public revenues to break down the differentiated urban spaces created under apartheid. Spatial planning has the potential to allow for integrated priorities across the city and ensure that public resources are directed toward those areas with the greatest needs rather than being diverted to those parts of the city that have already seen substantial investment (Watson 2002). To the

extent that these plans are successfully designed and implemented, they offer the potential to effectively address the urban inequalities inherited from apartheid. However, the creation of spatial plans and adherence to their guidelines relies on the coordination of municipal agencies and service providers in order to ensure that actions correspond to municipal priorities. The fact that Johannesburg has more readily adopted reforms that fragment the municipal bureaucracy has influenced its relative ineffectiveness in focusing public investment in historically disadvantaged areas. On the other hand, the fact that Cape Town has maintained a cohesive bureaucracy has allowed for more redistributive uses of public investment even in those instances where there has not been effective generation of state-society synergy.

Bureaucratic Fragmentation in Johannesburg

Faced with a fiscal shortfall, the administrative structure of Johannesburg was dramatically overhauled with the implementation of the iGoli 2002 plan. It has been argued that the gravity of the fiscal crisis was overstated in order to justify the ANC's desire to implement a more neoliberal approach toward local governance (Beall et al 2002). Because of the urban governance dynamics described above, efforts to resist this shift were effectively silenced in favor of the goals of the party. While structural theories often argue that the adoption of neoliberal policies is a result of constrained state options in the face of mobile capital, the case of Johannesburg demonstrates that these decisions are inherently political. Here, the adoption of neoliberal policies was a response to an exaggeration of the financial crisis in order to serve the interests of the party and business. The intent of iGoli was to address the fiscal situation by managing the city more

like a business. A key component was the corporatization of city-owned entities in order to ease the city's short-term cash shortfall while theoretically improving the efficiency of service delivery (Murray 2008). In practice this meant that the city's service providers, Johannesburg Water, City Power, and Pikitup (the trash collection agency) were given significantly greater autonomy and independence in decision making as well as funding. The city remained the only shareholder in these agencies so they cannot be characterized as wholly privatized, however, the city does not exercise direct control over their actions. Instead, the company appoints members to the board of each entity that exercises influence on the city's behalf. Therefore, while these providers are owned by the city, they are privately managed (Murray 2008). There has also been an outsourcing of service provision contracts, decreasing municipal oversight of delivery. As an official with Johannesburg Water explained; while the entity is owned by the city, its board decided to contract out delivery of water services to Suez Lyonnaise des Eaux, a French company (Interview July 8, 2009).

The corporatization of service providers has created a situation in which the direct influence of the city over the operations of these entities takes place at an arm's length. One municipal official characterized the service providers as not acting wholly independently of municipal control but also not integrated into the city administration (Interview January 15, 2011). A state official who was charged with coordinating this activity stated that until very recently, there was no formal mechanism for coordination between the city and the service departments and engagement occurred only through informal processes (Interview August 16, 2010). As a result, city planners have very little leverage over these relatively autonomous service providers (Interview with municipal

planning official April 15, 2009). As noted by bureaucrats within the city as well as service providers, the service departments do not view themselves as a part of the city structure but instead are run as independent businesses (Interview April 15, 2009; Interview July 8, 2009). This lack of coordination in service delivery can be seen in an example provided by an official in the land use planning department who argued that the coordination had been so poor that when upgrading an area, Johannesburg Water had laid water lines and not long after, the Johannesburg Roads Administration came through and tore them all out in order to put in new roads (Interview August 16, 2010). While service provision in Johannesburg has not been wholly privatized, it is also not well integrated. There is certainly not the degree of intra-state coherence that Chibber (2002) argues is necessary for implementing developmental agendas. This has made it more difficult for municipal officials to ensure that a cohesive plan for public investment in those areas of greatest need is not sidetracked by the aims of individual service providers or the kinds of clientelistic political ties described previously.

Bureaucratic Cohesion in Cape Town

Unlike in Johannesburg, the service departments in Cape Town have remained subject to the control of the municipal state. There had however been discussion of privatization of services in a manner similar to the trail blazed by officials in Johannesburg. McDonald and Smith (2002) find that in Cape Town, senior officials were more reticent about the privatization of basic services such as water, electricity, and sanitation while ward councilors tended to favor the shift. The reasons given by those who were more cautious about privatization frequently center on the fact that the state has

greater capacity to provide services because services represent a public good. There is recognition that the cost recovery model that drove service provision in Johannesburg is likely inappropriate when you have a large segment of the population that cannot afford to pay for services. As one respondent noted “the result of privatizing an area like sewerage to the private sector is that if payment isn’t received, you will end up seeing sewerage running down the street” (Quoted in McDonald and Smith 2002:7). Another municipal manager noted that “If poor people can’t pay for a service... local government can arrange for flexible forms of payment. The private sector isn’t flexible when it comes to payment” (Quoted in McDonald and Smith 2002:7). Proponents of privatization, on the other hand, used much of the neoliberal rhetoric of greater competition and efficiency to argue their case.

In the end, Cape Town did not engage in the same sweeping efforts at corporatization that Johannesburg saw. This was due in part to the political competition that characterizes Cape Town’s politics and is absent in Johannesburg. In Cape Town, members of the more conservative DA were vocal advocates of privatization. Opposition to this stance provided the ANC an opportunity to gain electoral appeal among the city’s poor (McDonald and Smith 2002). This stance was taken even though opposition to privatization did not align with views held in the ANC’s national party structure. Political competition in Cape Town and the incentive to be responsive to constituents rather than the party elite provided the space for more independent political action and the maintenance of greater bureaucratic cohesion. In Cape Town, the ANC used the Municipal Systems Act to challenge privatization. This act required the municipal council to consider internal service delivery mechanisms before contracting out those functions.

The challenge was initially upheld, making privatization a slower more cumbersome process in Cape Town (Miraftab 2004). However, in 2002, the ruling was overturned, allowing the city to more actively pursue privatization. However, despite some small-scale outsourcing (McDonald 2008, Miraftab 2004, McDonald and Smith 2002), Cape Town has still not seen the large scale corporatization witnessed in Johannesburg. All service provision departments remain securely under the control of the municipal state.

To the extent that privatization segregates service delivery functions from the broader planning agenda of the municipal state, limitations on privatization are important in creating a more equitable distribution of public investment. If the state is unable to influence how service providers use funds and prioritize projects, it is increasingly difficult to ensure that public investment is directed toward areas of greatest need. The lack of corporatization in Cape Town has allowed municipal planners and service provision departments to form a more cohesive approach to public investment than their counterparts in Johannesburg. This can be seen in the creation of the city's SDFs. In contrast to the city of Johannesburg's history of informal coordination among service departments, the process of creating a spatial plan for directing investment throughout Cape Town includes integration and interaction between a variety of municipal agencies. In Cape Town, this process involves the identification of overall planning goals by the municipal government. These priorities are then distributed to planners in each of the city's submunicipal planning districts to identify local points of concern. These submunicipal planners, representatives of all of the municipal service providers, and planning departments then gather to parse out the details of how local resources are to be used in achieving broad municipal goals (Meeting July 30, 2008). This process creates an

arena for ensuring communication and integration between service providers and broader goals for municipal development. Officials within service departments have argued that the resultant SDFs have been influential in guiding where they invest their attention and resources (Interview July 18, 2008). While the influence of spatial planning has had a contentious history in Cape Town (Watson 2002), municipal planners argue that it has increasingly become an integral part of decisions regarding the allocation of municipal resources (Interview July 30, 2009). One activist and municipal official described the city's spatial planning department as the nucleus of the city (Interview July 23, 2009).

The integration of departments in Cape Town also carries over to ensuring coordination in areas needing particular attention. For example, according to an official tasked with addressing needs in informal settlements, the city was among the first to establish a department to deal with coordination of service provision in informal settlements (Interview January 7, 2011). Begun in 2002, this department coordinates all of the city's line departments to ensure that national guidelines for service delivery in informal settlements are being met. This includes coordinating provision of water, toilets, and sanitation as mandated by national guidelines. Additionally, Cape Town has also made the provision of electricity, which is not a nationally mandated requirement for informal settlements, a part of its agenda (Interview with municipal official January 7, 2011).

CONCLUSION

Since the end of apartheid, residents in Cape Town's historically disadvantaged communities have seen significantly greater improvement in access to capability-

enhancing services than their counterparts in Johannesburg. This is consistent with an acknowledgement in the literature that Cape Town has been able to more successfully promote both pro-poor and pro-growth strategies relative to Johannesburg (Lemanski 2007). This divergence cannot be explained merely by variation in resources or population changes. Instead we must look to the urban governance regimes of each city. Political competition and local party dynamics have made Cape Town's urban governance coalition more inclusive than that in Johannesburg. This has allowed civil society groups in historically disadvantaged communities to effectively engage with the state and make demands for resources. In Johannesburg on the other hand, the uncontested power of the ANC incentivizes the use of political channels as a mechanism for engagement with the state. Residents without access to political connections have limited options for engaging with the state since independent civil society groups are seen as a threat to the status quo of power dynamics in the city and are therefore sidelined from the urban governance coalition.

While the inclusivity of the urban governance coalition is critical in ensuring the effective delivery of services, it cannot explain the full extent of the variation in the allocation of public resources between these two cities. This highlights the importance of the second component of the urban governance regime – the cohesiveness of the municipal bureaucracy. As the case of Philippi in Chapter 5 will demonstrate, even in communities where state-civil society engagement is absent in Cape Town, the improvement in access to services surpasses their counterparts in Johannesburg. It is clear that the lack of engagement between the state and community in Philippi has resulted in public investment that does not always meet the needs of residents. However, the fact that

the state is investing in the area despite this lack of engagement suggests that in addition to the urban governance coalition in Cape Town being more inclusive, there are other factors that make it better able to direct public resources toward historically disadvantaged communities; specifically the bureaucratic cohesion of the state. This is in contrast to the fragmented bureaucracy in Johannesburg that has resulted from a move to corporatize municipal services and has limited the effectiveness of efforts to systematically address urban deprivation.

Variation in the urban governance regime can be explained by differences in the political contexts of these two cities. The dominance of the ANC in Johannesburg has led to the creation of an exclusive urban governance coalition and a fragmented bureaucracy that is ineffective in coordinating development efforts across the space of the city. On the other hand, political competition in Cape Town has opened space for a more synergistic relationship between the state and civil society and has incentivized the maintenance of a relatively cohesive municipal bureaucracy. The case studies presented in the following chapters examine how these dynamics influence public investment in capability-enhancing services in particular types of communities in each city. While the trends outlined above hold true at the municipal level, there is variation in the way these patterns play out locally, providing an opportunity to better understand how inclusion and bureaucratic cohesion influence the provision of capability-enhancing services and prospects for local development.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE PROVISION IN TOWNSHIPS

Under apartheid, townships saw high levels of poverty, limited public investment, and a severe lack of access to capability-enhancing services. While severely deprived, these areas were also centers of mass mobilization in the anti-apartheid struggle. It was in townships such as Soweto and Khayelitsha that many anti-apartheid leaders were born and earned their struggle credentials. Following democratic transition, many of these activists found themselves in positions of political power in the newly formed democratic government. Because of these experiences and histories, in the post-apartheid era, there was considerable acknowledgement of the necessity of expanding township residents' access to capability-enhancing services. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, these needs were acknowledged in various pieces of post-apartheid legislation. Because of the historical lack of service provision and the potential to address these issues in the post-apartheid era, townships represent an important setting for understanding how urban governance regimes influence the allocation of public investment in capability-enhancing services.

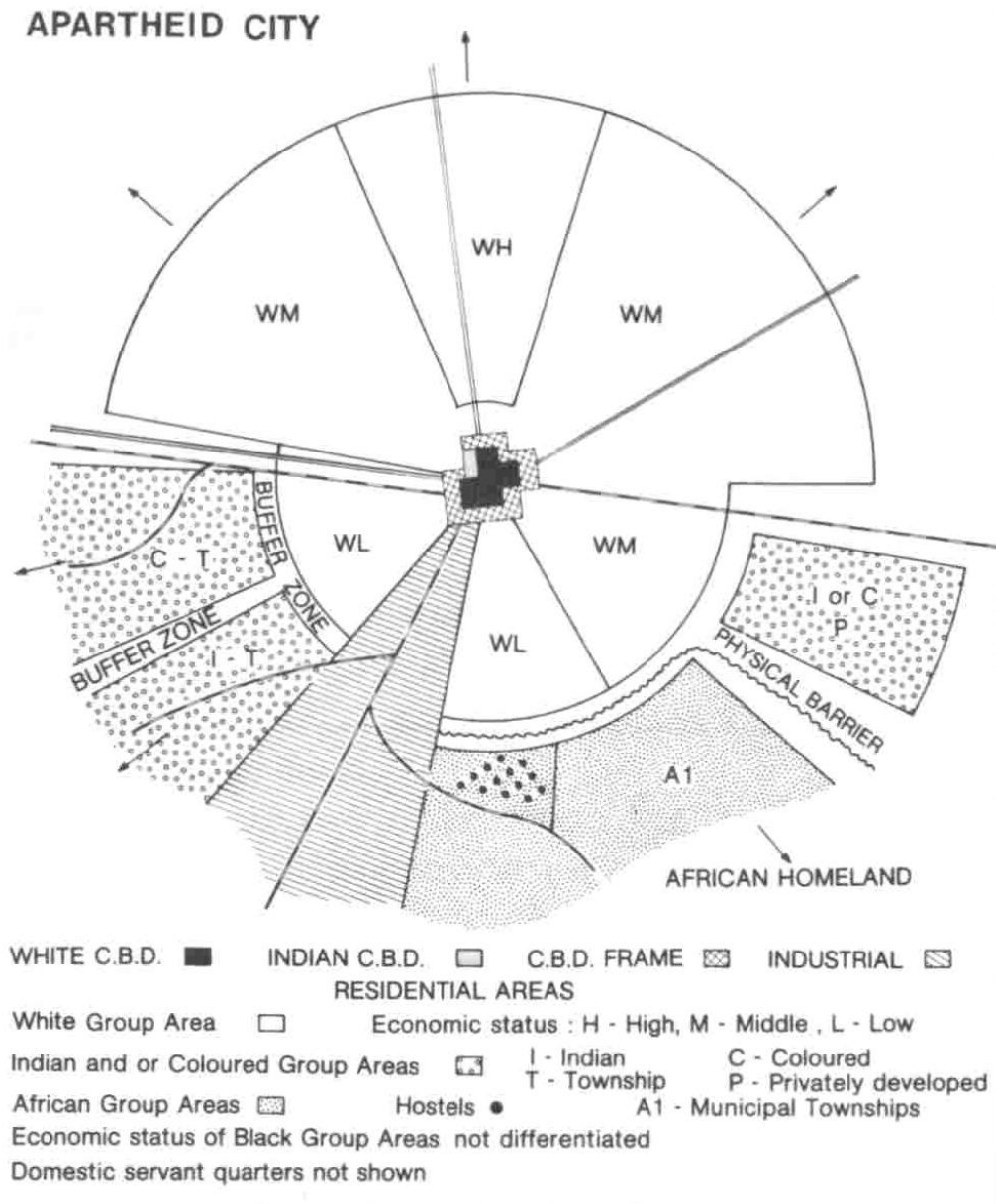
THE ORIGINS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED SEGREGATION AND FORMATION OF TOWNSHIPS

As the manifestation of overlapping social and spatial inequalities, apartheid-era townships – the areas of the city reserved for non-white residents - represent the epitome of the system's urban inequality. Under apartheid, Africans were forced to live in rural homelands and pay taxes at a rate the local economy could not support, in effect, driving African men into cities in search of income to support families in the homelands. In the cities, these workers provided a cheap labor force for the booming gold and diamond mines as well as the servant class for white families. With the evolution of apartheid

legislation, these non-white urban laborers were forced to live in spatially peripheral, under-serviced, and racially homogeneous townships. This correspondence of categorical boundaries of race with spatial boundaries meant that racial inequalities would become magnified and more deeply entrenched (Massey 2007). The spatial segregation of one group from another enables the powerful to more easily concentrate their resources in areas where they are able to reap the benefits.

Apartheid marked an extreme example of how the interplay between racial categories and spatial segregation could provide a regrettably efficient and effective mechanism for concentrating resources along corresponding racial and spatial axes. Residential divisions under apartheid clearly represented this congruence of racial hierarchies and spatial segregation. Through the Group Areas Act, cities were divided into various geographic segments, each set aside for the residential and economic use of a particular racial group. Those who had been living in an area subsequently designated for a racial classification other than their own were forced to move into their group's corresponding area. Each group area was intended to be self-sufficient in terms of commercial, educational, and community facilities. As implemented through the Group Areas Act and subsequent legislation, the goal was to create complete residential, economic, and social segregation, thereby minimizing interaction between racial groups and eliminating competition over land (Christopher 2000). The ideal vision for this segregated city is illustrated in Figure 4a.

Figure 4a. The Ideal of the Apartheid City.



Source: Davies (1981:69).

Segregation served not only to separate racial groups but also to ensure that the vast majority of resources were concentrated in white areas. Across South Africa, the central business district of each city was incorporated into white group areas, ensuring privileged access to the economic nodes of the country. In contrast, non-white townships

were peripherally located and the potential for movement between group areas was limited by various planning and legal mechanisms. First, between each group area, undeveloped space was intentionally set aside as a buffer zone in order to clearly distinguish one area from the next and prevent inter-racial interaction. Second, road and transport networks were constructed in a manner that provided limited transportation connections between group areas. While both of these mechanisms served to physically define the spatial boundaries between racial groups, it was the notorious Pass Laws that provided the legal basis for ensuring that racial boundaries were not crossed. The Natives Act of 1952, more commonly known as the Pass Laws, required non-whites to carry documentation verifying their demographic and employment information. These documents were required to be immediately presented to police upon request. Individuals were only permitted to be outside their designated group area when they were working as evidenced in their passbook. Protest of these Pass Laws in the township of Sharpeville in 1960 led to one of the most notorious incidents of police brutality against anti-apartheid activists. In what became known as the Sharpeville Massacre, 69 people were killed and over 180 injured, many shot in the back by the police as they tried to flee. This incident focused widespread international attention on the brutality of apartheid.

SERVICE PROVISION IN APARTHEID TOWNSHIPS

As noted, the spatial segregation of racial groups into townships served not only to limit racial interaction but also to concentrate resources in white areas while neglecting investment in non-white areas. This is particularly true in the case of the capability-enhancing services described previously. Under apartheid and until today, service

provision in formerly white areas has been far superior to any other part of the city. This is a result of the mechanisms for public investment and resource allocation associated with the apartheid city. Township residents, particularly Africans, were viewed by the apartheid state as merely temporary urban laborers rather than permanent residents (Turok 1994). This meant that state investment in African townships was minimal. The state worried that investment in basic services in these areas would attract Africans from the homelands at a rate quicker than they could be absorbed into the labor force, leading to unregulated and permanent African settlement in the city. Thus, under-investment in townships was an explicit strategy by the state to prevent expansion of the urban African population. The process of managing the minimal state investment that occurred did not initially reside with township residents but was instead controlled by the white central city management. In response to growing opposition to this system from township residents, Local Authorities were established for each group area and given significant fiscal responsibility over service provision. In the townships, financial resources allocated for service provision were to come from the corresponding group area's tax revenue. Particularly in African townships, where the ownership of businesses was limited in size and scope and homeownership was prohibited, the amount of tax revenue available for local investment in basic services was minimal.

The creation of Local Authorities served to further entrench the correlation between spatial segregation and categorical inequality identified by Massey (2007). The correspondence of racial, residential, business, and tax boundaries guaranteed that the poor, under-resourced, under-employed, and under-serviced areas of the city would directly correspond to non-white areas. While the African labor force was already earning

sub-standard wages, they were further exploited to the extent that their labor generated the tax revenue used to make the city run, however, public investment failed to make its way back to their communities. Instead, the profits of their labor were concentrated in white communities for investment in the kind of capability-enhancing services that allowed for greater opportunity hoarding by investing in infrastructure, business, and education. The institution of the Local Authorities only furthered this structure as it drastically cut the responsibility of the central municipal government in overseeing local development in the townships (Turok 1994). In opposition to this configuration, the slogan of “one-city-one tax base” became a powerful rallying cry in South Africa’s townships as residents demanded to see the benefits of municipal public investment. It wasn’t until after the collapse of apartheid that each city finally underwent a process of demarcation in which tax boundaries were redrawn to be more inclusive of former white as well as non-white communities, thus offering greater potential for spatial redistribution and equitable public investment across the city (Cameron 2004).

Because townships are home to a large segment of the urban population and because of their history of neglect, it is particularly important to examine if and how potential for greater equity in service provision has translated into actual transformation in the townships of urban South Africa. The two largest African townships in Cape Town and Johannesburg – Khayelitsha and Soweto respectively – are examined to provide a better understanding of if and how access to services has changed and the mechanisms that contribute to variation in provision. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, residents in Cape Town have generally seen larger improvements in access to capability-enhancing services than those in Johannesburg. As evidenced in tables 4-1 and 4-2, these trends are even

more pronounced when examining African townships¹⁵. While Soweto initially had higher levels of delivery, Khayelitsha's residents have in many ways been able to catch up. Given that Soweto was and continues to be home to many of the county's political elite, was the center of the anti-apartheid struggle, and has a broader economic base; the dramatic improvements in Khayelitsha are all the more surprising when compared with relative stagnation in delivery in Soweto. Households in Khayelitsha have seen a much larger increase in access to electricity and trash collection than those in Soweto. However, the proportion of households in Khayelitsha with access to toilets has seen a slightly larger decline. Across all of these services, residents in Khayelitsha saw an average improvement of 8.63 percentage points while residents in Soweto saw an average improvement of 1.66 percentage points. The magnitude of improvement in service provision in Khayelitsha relative to Soweto is even more impressive given the higher portion of informal residences in Khayelitsha.¹⁶

¹⁵ While in Chapter 2 it was possible to provide municipal level service provision figures for 2007, as noted earlier, this was based on a survey whose sample size is too small to break out at a sub-municipal level. Therefore, in examining Khayelitsha and Soweto, comparisons are based on the 1996 and 2001 census from Stats SA.

¹⁶ According to the 2001 Census, approximately 67% of the dwellings in Khayelitsha were informal compared to 23% in Soweto.

Table 4-1. Service Delivery in Khayelitsha.

	% with service 1996 ¹⁷ (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	Change
Electricity for lighting	67.12 (43,010)	75.31 (62,655)	+8.19
Trash collection at least once a week	67.17 (43,043)	93.00 (77,374)	+25.83
Chemical or flush toilet	70.30 (45,049)	62.16 (51,719)	-8.14

Table 4-2. Service Delivery in Soweto.

	% with service 1996 ¹⁸ (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	Change
Electricity for lighting	86.87 (220,677)	86.65 (276,442)	-0.22
Trash collection at least once a week	83.73 (212,695)	93.60 (298,614)	+9.87
Chemical or flush toilet	93.44 (237,378)	88.76 (283,159)	-4.68

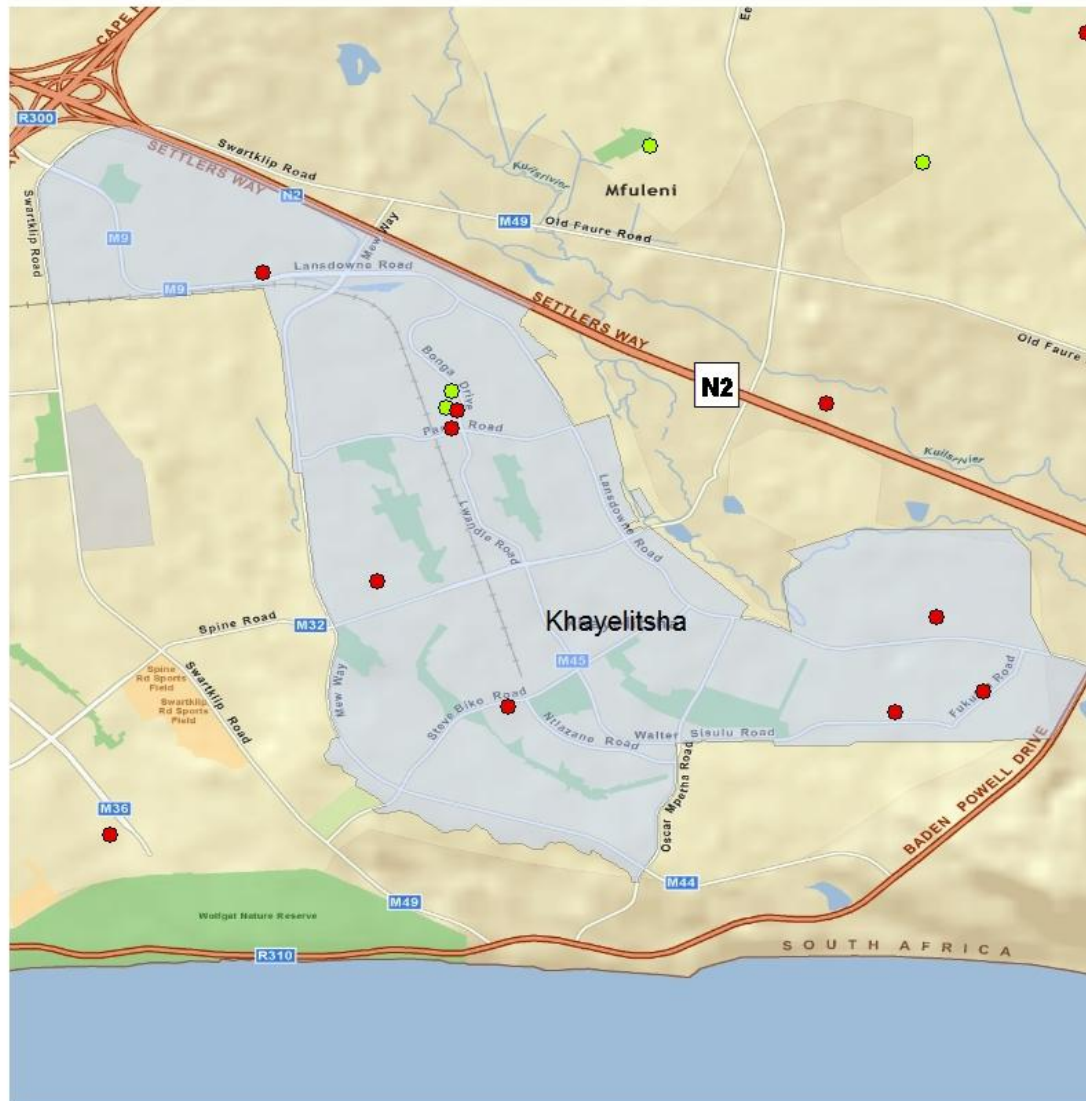
A similar trend can be seen with regard to access to healthcare facilities in each township. In Khayelitsha, Figure 4b shows that since 1994, two new health facilities have been built in the community. Additionally, a new hospital is being constructed in the area that has yet to be completed and therefore does not appear on this map. However, in

¹⁷ As noted in Chapter 2, in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, the 1996 figures include an unspecified category. In 2001 and 2007, Stats SA reapportioned these responses based on their weighting formula. Since I am unable to follow the same process, I have dropped the 1996 unspecified responses from the total household count in 1996.

¹⁸ As noted in Chapter 2, in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, the 1996 figures include an unspecified category. In 2001 and 2007, Stats SA reapportioned these responses based on their weighting formula. Since I am unable to follow the same process, I have dropped the 1996 unspecified responses from the total household count in 1996.

Soweto, only one new facility has been built. The implications of this divergence are magnified by the fact that Soweto has a substantially larger population than Khayelitsha.

Figure 4b. Healthcare Facilities in Khayelitsha.



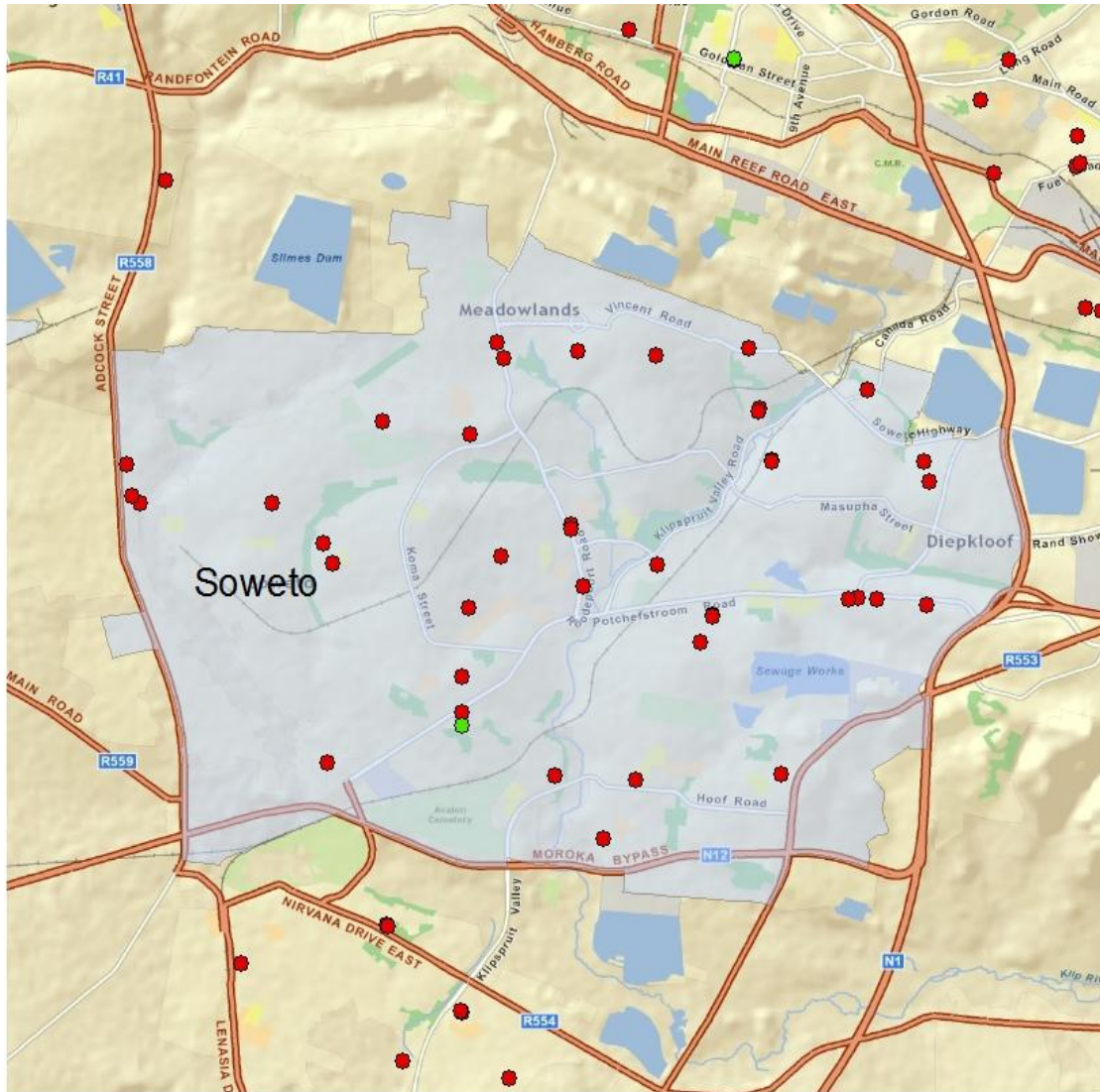
Legend

- Health Facilities Built Prior to 1994
- Health Facilities Built After 1994

■ Khayelitsha



Figure 4c. Healthcare Facilities in Soweto.



Legend

- Health Facilities Built Prior to 1994
- Health Facilities Built After 1994
- Soweto



EXPLAINING VARIATION BETWEEN KHAYELITSHA AND SOWETO

Based on numerous interviews with community activists, representatives of NGOs, local residents, and municipal officials, it is argued that the difference in provision of capability-enhancing services between these two townships is a result of variation in the inclusion of community voices in the urban governance coalitions. This variation is specifically impacted by the different channels available to residents to make demands on the local state. The spaces for engagement in Khayelitsha allow community demands to be incorporated into the broader urban governance regime, while the potential channels for engagement in Soweto are ineffective or dysfunctional, providing communities little representation in the urban governance coalition and instead privileging political interests.

Miraftab's (2004) distinction between invited and invented spaces provides a useful framework for understanding the types of community organization present in each township as well as offering insight into the variation in state-civil society engagement that is observed.

“‘Invited’ spaces are defined as the ones occupied by those grassroots and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions. ‘Invented’ spaces are those, also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo. While the former grassroots actions are geared mostly toward providing the poor with coping mechanisms and propositions to support survival of their informal membership, the grassroots activity of the latter challenges the status quo in the hope of larger societal change and resistance to the dominant power relations” (Miraftab 2004:1).

For Miraftab, invited spaces are limited in the amount of change they are able to facilitate. She sees greater potential in the more revolutionary invented spaces of civil society. While the distinction between invited and invented spaces in Cape Town and

Johannesburg is useful in distinguishing between types of engagement between subordinate civil society and the state, its relationship to the efficacy of civil society is not as straight forward as MirafTAB claims and is instead dependent on the varying governance regimes in these two cities.

In Khayelitsha, both invented and invited spaces provide opportunities for citizens to engage with the state regarding access to capability-enhancing services. As a result of synergistic engagement as well as direct confrontation, the township has seen significant improvements in service delivery. In Soweto however, invited spaces serve not as a bottom-up arena for demand making but instead as an arena for solidifying the interests and top-down control of the ruling ANC. The poorest citizens, who are unable to effectively challenge state action through invited spaces, are forced to make demands on the state through invented spaces, which are seen by the state as illegitimate and a threat to party dominance. These organizations therefore, have had more limited success in furthering access to capability-enhancing services. The contrasting dynamics of engagement between the state and subordinate civil society in these two cities provide insight into why community interests are represented in the urban governance regime in Cape Town and not in Johannesburg as argued in Chapter 3.

Khayelitsha

The development of Khayelitsha.

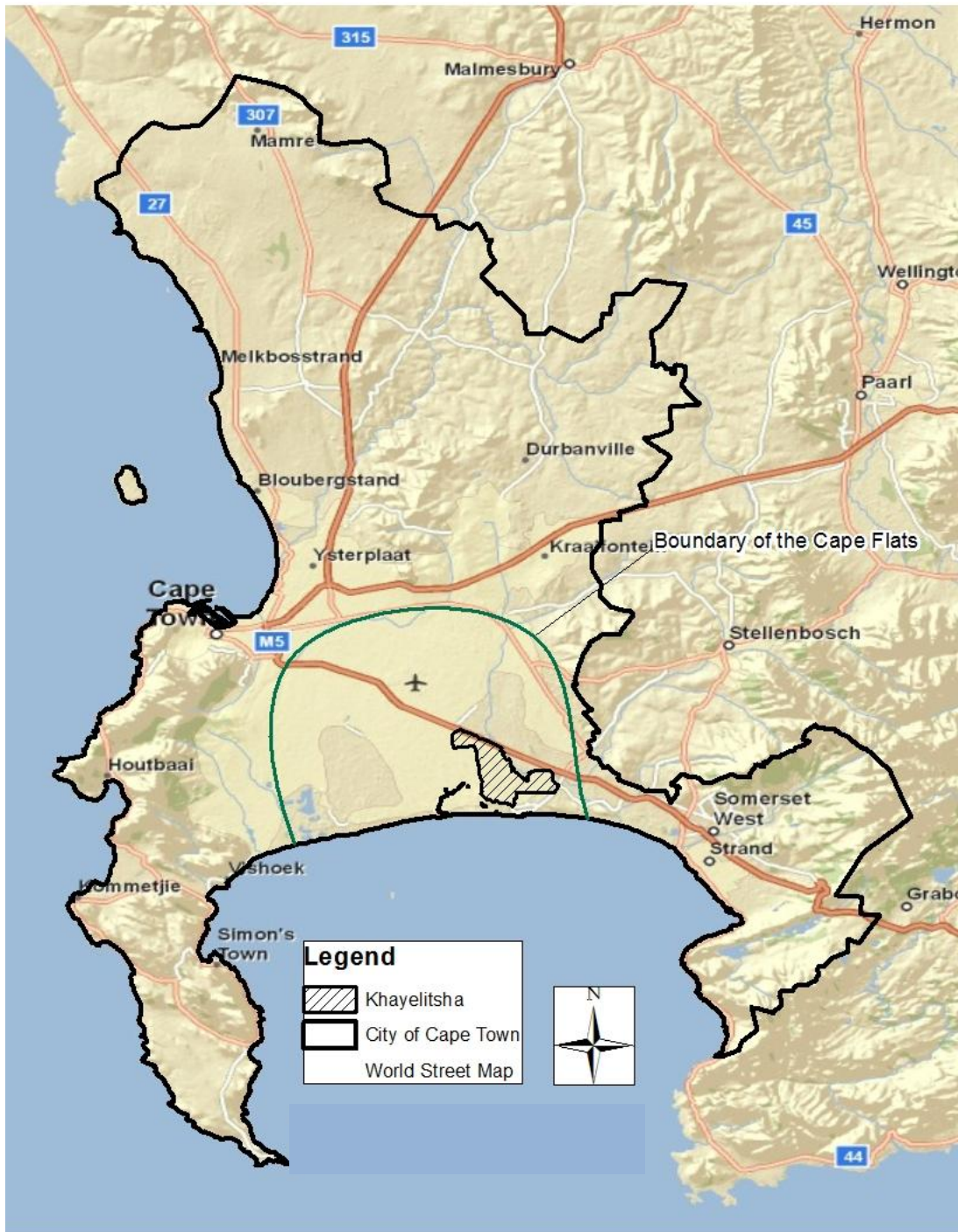
As in the rest of South Africa, the Group Areas Act institutionalized segregation in Cape Town on the basis of racial categories. Those communities in close proximity of the CBD were declared white areas and any non-whites living there were forcibly moved

to an area referred to as the Cape Flats; an undeveloped, flood-prone, sandy stretch of land on the opposite side of the city's iconic Table Mountain. In its implementation of the Group Areas Act, the city had become a test case for resettling urban African residents to the homelands. These efforts were justified on the basis that Africans had no historical claims to this part of the country. "Whatever claim, morally, or otherwise, the Natives have in other parts of the Union, they have no real claim to be here in the Western Province at all. It is within the memory of many people today that there was a time that a Native was unknown in the Peninsula" (EG Jansen as cited in Bickford-Smith 1999:173). In the early 1950s, the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs pushed for a moratorium on any further African settlement in the city and the eventual relocation of all Africans - even those with legal employment - out of Cape Town. For an extended period after 1954, there was no further development of housing in the already existing African townships of Langa and Nyanga. In 1952, as part of an amendment to the Natives Act, the government limited the amount of time African job seekers were allowed to spend in the city looking for employment to three days. By 1954, the potential for Africans to find employment in Cape Town was again limited as the Western Cape was identified as a Labour Preference area for coloureds, meaning that Africans could not be hired for a position if there was a potential coloured employee available. Because apartheid restrictions linked urban residence for non-whites with employment, this significantly decreased the possibilities for Africans to legally reside in the city.

While these restrictions limited Africans' access to Cape Town, changing economic conditions proved them to be unsustainable. As occurred elsewhere in the country (Crankshaw 1996), the demand for cheap labor soon outstripped the available

white and coloured labor force. In response, employers demanded that the government provide for a larger legal labor force in the city. In the 1960s and 1970s, the number of both legal and illegal African residents of Cape Town increased dramatically (Bickford-Smith 1999). As the existing African townships were unable to absorb the growing population, the government established the new township of Khayelitsha, forcibly relocating squatters from the townships of Nyanga and Crossroads to this spatially peripheral area.

Figure 4d. Map of Khayelitsha in Cape Town.



Description of Khayelitsha.

Khayelitsha extends along the southern side of the N2 highway to False Bay in the southeastern corner of the Cape Flats. The township is separated from the large coloured township of Mitchell's Plain to the west by an extensive undeveloped buffer area, a legacy of the apartheid buffers illustrated in Figure 4a. With approximately 320,000 residents (Stats SA 2001 Census), Khayelitsha is the largest African township in Cape Town. Residents live in a variety of housing types. The majority of dwellings in the area consist of the apartheid-era state provided housing often referred to as "matchbox houses" - small uniform brick structures located on small plots of land. Under apartheid, the government built and owned these homes, leasing them to residents on 99 year leases. However, since democratic transition, the titles to these houses have been transferred to their occupants. In some of the backyards of these homes, shacks have been erected out of corrugated metal or other inexpensive building material. These backyard shacks often house relatives of the homeowner or are rented out to supplement the householder's income. Since the lifting of influx controls at the end of apartheid, many migrants have arrived in Cape Town looking for work, largely from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape (Bickford-Smith 1999) and many have established informal settlements in the open spaces of Khayelitsha. Housing in these settlements generally consists of corrugated metal shacks, which are densely packed into small areas. Constructed as an African township, Khayelitsha has seen virtually no racial change. By 2001, about 99.5% of the population was categorized as African (Stats SA 2001).

Community engagement with the state.

In townships, as elsewhere in South African cities, ward councilors are designated to serve as local-level representatives of the municipal state, ensuring that community needs are able to find a voice in government decisions. For reasons described in Chapter 3, this channel rarely provides an effective mechanism for making demands on the state. In Khayelitsha, some ward councilors are described as being marginally effective, however, most are seen as a barrier to development if they are seen at all. The director of a local NGO argued that when she tries to initiate development programs in Khayelitsha, she goes directly to the community and bypasses the ward councilor, who is described as being a negative influence and an obstacle to local development (Interview May 27, 2009). An official from another community organization lamented that although ward councillors are supposed to visit every organization in their ward, the local councillor has been conspicuously absent (Interview June 2, 2009). When they are involved in local issues, councilors are often described as motivated by personal political gain rather than the well-being of the communities they represent. As a leader of a local NGO noted: “You know these politicians might have their own agendas, but I know I have to involve them at some stage” (Interview May 27, 2009). In Khayelitsha, the general consensus is that the ward councilor system has proven to be ineffective in creating state-society synergy and fostering local development. This means that in order for community demands around service provision to be channeled into state decision making processes, engagement must take place through alternate arenas. Alternative channels for engagement exist within the space of subordinate civil society through both the “invited

space” of the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF) as well as the “invented space” of the Anti-Eviction Campaign (AEC).

The Khayelitsha Development Forum.

In addressing community issues, including those related to service delivery, Khayelitsha is exceptionally well organized (Thompson and Nleya 2010). One of the key players in the community is the KDF, which would be considered an invited space of civil society (Miraftab 2004). Soon after transition, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was adopted as a means of addressing the massive inequalities inherited from apartheid. In 1995, the National Reconstruction and Development Office issued the Urban Development Strategy, which identified good services and infrastructure and participative planning as crucial in facilitating local development, particularly in the townships (Mabin and Smit 1997). As described previously, one of the mechanisms for facilitating this expansion of services and community participation was the creation of community development forums. It was from this structure that the KDF emerged. The policy shift from RDP to GEAR in 1996 replaced these forums with the ward committee structure described in Chapter 3. Now, without municipal government backing and seen as a threat to the singular local power of the ward councilor, many of these forums disbanded. In Khayelitsha, however, the local development forum, the KDF, continued to evolve and remains an important organizer of community interests as well as a key arbiter between residents and the local government. Residents frequently refer to the KDF as the local facilitator of development. As one NGO employee noted, “In Khayelitsha you go through the KDF.... They have become the de facto group to go

through, more so than [ward committee] subcouncils. They are the de facto power broker” (Interview May 27, 2009).

As it exists today, the KDF is a non-statutory body whose organizational structure reaches throughout the township, crossing boundaries both geographically and politically. Its primary objectives include ensuring “effective community participation in the formulation of [the] reconstruction and development programme and to ensure that all parties participate in the process.” As well as “to lobby, advocate, co-operate, affiliate/associate with other organizations including civic, women, labour, business, youth, religious, disabled, local government and other spheres of government, and any other bodies pursuing similar aims and objectives as the Khayelitsha Development Forum” (KDF 2011). The KDF thereby aims to position itself as a central node in a network of actors seeking to foster local development in the township. Organizational membership is open to “all bodies, forums, and organizations in the Khayelitsha community which accepts the aims and objectives of the Khayelitsha Development Forum” (KDF 2010). In addition to these bodies, the local ward development forums are automatically given membership.

Khayelitsha is composed of 12 distinct ward boundaries and it was recognized that in a community this large, any viable community structure that purported to represent the diversity of residents’ needs must have multiple levels of organization. At the top, the leadership of the KDF is elected every three years at an organizational conference. This executive committee consists of the Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, and Deputy Secretary. Within the KDF structure, there are a number of committees that deal

with specific sectoral needs in the community. These include issues of local economic development; spatial planning; transport, roads, cleansing and storm water; public works; and education. Leaders of each sector are also represented as part of the executive committee, which meets on a weekly basis. Each position on the executive committee is elected to a three year term. Every other month, the executive committee holds a plenary meeting in which committee members meet with representatives of all member organizations, reporting on the projects in which the KDF has been engaged as well as listening to community needs. In addition to these organization-wide structures, each ward has its own KDF structure. There are 12 ward-level forums that represent more localized needs and report back to the executive committee on a monthly basis. The executives of the ward committee forums are community members who volunteer their time to the KDF and are elected every two years. In addition to the ward committee executive, the ward forums are comprised of ward-level interests such as NGOs and religious, business, and community leaders from across political divisions.

Although Khayelitsha is an ANC stronghold and there is substantial potential for alliances with the party, at its inception the KDF took an ardently non-partisan position and embodied a sense that if development was undertaken through individual political parties it would devolve into political bickering and power grabs. Its non-partisan nature has remained an important feature in the effectiveness and survival of the organization. As a leader of the KDF stated, “politically affiliated development is a recipe for disaster” (Interview April 6, 2009). While its members come from a variety of political backgrounds, the organization has prioritized its non-partisan stance in an effort to bypass the claims of individual parties that they must be given credit for local development. This

allows development to proceed more quickly and not be sidetracked by particularistic political interests. In many ways, this process is at direct odds with the approach incentivized by the local ward councilor system in which personal political gain is often prioritized above broader community development (Benit-Gbaffou 2008). This non-partisan position has also enabled the organization to maintain its support from the municipal government regardless of which party is in power. This is especially important in Cape Town where virtually every local election sees a switch in the ruling party between the ANC and its main rival, the DA.

KDF Engagement with Local Government

In many South African communities, ward councilors have undermined community forums such as the KDF, seeing them as a threat to their own visibility and power (Seekings 1998). However, in Khayelitsha, the KDF has maintained its strength in the community and has not succumbed to pressures from ward councilors. In general, the relationship between the KDF and councilors has been relatively congenial. Councilors serve as *ex officio* members of the KDF ward forums and participate in the plenary sessions, however, they are not necessarily particularly active participants in these structures. One KDF ward forum leader noted that the councilor used to work with them but “he got lost somewhere along the way” (Interview June 5, 2009). This lack of involvement, however, was not viewed as an obstacle to fostering local development. The same ward forum leader remarked that “whether they are in or out we get things done.”

The Cape Town municipal government as well as the Western Cape provincial government have been supportive of the KDF structure and have contributed funds to the

organization. This money is used to facilitate the plenary sessions with stakeholders as well as other events in which residents are able to discuss community issues. The city recently provided funds for the KDF to hire a project manager to implement KDF policies and objectives (Interview with KDF official August 9, 2010). The municipal government has also undertaken an effort to replicate the organization's structure in communities across the city. KDF members have been invited to speak in other areas and share their organizational constitution. However, many members are skeptical about the potential success of these efforts. In the words of one member, "we can give them our constitution as well as guidelines for our approach but at the end of the day it's about commitment to community development and these types of organization must come out of the local communities" (Interview June 5, 2009).

Because of its embeddedness in the local community and links with local government, the KDF serves as a critical conduit between the two. This has had important implications in facilitating a broad range of public investment projects in the township and improving access to capability-enhancing services. One KDF official recounted how access to toilets had been an issue for residents in the informal settlements of Khayelitsha. The lack of sanitation had forced many residents in these areas to use buckets for toilets, a practice that caused a great deal of frustration with service delivery. The problem was brought to the attention of the KDF and through its connections, the organization was able to facilitate a meeting with representatives from the relevant municipal department. Each household was subsequently provided with more sanitary toilet facilities (Interview with KDF official August 6, 2010).

The KDF has worked directly with the local government on a number of additional projects, bringing public investment to Khayelitsha. The Urban Renewal Programme (URP), a government project to promote development in the area has worked very closely with the KDF, identifying them as one of the key partners in the community development process (Anthony 2006). When implementing projects in the area, URP employees have emphasized a participatory approach in designing projects by holding public meetings and approaching the KDF in order to gather information about community needs (Interview with URP official May 29, 2009). It is through engagement with the KDF that the URP's local priorities have been identified (Interview with URP official August 9, 2010). One of these joint projects was the development of a Khayelitsha central business district, which provided the township with access to government offices, as well as recreational and retail facilities. As described previously, under apartheid, townships were meant to be dormitory areas providing a cheap labor supply to white businesses. In an effort to make non-white residents dependent on white business, townships lacked many basic economic necessities such as retail stores and banks. Citizens in Khayelitsha recognized the need for a civic and commercial space in the township so that residents would no longer have to travel long distances to buy basic goods and engage with the government bureaucracy. Through collaboration between residents, the municipal government, and developers, the construction of a shopping center and the creation of a Khayelitsha CBD was initiated. It was through consultation with the KDF that community members identified the land on which they wanted the CBD to be located. This land was then purchased by the Khayelitsha Community Trust, a municipal entity focused on development in Khayelitsha, and construction was facilitated

through private loans and property developers (Interview with KDF official August 6, 2010). While the shopping center fills an important gap for residents, dissatisfaction has been voiced that it is an open air facility and residents would prefer an enclosed mall. Currently the Khayelitsha Community Trust is working with the KDF as well as the property developer to figure out how to improve the shopping center to meet residents' concerns.



Shopping Center in Khayelitsha CBD (Source: Amy Kracker Selzer 2009).

While engagement between the state and the KDF regarding the Khayelitsha CBD remained relatively uncontroversial, the prioritization of healthcare in the community and the need for a hospital proved to be more contentious. Healthcare facilities have historically been in short supply in townships and residents are often forced to seek medical attention far from home. Residents demanded to know “why can’t we have a hospital that we can interact with everyday?” (Interview April 6, 2009). In order to draw visibility to the issue, the KDF organized community members to occupy an unused wing of Tygerberg Hospital, which is approximately 24 kilometers away and has long been used as the Khayelitsha district hospital. This drew the attention of the state to community needs and in response, the URP has included a new hospital as part of its

investment in capability-enhancing services in the township. The new facility will be able to serve approximately 300 patients (Interview with URP official May 29, 2009).

The links between the KDF and the municipal government have enabled the formation of a synergistic relationship that crosses the public-private divide. However, these ties have also left the organization open to criticism that it is too closely aligned with the state. Other community activists in the area have argued that this relationship is evidence that the KDF is serving the interests of the state rather than the community (Interview August 5, 2010). However, there have been important instances where the KDF has organized in resistance to the state when processes of local development are not meeting community needs. While the construction of the hospital in Khayelitsha came in response to community demands, residents felt that in terms of implementation, the government's process of designing and constructing the facility was not sufficiently participative and did not reflect community needs. In response, the KDF participated in a community-wide attempt to let the state know that they needed to be a part of the process. Community members working on the construction of the project stopped work and those delivering goods to the site stopped deliveries, grinding construction to a halt. In response to community complaints about the development, the KDF organized a forum in which residents, developers, and state officials were able to convene and discuss how to improve the project (Interview with URP official August 9, 2010).



Khayelitsha Hospital under construction (Source: Amy Kracker Selzer 2010).

While actively establishing ties to state officials, it is largely the non-partisan nature of the KDF that allows it to maintain a degree of autonomy from the state and maintain its position as an effective agent for local development. Since transition, there has been legitimate competition between the ANC and the DA in Cape Town at both the municipal and provincial levels and power has regularly flipped between the two parties. In part because of its non-partisan nature, the KDF has maintained its support within the government regardless of which political party is in power. One official within the KDF acknowledged that despite the fact that Khayelitsha is an ANC stronghold, the DA mayor was very supportive of the work the KDF was doing and had attended KDF meetings frequently (Interview with KDF official August 6, 2010).

The KDF claims to represent a wide variety of interests within the township and there is a broad base of support for the organization within the community. However,

there have been points of contention about whose interests the KDF represents. Regarding the building of the hospital, members of the Mandela Park Backyarders Association – an affiliate of the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign discussed below – were angry that more employment opportunities had not been offered to community residents. In 2009, 400 residents blockaded the entrance to the construction site and vowed to continue protesting (Majavu 2009). The KDF intervened, promising to meet with the protesters if construction was allowed to resume. However, some of the leaders of the Mandela Park Backyarders Association felt that the KDF could not objectively intervene on their behalf, claiming that KDF members have construction sub-contracts on the site and could not be impartial. Tension between the AEC and the KDF is also evident in the feelings of a group of Khayelitsha shack dwellers aligned with the AEC and Abahlali BaseMajondo (a South African shack dwellers organization). Residents argue that the KDF has not been particularly responsive in dealing with the service delivery needs in their settlement. They argue instead that the KDF supports the ward councilors as opposed to the residents (Birkinshaw 2008). As described below, these groups have organized into alternative civil society structures.

The distinction between the KDF and the AEC is one of invited versus invented spaces. The KDF occupies an invited space in which there is synergistic engagement between the state and the community structure. There is evidence that in many ways, this channel has served as an effective means for directing public investment in Khayelitsha and expanding access to capability-enhancing services. However, there is often an argument among the most marginalized that invited spaces do not deal with the most dire instances of poverty. Instead the institutions they foster serve to uphold the current

political system rather than challenging it and addressing the root causes of poverty (Miraftab 2004). Those left out of the invited spaces often find themselves working through invented spaces to challenge state practices. In Cape Town, this is the position of the AEC. The different spaces that the KDF and AEC occupy in civil society and in engaging with the state are reflected in the tension between them and the way their members view one another. In referring to the AEC, a member of the KDF described their tactics as too aggressive, saying that the KDF prefers greater engagement with the state around issues of service delivery (Interview August 6, 2010). On the other hand, a member of the AEC referred to members of the KDF as co-opted by the local government (Interview August 5, 2010).

The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign.

While the KDF is well organized and has extensive representation throughout Khayelitsha, it is not the only organization advocating for residents' interests when it comes to public investment in the township. The Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign has also been instrumental, though through more confrontational means. The AEC was not organized through a state sanctioned forum like the KDF, but rather in opposition to the state, therefore it represents an invented space of civil society (Miraftab and Wills 2005). The movement took root in Khayelitsha in 2001 in response to the state's attempt to evict residents from their homes in Mandela Park, Khayelitsha. They have since been involved in expanding and restoring connections to basic services such as water, electricity, and toilets.

The Anti-Eviction Campaign's most visible efforts in Khayelitsha have been focused on Mandela Park in the southern area of Khayelitsha. In response to overcrowding in other areas of the township, the government had relocated a number of residents to state provided housing in Mandela Park. Soon after arriving, many residents found the homes they were provided to be poorly constructed with leaky roofs, cracked concrete, and faulty foundations (Tadesse et al 2006). Given the high costs of repairs, high levels of unemployment, and distrust of and non-responsiveness on the part of the lenders, a number of residents decided to boycott what they deemed to be unfair housing payments. The banks, with the help of the police, soon began to evict residents from their houses for non-payment. In collaboration with the AEC, residents organized protests and began to move those who had been evicted back into their homes. In 2002, community members occupied the office of the National Building Society in downtown Cape Town and a few weeks later occupied the office of one of the home loan agencies associated with the community. In contrast to the operation of the KDF, the tactics used were explicitly outside of institutionalized channels for engagement with the state and lenders (Desai and Pithouse 2004). One activist described these tactics as "empowerment through creative means" (Interview August 5, 2010). Over an extended period of mobilization, these tactics had eventually garnered enough attention from the state that the government decided to pay off most of the loans and provide residents with title deeds proving their ownership of the homes (Tadesse et al 2006).

The results secured by the AEC in regard to housing issues in Mandela Park have been replicated in their efforts to address other issues of service delivery. For example, a number of residents of South African townships and informal settlements lack adequate

toilet facilities and must rely on the “bucket system,” which constitutes the provision of nothing more than a bucket for use as a toilet. In an effort to demand better services, the AEC organized a protest in which residents left their used buckets on the lawn of a government official. The issue was quickly dealt with and residents were given more adequate facilities.

As with the KDF, the AEC has not found ward councilors to be a particularly effective means of engaging with the state. As one AEC activist noted, “They don’t care a damn about the people on the ground.... They just want to fill their pockets and empower themselves” (Quoted in MirafTAB and Wills 2005:207). In response to this perceived indifference, the AEC organized a “coffins for councilors” march. Members marched through the streets carrying a coffin for each individual ward councilor as a symbol that the councilors needed to be more responsive to community needs or they would not be re-elected. In its more confrontational approach in dealing with the state, the government does not see the AEC as the type of ally or synergistic partner in development that the KDF has become. The state often views the AEC through a lens of opposition (Tadesse et al 2006). However, the organization has been effective in drawing state attention to the needs of the poor in Khayelitsha and forcing a response, so while the relationship might not be as collaborative, the AEC is still able to exercise influence.

Rooted in their different positions of power and engagement, members of the KDF and the AEC sometimes speak of one other with distrust. The fact of the matter is that both organizations have provided effective means to make demands on the local government and increase provision of capability-enhancing services. While the KDF may

be more formally incorporated into Cape Town's urban governance coalition, the AEC's confrontational approach has also achieved significant results and influenced urban governance processes.

Soweto

The development of Soweto.

Like Khayelitsha, Soweto was created as a residential area for Africans under apartheid. However, because Johannesburg did not employ the coloured labor preference adopted in Cape Town, its African population has historically been much larger and the city had a longer history of large African townships. As Johannesburg began to grow following the discovery of gold in the region, racial segregation became a defining characteristic of the city's geography. The removal of residents from the inner-city to segregated townships began in the early twentieth century as a response of the white government to perceived threats of disease in the non-white slums of the city (Beavon 2004). The township of Klipspruit - now part of Pimville in Soweto - was established in 1903 as a proposed solution to the urban slums. Non-white slum residents were forced to 'temporarily' move to the location, which neighbored a proposed sewage plant on the periphery of Johannesburg. It was argued that these conditions would be healthier and less likely to spread disease than the inner-city "slums." Housing in Klipspruit consisted of haphazardly constructed metal shelters that were intended to be for temporary emergency use. The number of households greatly outnumbered the water taps available to residents. Klipspruit served not to eliminate slums in Johannesburg but, by creating crowded conditions without access to basic services, merely moved the slums further

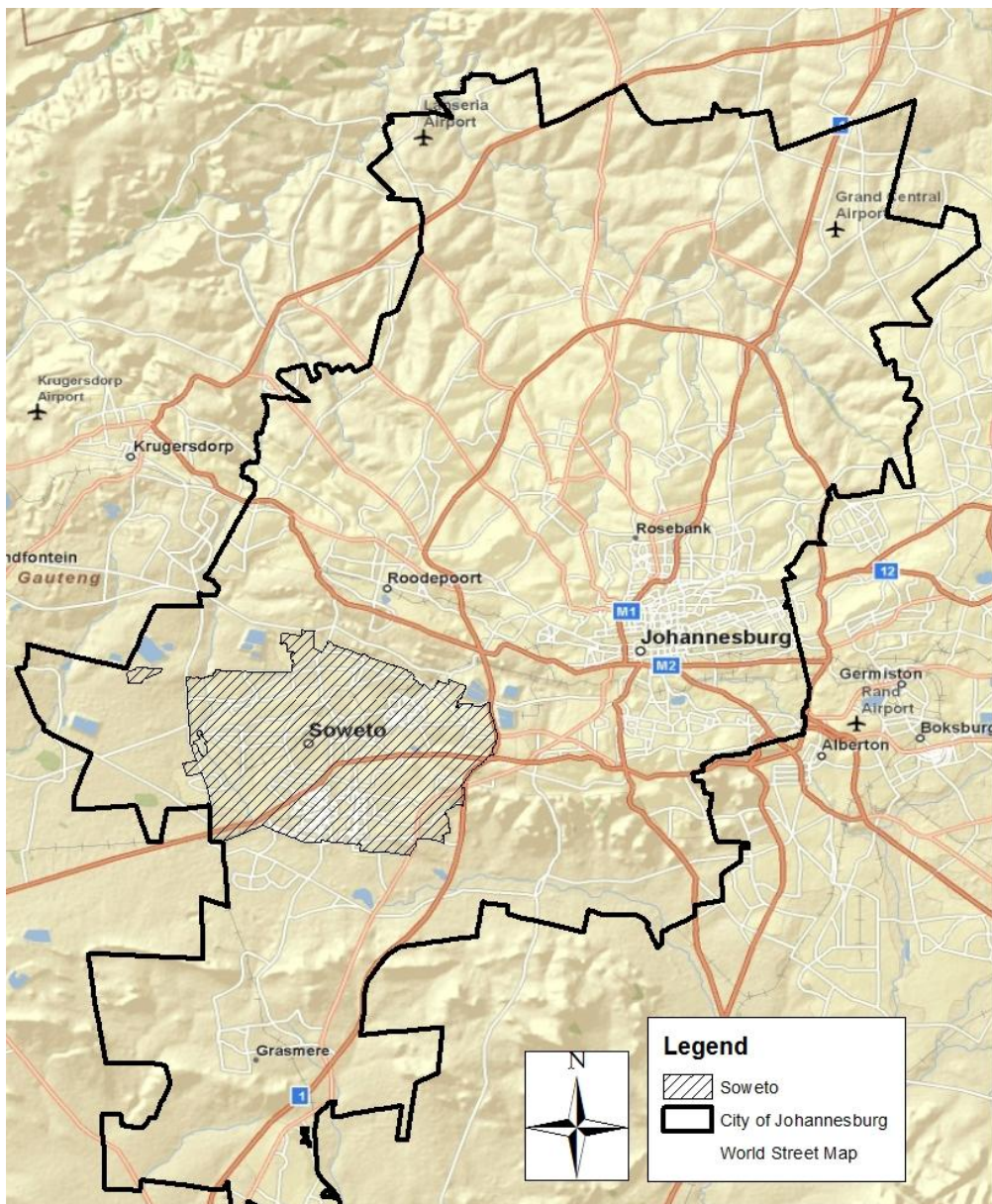
away from the white areas. At the time the area was being created, the government could only legally force Africans to live in particular areas, so Indians and coloureds soon left the poor conditions of Klipsruit and returned to the central city.

While Klipsruit was the initial settlement of what would become Soweto, it wasn't until three decades later that the area began its period of rapid growth. In the 1930s, the government had begun the construction of nearby Orlando to house the city's growing number of African residents. Homes in Orlando, which were primarily constructed of brick and lacked floors, bathrooms, and kitchen facilities, were let to African residents by the city. With the outbreak of WWII, demand for cheap industrial labor increased at the same time that drought made rural agriculture less sustainable (Beavon 2004). In response, there was a rapid migration of rural Africans to Johannesburg. Over the next decade, the areas around Orlando and Pimville expanded dramatically.

While migration and industrial demand resulted in the rapid growth of Soweto in the period during and immediately following WWII, the expansion of the township continued in the late 1950s as a result of forced removals. In its effort to institute complete racial segregation and in response to the demands of white residents, the apartheid government undertook a brutal process of forcibly moving remaining non-whites from the city of Johannesburg and its neighboring suburbs into racially designated areas. The communities of Meadowlands and Diepkloof, which bordered the already existing areas of Soweto were established as the site to which these displaced residents were transferred. Through this process, many vibrant and well-located communities were

destroyed and rebuilt as white neighborhoods. By 1958, it was declared that Johannesburg's western suburbs such as Sophiatown, Melville, and Florida had been cleared of non-white residents (Beavon 2004), most of whom had been moved to Soweto.

Figure 4e. Map of Soweto in Johannesburg.



Description of Soweto.

Like Khayelitsha, Soweto is peripherally located relative to the city's economic hubs in the CBD and Sandton in the city's northern suburbs. Soweto is also separated from formerly white areas by Main Reef Road (M2) which divides Johannesburg into its predominantly white suburbs to the north and predominantly non-white townships to the south. Additionally, an apartheid era buffer was created by the mine dumps that surround the township, blocking it from view of the white areas of the city. As in Khayelitsha, Soweto's approximately 1,180,000 residents (Stats SA 2001) live in a variety of housing types. The most prevalent form of housing is the apartheid-era brick matchbox house but the township also contains a number of backyard shacks as well as informal shack settlements tucked into open spaces. As Soweto was predominantly an African township, its population in the post-apartheid era has remained predominantly African. In 2001, the population was approximately 93.4% African and 6.4% coloured with very small Indian and white populations (Stats SA 2001).

Service delivery in Soweto.

In Soweto, there is widespread acknowledgement that basic services are lacking for many residents. Access to electricity, water, and health facilities are among residents' most commonly noted deficiencies (Interview April 19, 2009; Interview July 8, 2009; Interview July 12, 2009; Interview July 18, 2009). In regard to electricity and water, the city's corporate entities that deal with each of these areas have instituted a system of pre-paid meters. Under this system, residents must pay for their water and electricity before using it. From the stance of the providers, this ensures cost recovery in service delivery.

Many residents however, are unemployed and unable to pay. The per unit rate for pre-paid water is actually higher than the rate for those on billed contracts (Fiil-Flynn 2001). In the informal settlements of Soweto, basic services are almost completely lacking. Most settlements are not electrified in any way and many residents rely on water being trucked in rather than provided through taps or stand pipes (Interview with local activists January 15, 2011). A lack of health facilities has also been a critical issue for residents of Soweto. In the community of Pimville, facilities are woefully insufficient. Residents line up outside the local clinic at 5am every day and by the end of the day many of them have not seen a doctor or nurse and must line up again at 5am the next morning (Interview with community development worker July 8, 2009). Across Soweto, access to these services has become one of the key points of contention between residents and the state. Engagement between the two has tended to be highly combative rather than synergistic.

Community organization.

Historically, Soweto has been a highly organized community. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, the township served as a key organizational center of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was home to one of the most powerful underground cells of the ANC (Houston and Magubane 2006). It was the violent response by security forces to student protests in the Sowetan community of Orlando in June 1976 that drew international attention to the injustices of apartheid and sparked anti-apartheid movements around the world. This student protest itself was effectively mobilized in Soweto by the South African Student Movement (Ndlovu 2006). In the 1980s, the powerful civics and street committees in Soweto organized boycotts and protests in an

effort to render the township ungovernable (Turok 1994). In the struggle against apartheid, Soweto was highly mobilized and particularly well organized.

Mass mobilization opened space for democratic reforms in governing Soweto and townships around the country, however, since transition there is evidence that spaces for community mobilization have changed dramatically. While community groups are still present in Soweto (Heller 2003) there is evidence that space for effective engagement between these organizations and municipal government is severely limited (Zuern 2002). As in Khayelitsha, local development forums were instituted in Soweto following the democratic transition. While the KDF represents a rare case in which these forums continued to operate effectively, in Soweto, these forums have all but disappeared and been replaced by the local ward councilor system (Interview with local activist April 19, 2009). The relationship between community organizations in Soweto and political structures demonstrates that in Soweto to a far greater extent than Khayelitsha, the urban governance coalition has excluded civil society. Instead, communities' ability to make demands about service provision is particularly dependent on their political connections to the ANC.

SANCO

As noted, during the anti-apartheid struggle, community groups in Soweto and across urban South Africa were key actors in facilitating mass protests and mobilization against the government. Following the collapse of apartheid, it was envisioned that these local civics would transition from fostering a political revolution into a vehicle for fostering local development. In 1992, the South African National Civics Organisation

(SANCO) was created as an umbrella organization to represent civics at both the regional and national levels. In the process of negotiating a democratic transition, SANCO played an influential role, particularly in regard to local governance (Seekings 2000). It also played an important role in nominating councilors to non-statutory government delegations (Seekings 1998). SANCO therefore represents an invited space of civil society (Miraftab 2004). Since transition, SANCO has become increasingly aligned with the ANC and has struggled to maintain its independent influence. This has largely made it an extension of the party and limited its ability to serve as an independent force for local development (Cherry et al 2000).

Throughout the country and in Johannesburg in particular, the ANC has attempted to reinforce its dominance in political society through the cooptation of civil society (Heller 2001). As an ANC construction and a partner in the governing alliance, SANCO is particularly susceptible to this cooptation. As noted by Zuern (2002), when local SANCO branches attempted to distance themselves from the ANC and take on a non-partisan nature, they were often viewed as a threat by the party as opposed to a potential civil society partner. In Soweto, invited spaces of subordinate civil society are limited primarily to SANCO branches, which have increasingly become co-opted by the ANC. As one local development worker in Soweto noted, SANCO “has been very weak and it has been swallowed by the ANC” (Interview July 8, 2009). Another activist in Soweto argued that “SANCO is just a toothless advisory group that never comes forward to support the people” (Interview February 20, 2009). The view of community activists that SANCO is really only a localized arm of the ANC is reflected in the way party members view the organization as well. One ANC ward councilor in Soweto characterized the

purpose of SANCO as “reinforcing the government” (Interview February 24, 2009). In Johannesburg the government and the ANC are virtually synonymous as there is very limited political competition at the municipal level. While SANCO may provide a site for communities to air grievances, this intimate connection between the party and SANCO provides little opportunity for the organization to be a force of opposition when the ANC dominated municipal and provincial government fail to meet the service delivery needs of communities. This led one activist to characterize SANCO as a channel for getting jobs in the party rather than a facilitator of local development (Interview February 24, 2009).

The Soweto Electricity Crisis Commission

In response to this political cooptation of the civic structure in the invited spaces of subordinate civil society, a number of organizations were established in the invented spaces, specifically to deal with issues of service provision. The Soweto Electricity Crisis Commission (SECC) has been one of the most prominent. Under GEAR and with the adoption of iGoli, there was a renewed emphasis on cost-recovery in service delivery in Johannesburg (Bond 2004). This meant that individuals and businesses became increasingly responsible for paying for their services based on usage as opposed to the flat monthly rates that had previously been the norm. The system of flat rates had allowed for cross-subsidization of services, making them more affordable to the poor. Many residents of Soweto were angered over the switch to a cost-recovery approach and argued for a return to a flat rate for electricity and water in order to make them more accessible to the area’s many poor and unemployed residents (Egan and Wafer 2004). However, cost-recovery efforts were largely supported by the ANC and SANCO branches within

Soweto and were subsequently implemented across the region (Naidoo and Veriava 2009). Many residents saw this as evidence that the party of revolution had sold out the poor. According to one activist from the SECC this was just further evidence that “the policy of the world is profit before people” (Interview August 13, 2010). As a result of this change, many of Soweto’s residents were unable to pay for their electricity and their services were cutoff. In a survey of Soweto conducted in 2001, about 60% of respondents had had their electricity cutoff at some point within the previous year (Fiil-Flynn 2001). In response to the inability of many of Soweto’s residents to pay for services, the subsequent cutoffs, and the feeling that local ANC and SANCO branches were complicit in undermining the needs of the area’s poor residents, the SECC was established.

The SECC has taken up the cause of reforming processes of service delivery in a manner that more effectively serves the residents of Soweto, particularly those who are poor and unable to pay their bills under the current structure. The organization has a central office in the township with sub-branches throughout Soweto. The leaders of each branch live in the community that they represent and serve as a conduit for channeling local concerns to the SECC leadership structure. This community-based structure is intended to inform and mobilize residents around service delivery issues. For example, when Johannesburg Water, the city’s water provision entity, came to Soweto to repair water pipes, members of the SECC believed the service provider was using this as an opportunity to covertly install pre-paid water meters. Through its branch structure, the SECC informed residents of what they thought Johannesburg Water was doing and mobilized the community in opposition (Interview with SECC official August 13, 2010).

SECC engagement with the local state

While the SECC provides a forum for community mobilization around issues of service delivery, its engagement with the local state differs dramatically from the KDF or the AEC. Both Khayelitsha and Soweto are ANC strongholds and both the KDF and SECC have largely retained a non-partisan stance in regard to party politics. For the KDF, this allows the organization to collaborate with whichever political party is in power at the municipal and provincial level governments, since in Cape Town and the Western Cape there is fluctuation between the ANC and DA. However, in Johannesburg, the fact that the SECC is not linked with the ANC has caused the party to see them as a threat to their sustained hold on power in the area (Interview with community activist February 20, 2009). When members of the SECC have tried to hold ANC officials accountable for service provision failures in public meetings, they are frequently labeled as being anti-ANC and therefore anti-development (Interview with SECC officials August 13, 2010). In the words of one SECC activist, “the door is being shut on authentic engagement with the state. What engagement exists is sanitized to serve the needs of the state” (Interview April 19, 2009).

The nature of the relationship between the SECC and the ANC leaves little room for constructive dialogue around issues of service delivery. Interaction has instead been characterized by confrontational battles. Rather than allowing for a synergistic relationship, this means that demands for provision and more equitable access to services are channeled primarily through marches, protests, and memorandums and these confrontational tactics have not resulted in the kinds of successes seen by the AEC.

Frequently, protests are met by a large showing of police in an effort to subdue the resistance and memorandums are completely ignored. A number of SECC officials admitted that their oppositional tactics have rarely if ever resulted in any acknowledgement of service delivery issues in Soweto by the local government (Interview January 14, 2011; Interview August 13, 2010). There has subsequently been an effort to work through the system as well as in opposition to it. Recently, some members of the SECC have formed a new local political party called Operation Khanyisa Movement (OKM) that is centered on dealing with housing evictions and ensuring equitable access to services. The party currently has one representative in the municipal council but has found it difficult to garner more votes as there is still strong loyalty to the ANC in Soweto (Interview with OKM official August 13, 2010). Whether or not the OKM councilor has actually been effective in council varies depending on who one asks. Members of the SECC generally argue that the councilor has been effective while municipal administrators have contested this (Interview with municipal official January 15, 2011).

Because of the lack of state response and the dire need for basic services in Soweto, the SECC has taken it upon itself to provide illegal electricity connections to those households without access or those that have been cutoff. The organization uses trained electricians in the community to connect households directly to power lines and bypass the state controlled means of accessing electricity. While this can provide a temporary stopgap measure, it can be very dangerous and does not address the larger systemic issues of service delivery in the township.

The Anti-Privatisation Forum.

In addition to the SECC, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) has mobilized against cost-recovery in service provision in Soweto. The APF serves as an umbrella organization under which a number of groups from across the province of Gauteng - in which Johannesburg is located - are united in opposition to the privatization of basic services. While dealing with issues across the province, many of the APF's activities are concentrated in Soweto because of its large population and dire need. In many ways, the position of the APF mirrors that of the SECC. The APF actually grew out of the SECC's desire to unite similar organizations and some members of the SECC also serve as officials in the APF. Despite some inter-organizational conflicts, the APF comes from a common ideological position as the SECC and tends to have similar tactics of engagement with the state, as well as similar results. The APF has organized a number of protests around the provision of water and other basic services but has found that these tend to be met with police force and again grievances are rarely acknowledged. When asked, one APF official argued that he could not think of one occasion in which the municipal government had addressed the APF's demands (Interview January 14, 2011). Because these methods of mobilization have proven largely ineffective, the APF has increasingly complemented them with legal recourse for ensuring service delivery. Through these mechanisms they have had some limited success. In 2003, Johannesburg Water began installing pre-paid water meters in Phiri, Soweto. In response, the APF coordinated efforts among community members to try and drive the Johannesburg Water representatives installing the meters out of the community (Interview with APF officials January 14, 2011). They also mobilized residents to remove the meters that had been

installed and march them to the Johannesburg Water offices in the city's CBD. When these tactics did not change the service provider's policy, the issue was brought before the Johannesburg High Court with legal assistance from the University of the Witwatersrand Centre for Applied Legal Studies. The Court found that Johannesburg Water had not properly consulted the community before installing the meters (Barnes 2009). Instead, the community meetings that had been called were attended primarily by council employees who supported the pre-paid meters already. Additionally, Johannesburg Water had not sufficiently informed the community of their options to object to the installation of the meters and the other payment options that might be available. In March of 2009, the Court ruled on behalf of the residents, however, this decision was later overturned on appeal.

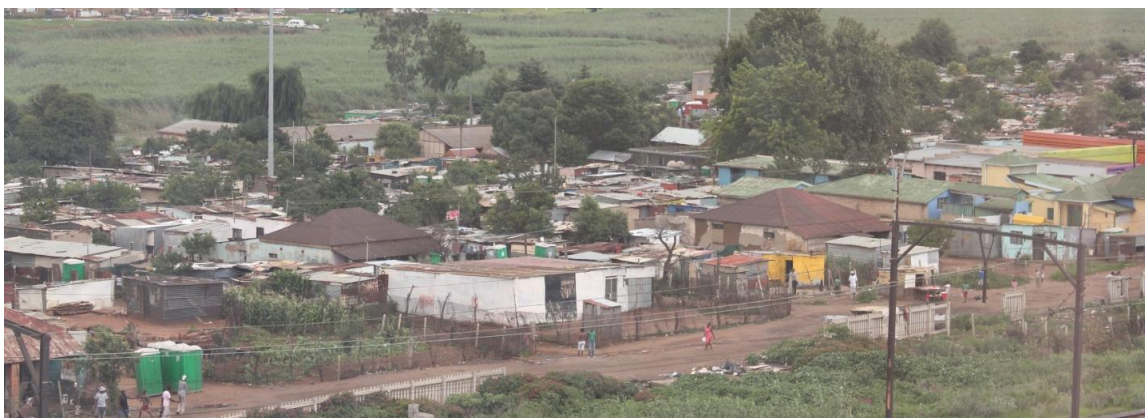
This episode demonstrates first, the lack of true consultation between the city of Johannesburg and residents in terms of service provision. The fact that meeting with council officials who had a vested interest in the implementation of the pre-paid meters was considered sufficient community consultation, demonstrates the narrow conception of participation that is being applied as well as the use of party officials on the ground to further the top-down implementation of service privatization in Soweto. Second, this episode demonstrates the disconnect between civil society mobilization around service provision and the state. It wasn't until the issue was brought before the court that any attention was paid to the matter. The necessity of resorting to legal mechanisms to ensure service delivery is likely to serve as an enormous barrier to demand making by the urban poor who generally lack the resources to employ legal services.

Investment in Soweto.

The fact that SANCO, the SECC, and the APF have been unable to dramatically shape the municipal governments' efforts at service provision in Soweto does not mean that the township has not been transformed since the end of apartheid or that it has not been a site of investment. Soweto has undergone dramatic changes in the post-transition period, however these have largely been the result of either private investment or attempts by the state to use public investment as a means to attract private investment. In terms of private investment, Soweto has seen the rise of large scale shopping centers such as the Maponya Mall, a retail center that caters to Soweto's middle class and markets itself as "Soweto's first mega-regional upscale shopping centre" (Maponya Mall 2010). As far as public investment, Johannesburg's mayor Amos Mosando made paving the roads of Soweto one of his key priorities soon after coming to power (Visser 2007). This was seen as a crucial step in attracting private investment to the area. The mayor cited the R650 million that was put into developing the Maponya Mall as evidence of the success of these efforts.

Much of the additional public investment has not focused on service provision for residents but on drawing tourists to the area. The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), a municipal entity engaged in facilitating redevelopment of the inner-city as well as townships, was involved in multiple projects in Soweto. One of the most prominent was the redevelopment of Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication in Kliptown, Soweto – the site where the ANC's Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955. The JDA's intention was to develop the square into a national and international tourist destination (Noble 2008).

With the exception of a community hall, the resulting project lacks any community facilities. Instead it is marked by a largely empty square bordered by a generally vacant four star hotel with high end suites and conference facilities. The two presidential suites in the hotel cost between R2,500-R3,000 (over \$300) per night, well beyond the monthly incomes of the vast majority of Soweto's residents. The windows of these luxurious suites and conference rooms overlook the neighboring under-serviced informal settlement. While about 70% of the staff employed in the hotel is from Soweto, an employee remarked that much of the development that is happening here is not benefiting the majority of residents (Interview January 4, 2011). The fact that the municipal government had invested so heavily in this high-end development while neglecting service provision throughout the neighboring informal settlement and the rest of Soweto was a source of resentment for a number of residents and activists (Interview August 13, 2010). These developments demonstrate that when the state is able to sideline subordinate civil society, relationships between the state and capital become dominant. The exclusion of civil society from the urban governance coalition results in a growth coalition.



View of informal settlement in Soweto. Photo taken from window of conference room in 4 star hotel on Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication (Source: Amy Kracker Selzer 2011).

Political ties and engagement with the state.

The exclusive urban governance coalition and the resultant lack of comprehensive improvement in service provision in Soweto can be explained in part by the role of politics in Johannesburg and Soweto specifically. As relayed by one high-level official in the municipal government, demands for provision and local development most frequently reached his office via party channels (Interview January 15, 2011). Because Johannesburg has been controlled by the ANC since transition and many of the party's leaders gained their struggle credentials in Soweto, the township has very strong party connections. These ties to party officials tend to be most prevalent in the formalized, more middle class areas of the township. As one resident of Soweto's middle class community of Diepkloof Extensions remarked, people who live there have high positions in either government or business so they are able to directly access the state in order to ensure service delivery needs are being met (Interview February 12, 2009). In this part of the township, "if there is a problem with service and they open their mouths, the whole of Soweto shakes.... Frank Chikane [the Director General of the Presidency who lives in Diepkloof Extensions] will strangle the President if you switch off the electricity." Another activist noted that in the community of Orlando East, the ward councilor had the ear of the metro executive committee and could get attention from the state even when needs were greater in poorer and less politically connected neighborhoods in Soweto (Interview April 19, 2009). Those communities that have direct ties to municipal officials therefore tend to have a greater ability to influence how public resources are allocated and these connections through the ANC tend to be the prime mechanism for resource allocation in Johannesburg. The power of these clientelistic ties serves to further

undermine the bureaucratic coherence necessary to ensure that resources are allocated according to priorities set out in the IDP or SDF. Instead, party connections trump comprehensive planning.

In general, these political networks have been relatively stable, as the ANC has retained power in the city since transition. In this context, those communities that lack these political ties and are therefore unable to use clientelistic relationships in order to secure public investment (primarily poorer communities) must use alternative means of drawing attention to their needs. This has led to the creation of civil society organizations such as the SECC and APF, which work outside the structure of direct engagement with the state. A large part of the reason they are less successful in engaging the state than the KDF and AEC have been in Khayelitsha is that they are seen as a threat to the status quo that equates power with party connections. It is therefore in the interest of the state/party to ensure that they remain unsuccessful in order to prevent them from gaining broader support and further undermining the entrenched power system. These dynamics prevent the creation of an inclusive urban governance coalition.

CONCLUSION

These examples of engagement between civil society organizations and the local state provide important insights into how the inclusion of subordinate civil society into urban governance regimes can influence the distribution of public investment in capability-enhancing services. As noted by Evans (2002b), attempts to foster urban livability and address inequalities are largely dependent on state-society synergy through an ecology of actors that provides for engagement between citizens and municipal

governments. The comparative lessons learned from Khayelitsha and Soweto demonstrate that an inclusive urban governance coalition that fosters these channels has an important impact on the ability of public investment to improve access to capability-enhancing services in disadvantaged communities. In Khayelitsha, the KDF provides an effective means for channeling community demands into the local state's decision making processes, supporting claims that Cape Town provides an example of a more inclusive urban governance regime. While partnering with the state to foster local development, the KDF has at the same time retained the autonomy necessary to hold the state accountable when public investment does not align with community demands. In Soweto, the dominance of the ANC and its ties to SANCO have prevented that organization from playing a similar role in fostering local development and ensuring that state action serves the needs of the community rather than the political aspirations of officials. SANCO's position as the local agent of ANC policy prevents it from serving as an effective voice representing the interests of the urban poor in the city's urban governance regime. Without connections to key political figures and no alternative avenue to engage in a dialogue with the local state, Soweto's urban poor are effectively excluded from the city's governance coalition.

The evolution of organizations in the invented spaces of civil society further demonstrates divergences in the way the local state engages with township residents in each city. In Soweto, both the SECC and the APF evolved in response to the limited opportunities for real engagement with the state through SANCO. In the absence of effective invited spaces for engagement, these organizations took a more combative approach in dealing with the local government around issues of service delivery. Because

they were working outside of state and party sanctioned channels of engagement, the APF and SECC were viewed by the government as a potential threat to the ANC's hegemonic power in Soweto. The organizations' efforts to create a dialogue between the state and communities and foster a more inclusive governance regime were therefore stalled before they had begun.

While the AEC in Khayelitsha has taken a similar approach to engaging the state, its members have been met with greater responsiveness. This is in contrast to the assumption that the state makes space for engaging with invited civil society while sidelining invented civil society (Miraftab 2004). In Khayelitsha, the AEC lacked the historical and institutional ties to the state enjoyed by the KDF. Its relationship to the state was also more contentious. However, this does not necessarily mean that the organizations occupying invented spaces are necessarily delegitimized by the state or cast off as radical or extremist. Instead, the AEC has effectively occupied spaces alongside the invented spaces of civil society in effectively engaging with the state to expand access to capability-enhancing services.

The fact that subordinate civil society is seen as a viable partner in local development in Khayelitsha and not in Soweto is a reflection of the divergent political dynamics present in Cape Town and Johannesburg. While Evans (1996) notes that state-society synergy is critical in fostering the links necessary for citizens to effectively make demands on the state, it is the context of political competition that fosters an environment conducive to creating this synergy in Cape Town. Competition incentivizes the municipal state to be responsive to the demands of citizens in order to be re-elected. This implies

that it is in the interest of the state to forge ties to civil society groups and incorporate them into the urban governance coalition. It also incentivizes civil society to remain non-partisan and not be co-opted by party politics in order to maintain influence regardless of which political party holds power. This can be seen clearly in the case of the KDF, which has strategically shunned forging party alliances in the way that SANCO has. This has allowed the KDF to be a dominant partner in local development under various political regimes. On the other hand, a lack of competition and the resulting use of positions in the dominant party as an effective vehicle for political advancement serve to limit the potential space for synergy in Johannesburg. The consistency of ANC dominance in Johannesburg has meant that ties to the party have become a stable method for advancement within the party structure, resulting in a more clientelistic distribution of public investment. The inclusion of subordinate civil society in the urban governance coalition would only serve to undermine this entrenched power structure, thereby undermining the status quo of political power. A change in political incentives is therefore necessary in order to make Johannesburg's urban governance coalition more inclusive.

CHAPTER 5
URBAN GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE PROVISION IN INFORMAL
SETTLEMENTS

Toward the end of apartheid and in the post-apartheid era, many South African cities saw an expansion of informal settlements. Those who could not access the formal housing market for legal or economic reasons began to construct informal dwellings out of corrugated metal and other scrap materials. These structures were often built in the backyards of existing homes or on open tracts of land throughout the city. The rise of informal settlements is due both to attempts by the state to reconfigure the urban space and to the fact that as influx controls were removed, many rural migrants as well as foreign nationals from other parts of Africa arrived in South African cities in search of employment. Informal settlements provide an important site for examining changes in access to capability-enhancing services because they shed light on the way that the city addresses the needs of its most vulnerable residents. Service provision in these areas is particularly contentious given that residents often lack legal tenure to the land and these settlements are viewed as “temporary.” Therefore the extent to which the municipal government is willing to provide services or include informal settlement residents in the urban governance coalition is varied. Philippi in Cape Town and Diepsloot in Johannesburg both originated as informal settlements that were geographically isolated from the economic nodes of their respective cities. They were sites of relocation of residents from other parts of the city and were both slated to be formalized and provided with infrastructure and services by the municipal government. The variation in the extent to which this has happened provides important insight into the ways in which urban

governance regimes in each of these cities impact the levels of service provision in informal settlements.

INFORMALITY IN URBAN SOUTH AFRICA

Through the Natives Act of 1923 and the Pass Laws, apartheid legislation regulated who was allowed to live in South African cities as well as where individuals were allowed to live. The system overtly privileged whites, granting them unrestricted access to the wealthier urban spaces, including the commercial centers of cities. In contrast, black Africans were viewed as temporary residents who were allowed to remain in the city so long as there was a need for low cost labor. The right to reside in the city was granted only to those were born in the city, those who had worked for an urban employer for ten years or more, or those who had registered as temporary workers (Crankshaw 1993). With few exceptions, Africans who remained in the city were to reside in the townships. While this legislation was intended to maintain strict control over urban access, a variety of factors undermined efforts to control the racial composition of urban spaces. First, with large-scale industrialization in the 1940s, the demand for labor rapidly increased (Omer-Cooper 1994), leading to some relaxation in these regulations in order to allow for the flow of cheap labor to the cities. Because they did not have legal access to the city, many of these migrants were not eligible for the state subsidized housing provided to non-whites in the townships and instead established informal settlements on the periphery (Huchzermeyer 2002). This trend became more pronounced in the 1970s and 80s when a growing economy further expanded the demand for cheap labor, drawing more non-whites into the cities in search of work (Huchzermeyer 2002,

Crankshaw 1996). Again, a portion of this migrant labor force resided in informal settlements as they were denied access to housing in the townships (Crankshaw 1993). Finally, in 1986, influx controls were repealed and Africans migrated to urban centers in much larger numbers from the economically depressed homelands in search of work. As a result, the size of informal settlements began to grow more rapidly.

While the rise of informality had its origins in the urbanization policies of apartheid, a number of global forces have also been argued to drive a more recent rise in urban informality, particularly in cities of the developing world. It had long been assumed that rural to urban migration is driven by the pull factor of jobs in the city (Todaro 1982). In the post-modern period of globalization and deindustrialization however, Davis (2007) argues that rural to urban migration is instead driven by push factors. He argues that globalization and structural adjustment programs have made it virtually impossible for farmers in the developing world to remain competitive, making their historical source of livelihood unsustainable. Therefore, rates of rural to urban migration have increased despite the fact that there are often not enough jobs in the city to absorb these new residents. It is not only the job market that is unable to absorb these residents but also the housing market. According to Davis (2007), the formal housing sector in the developing world supplies only 20% of the housing supply, so those who are unable to access this portion are forced to find other means of shelter such as building informal structures, invading abandoned buildings, or living on sidewalks.

Like other cities throughout the global south, South African cities have experienced many of these pressures. In rural South Africa, the limited development that

has occurred is unable to absorb the unskilled labor force and the poor often do not have the resources to sustain an agricultural-based livelihood (Carter and May 1998). The lack of rural sustainability is one of the most important factors driving the current large scale migration to South African cities (Smit 1998). Urban migration has not only been a result of the largely circular migration patterns of rural South Africans, but also foreign nationals from other parts of Africa. Since 1990, the number of migrants from other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries to South Africa has increased dramatically (Crush 1999). Many of these migrants have flocked to the cities in search of employment, which is often unavailable. In the absence of income as well as a limited housing stock, many of these migrants have set up residences in informal settlements.

THE POLITICS OF SERVICE PROVISION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

As sites of intense deprivation, addressing the poor living conditions in informal settlements has provided a challenge for the South African government and has remained a contentious topic in South African policy circles. Since the end of apartheid, the state's response to the expansion of informal settlements has been an attempt to eradicate them by moving residents into state-provided permanent housing (Huchzermeyer 2003). Through this process, beneficiaries are provided with a small plot of land consisting of a small standardized four room house – referred to as an RDP house. These houses are built with connections for basic services. In order to qualify for these homes, residents living in informal dwellings are put on waiting lists. If and when their name comes up, they are relocated to the site where their house has been built; frequently in areas on the periphery

of the city where land is cheap. This policy has had important implications for the provision of capability-enhancing services to those living informally. Most importantly, it assumes that all informal settlements are temporary. The residents are only there while they await their RDP house. For years, the ANC has run on a platform that all South Africans will be provided with formal housing by 2014 (Huchzermeyer 2010). This assumption has meant that investment in informal settlements by both by residents and by the state has been discouraged (Huchzermeyer 2003). Not only does this policy leave those living in informal settlements with a lack of basic services, it fails to recognize the reality that informal settlements across the country have grown at a rate that outpaces the state's ability to deliver housing, therefore it is unlikely that informal settlements are merely a temporary phenomenon. The government's approach has two important implications for access to capability-enhancing services. First, it has encouraged a process of development that favors the efficient delivery of as many RDP houses as possible for as low a cost as possible without recognizing the social implications of failure to deliver the types of community and basic infrastructure necessary to support the new housing developments. Second, this approach neglects the service and infrastructure needs of the growing and increasingly permanent population living in informal settlements.

In informal settlements, the capability-enhancing services discussed previously tend to be particularly lacking. These areas often have limited basic infrastructure such as water, electricity, sanitation, healthcare, and education; leading to informal and often tenuous self-provision of these goods by residents (United Nations Human Settlement Programme 2003). Since self-provision is generally inadequate for satisfying these basic

needs, residents in informal settlements are often left with limited or no access to basic services. In South Africa, there are national guidelines that set a minimum standard of servicing for informal settlements but these requirements are well below actual needs (Interview with municipal official January 7, 2011). In their survey of residents of informal settlements across urban South Africa, Richards, O’Leary, and Mutsonziwa (2007) found that access to basic services such as electricity, sanitation, and water was severely limited and residents were by and large dissatisfied with the levels of services they received. This was not a universal phenomenon however. When residents were asked whether they had seen improvements in these services, the results were generally mixed and varied by settlement, suggesting a need to better understand why some informal settlements are seeing increased access to services while others remain deprived.

POST-APARTHEID SERVICE DELIVERY IN PHILIPPI AND DIEPSLOOT

Variation in access to capability-enhancing services in informal settlements and subsequent housing projects can be seen in the cases of Philippi in Cape Town and Diepsloot in Johannesburg. Both of these areas were sites of relocation of those previously living in informal settlements in other parts of the city. Both communities also began as informal settlements that were slated to be sites of public investment in RDP housing. However, they have retained large informal populations and the majority of residents in both communities live in informal dwellings¹⁹. The type and quantity of public investment in these areas has differed dramatically as a result of divergent urban governance regimes in these two cities. Both the coalitional and bureaucratic components

¹⁹ Over 55% of residents in Philippi and 70% of residents in Diepsloot live in informal housing.

of the urban governance regime are important in determining investment in services in these spaces.

As seen in Tables 5-1 and 5-2, improvements in the delivery of basic household services have generally been much larger in Philippi relative to Diepsloot, particularly in terms of access to electricity and trash collection. While Philippi has seen more than a 30 percentage point increase in access to weekly trash collection, Diepsloot has seen almost an 18 percentage point decline. Diepsloot has however seen a larger increase in access to toilets. Across these services, residents in Philippi have seen an average increase in service provision of 23.0 percentage points while residents in Diepsloot have seen a much smaller increase of 9.2 percentage points.

Table 5-1. Service Delivery in Philippi.

	% with service 1996 ²⁰ (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	Change
Electricity for lighting	31.29 (4,878)	51.04 (16,800)	19.75
Trash collection at least once a week	40.58 (6,326)	71.76 (23,620)	31.18
Chemical or flush toilet	36.32 (5,663)	54.40 (17,907)	18.08

²⁰ As noted in Chapter 3, in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, the 1996 figures include an unspecified category. In 2001 and 2007, Stats SA reapportioned these responses based on their weighting formula. Since I am unable to follow the same process, I have dropped the 1996 unspecified responses from the total household count in 1996.

Table 5-2. Service Delivery in Diepsloot.

	% with service 1996 ²¹ (n)	% with service 2001 (n)	Change
Electricity for lighting	31.38 (1,519)	43.23 (9,763)	11.85
Trash collection at least once a week	85.35 (4,132)	68.51 (15,472)	-16.84
Chemical or flush toilet	16.77 (812)	49.33 (11,140)	32.56

As shown in figures 5a and 5b, in terms of healthcare facilities, both Philippi and Diepsloot have seen the establishment of one new facility since the end of apartheid. The fact that both areas have experienced similar levels of investment in healthcare facilities hides the fact that the population of Diepsloot is significantly larger than that in Philippi. Therefore, the ability to service the healthcare needs of the community requires additional levels of investment.

²¹ As noted in Chapter 3, in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, the 1996 figures include an unspecified category. In 2001 and 2007, Stats SA reapportioned these responses based on their weighting formula. Since I am unable to follow the same process, I have dropped the 1996 unspecified responses from the total household count in 1996.

Figure 5a. Healthcare Facilities in Philippi.



Legend

- Health Facilities Built Prior to 1994
- Health Facilities Built After 1994
- Philippi



Figure 5b. Healthcare Facilities in Diepsloot.



Legend

- Health Facilities Built Prior to 1994
- Health Facilities Built After 1994
- Diepsloot



PHILIPPI

History of Philippi

With a population of about 110,000 (Anderson, Azzari, and van Wyk 2009), Philippi is approximately 17 square kilometers in area and is located on the Cape Flats. It is bordered to the south by the coloured township of Mitchell's Plain and to the southeast by Khayelitsha. To the north of the community are the African townships of Nyanga and Crossroads and to its west is the large undeveloped Philippi Horticultural Area. Residents of Philippi have settled in the area as a result of various social and historical processes. This varied history has resulted in a fragmented community, which makes engagement in the urban governance coalition and the creation of a synergistic relationship with the state particularly challenging. While in general the urban governance coalition in Cape Town is inclusive, this community fragmentation has resulted in an exclusive coalition in Philippi. Despite this lack of synergy, the bureaucratic cohesion of the state and its resultant ability to implement a cohesive developmental agenda has meant that public investment in services in the area has not been completely absent. However, without effective input from the community, this investment has failed to reach its full potential in addressing local needs.

Historically, Philippi was sparsely populated and consisted primarily of farmland. The area was first settled in 1833 by a small coloured population who were thought to have been liberated slaves (Adlard 2008). These residents built homes as well as a chapel in the eastern area of Philippi now known as Klipfontein, where they sustained a livelihood through farming, wood cutting, and cattle grazing (Interview with community

activist July 28, 2009). Because coloured Capetonians were not legally allowed to own property at the time, this land was held in a trust by the local Apostolic and later Methodist churches. Despite the extended period of occupation of the land, the residents' battle over tenure and property ownership in Klipfontein is one that is highly contested and is still being played out in the courts today. This leaves those who have lived on this land for decades in tenuous and still largely informal living conditions.

By the mid-20th century, Philippi began to transition away from being an agricultural area and saw the beginnings of large scale industrial development. In 1938, a cement factory was constructed for mining and processing limestone from deposits on the Cape Flats. The Philippi Industrial Township was then established in the 1970s in the northeast section of the community and was able to attract a number of businesses due to its proximity to the Cape Town airport. However, as the area became socially and politically volatile in the 1980s and 90s, industrial investment fled en masse.

At the height of apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s, the tension and violence playing out across South Africa took on localized forms in Philippi. In the mid-70s, a decision was made to establish the coloured township of Mitchell's Plain just south of Philippi. As part of the forced removal process, Mitchell's Plain grew from 56 dwellings in 1976 to more than 33,000 by 1989 (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen, and Worden 1999). Many residents who had been farm laborers on the land that became Mitchell's Plain did not qualify for the housing that was being built and were subsequently evicted. Lacking a permanent residence, many of them chose to squat on land in Philippi East (Adlard 2008). During this time, the growth of Philippi was also affected by events taking

place in the informal settlement of Crossroads just to the north. In 1974, a few residents built shacks in the largely unsettled area of Crossroads. By 1977, the area had about 18,000 residents and was viewed by the city as a temporary camp (Adlard 2008). It was soon recognized that the rate of growth in Crossroads was astronomical and the large population could not be considered temporary. A concession was made whereby those who met certain criteria were granted urban rights and would be provided with formal housing. The promise of housing drew even more residents to Crossroads. Subsequently, a struggle ensued between community leaders, in which one group, referred to as the *witdoeke*, aligned themselves with the apartheid security forces. Through this alliance, the security forces allowed the *witdoeke* to burn down many of the informal settlements in Crossroads, displacing about 60,000 people (Adlard 2008). As a result of these events, a large number of former residents of Crossroads fled the area and relocated to Philippi, spurring dramatic population growth and the rapid expansion of informal settlements in the area. The violence in Crossroads was a key factor in contributing to the industrial decline of neighboring Philippi. According to an official who had been working in the area for decades, the “violence was just too much,” causing many factories to relocate (Interview April 21, 2009).

Public Investment in Philippi

Despite the fact that it originated as an informal settlement, Philippi has seen a substantial amount of public investment in the post-apartheid era. Over the past decades, the government has invested in housing, services, and social infrastructure. However, lack of engagement with the community throughout the planning process has meant that

this investment is often more reflective of community needs as perceived by local government officials than the actual needs of residents. This lack of engagement does not however come from efforts by the state to exclude civil society from the urban governance coalition. It is instead due to the fact that civil society in Philippi is fragmented and is not cohesively organized. Therefore, in Philippi, public investment in capability-enhancing services is not due to demand making by citizens or a synergistic relationship between the state and civil society but rather the bureaucratic cohesion of the municipal state and its subsequent ability to implement a comprehensive urban plan that directs resources toward the area.

Integrated Serviced Land Project.

With the country's democratic transition underway and the rapid rural to urban migration taking place with the removal of influx controls, it was obvious that something needed to be done address the poor living conditions of Philippi as well as diffuse the political tensions that had arisen as a result of the conflicts carried over from Crossroads. In the early 1990s, what would become the Integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP) was established to address local development issues in Philippi and surrounding areas (Abbott 2000). With a budget of approximately R1.4 billion (about \$200 million), the iSLP was the largest government provided housing scheme in Cape Town at the time and aimed to provide access to more formalized housing and basic services in Philippi's growing informal settlements. The process was primarily characterized by a site and service scheme, in which residents were allocated a plot of land with a small dwelling (approximately 20 square meters) and basic services (Abbott 2000) including a tap, a

toilet, and electricity. At the road, infrastructure was put in place for underground drainage, curbs, and streetlights (Interview with city official April 21, 2009). While the project was designed to address informal settlements throughout the city, substantial attention was paid to Philippi because of its largely informal population as well as its potential to serve municipal goals of better integrating the fragmented urban form. The intention of the program was not only to provide basic services and housing, but also the necessary social infrastructure to the communities that were being developed, including schools, health facilities, and community resources (Abbott and Douglas 2003). As of August 2004, approximately 29,000 sites had been built and serviced within the iSLP project areas, along with 16 health facilities, 11 community halls, and 4 libraries, in addition to other projects. In Philippi, approximately 10,000 sites were serviced, and 11 schools, 4 community halls, 2 libraries, 2 sports facilities, and 1 health facility were built in this time (iSLP 2004). As noted, Philippi was chosen as an important site for the iSLP investment because of its potential to serve the municipal planning goal of integrating the fragmented urban space of Cape Town (iSLP 2004). Soon after this project was initiated, the municipal government also dedicated funds towards the Wetton-Landsdowne-Philippi Corridor, which focused on integrating Philippi and neighboring areas into the city's broader transportation infrastructure and providing more effective links between the Cape Flats and other economic nodes throughout the city. The significant level of coordination around these public investment projects reflects an ability of the municipal state to create a relatively cohesive plan for directing public investment toward addressing urban inequalities in this area.

While iSLP represents a remarkable investment in community infrastructure and an attempt to better integrate urban space, the extent to which community participation allowed for the public to make demands on the state and ensure that investment met local needs was relatively uneven and often seen to be ineffective. The iSLP project was intended to be driven by local community members under an ethos of participation. In each project area, a committee consisting of various community representatives was established to serve as the channel between the community and the state. In Philippi, the project committees were often characterized by significant divisiveness. In Philippi East, the area project committee included members of SANCO and the ANC. Unfortunately, the political struggles that had plagued Crossroads again manifested themselves through these organizations in Philippi. Because they had historically represented divergent interests in Crossroads, the local representatives of SANCO and the ANC harbored resentment for one another and found it difficult to work collaboratively. Regarding the policy making stage of iSLP between 1993 and 1996, one official commented: “to get them sitting around a table, it took a couple of years” (Interview April 21, 2009). However, thanks to the persistence of the Philippi East project manager, this committee ended up working relatively well together. The eventual cohesion however, was not replicated in other areas of Philippi. Interactions between iSLP officials and committees in other parts of Philippi, such as Heinz Park, remained ineffective. The fragmented history of the area was largely reflected in the degree to which a sense of community cohesion was possible.

The extent to which the iSLP projects have been viewed as successful by Philippi residents is debatable. Many community members felt that their interests had not

effectively been conveyed to the state in terms of the services that were delivered. One resident noted that while there was an iSLP project committee established, there was only limited community engagement as to how funds would be invested in the area (Interview July 29, 2009). Reflective of a common complaint around housing and service delivery in South Africa, he argued that the community remained uninformed as to the type of housing units that would be constructed in the area until after they had already been built. The houses consisted of very small structures with only outside walls with asbestos insulation, a concrete slab for a floor, 2 windows, and a roof made of sheet metal. If they had been informed, he said, they would not have supported the process. In many of the site and serviced plots under iSLP, a formal dwelling structure was never actually built. The plots were serviced with electricity, water, and toilets but beneficiaries were expected to build their own top dwelling structure. Only in very few of these cases, were residents able to actually build this formal structure. Many just made small improvements on the existing shacks. One official at a local school, who lives on a serviced site argued that he regularly puts a large portion of his salary into helping build a formal house on his parents' serviced site, limiting his ability to afford to build his own permanent structure (Interview July 29, 2009).

An additional complaint about the services provided on the plots in iSLP areas regards the toilets. Particularly in Phases 2 and 3 of the housing development, plots were provided with toilets but they were never enclosed. According to a local government representative: “when people moved here, they were promised toilets inside their houses by developers” (Interview April 29, 2009). Instead, the toilets were placed in the open on the plot and residents with very few resources had to build their own enclosures.

While iSLP led to substantial investment in new schools in Philippi, the quality of these structures has been questionable. A school official noted that when the schools were built they were argued to be successful and innovative examples of inexpensive polystyrene construction (Interview July 29, 2009). However, there have been problems with cracking walls and the maintenance costs have offset savings. Additionally, the inexpensive building materials have proven to be ineffective sound barriers and classroom noise travels easily, making it difficult for students to concentrate.

Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework projects.

The identification of Philippi as an important node in fostering a more integrated urban space has meant that public investment in the area goes well beyond the iSLP projects. In the period following the collapse of apartheid, there were concerted efforts by officials within the city of Cape Town to better integrate the peripheral townships and informal settlements of the Cape Flats into the spatial structure of the city through public investment. This was reflected in the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) adopted by the city in 1996. As legislated in the Municipal Systems Act, each city is required to create a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) that provides the “basic guidelines for a land use management system for the municipality” (RSA 2000:15). In Cape Town, the city-wide MSDF is a compilation of regionally oriented SDFs that highlight the needs of smaller geographic entities as well as the municipal plans for addressing issues in these areas. The MSDF’s Metro Southeast Plan identified Philippi East as an important location for public investment as well as transportation, employment, and community opportunities (Hiller 2000). These public investments

reflected an effort to better integrate the Cape Flats into the metro transportation structure. Specific attention was paid to Philippi and the development of road, rail, and taxi networks. One example was the construction of the Joe Gqabi station, which provides long-distance bus service linking Philippi to areas across South Africa (Interview with station employee May 8, 2009). The station was a part of the city's larger Integrated Metropolitan Transport Plan, a component of the MSDF, which aimed to facilitate socially and environmentally sustainable public transportation links throughout metropolitan Cape Town. The Philippi Fresh Produce Market was another MSDF project intended to "become the central distribution hub of fresh fruit and agricultural produce for the Cape metropole" (City of Cape Town 2006). These projects represented substantial public investment in the Philippi area as well as an attempt by the state to create a more socially and economically sustainable community.

The success of these efforts in fostering local development in Philippi has been limited. The Philippi Fresh Produce Market stands as perhaps the most obvious case. The Produce Market was developed by the City of Cape Town in coordination with the iSLP committee. At a cost of R30 million (about \$4.3 million), the facility was envisioned to be a space where local farmers could bring their produce and sell it wholesale as well as to individual customers (City of Cape Town 2006a). City officials hoped that the market would create a number of jobs in the Philippi area and beyond. Marking the half way point of construction, Cape Town mayor Nomaindia Mfeketo remarked that:

"during the first phase some 160 jobs were created on-site as well as 600 jobs for emerging farmers. After about five years, the number of farmers is expected to increase to 2 500 and they will cultivate land, covering 5 000 hectares. A further 320 jobs will be

created downstream for informal traders, street vendors and hawkers” (City of Cape Town 2005).

The ambitious goals of the Philippi Fresh Produce Market never came to fruition. The resulting facility, which opened in 2006, sits largely unused. Even municipal officials who were instrumental in its development note that it has become a white elephant (Interview July 29, 2009). On a visit on a weekday afternoon in April 2009, only one stall was open. Of the building’s original 16 tenants, only one remains (Interview with vendor April 29, 2009). He has a number of produce stands around the Cape Flats and rents space in the Fresh Produce Market not because it is a particularly viable place to sell his goods – since on many days only 3 or 4 customers come - but rather because it provides greater security to store his stock overnight. “My other places boost this place. If I only had this place, I would have gone under” (Interview April 29, 2009). A primary reason for the lack of tenants is the steep rent, which started out at R1,437 a month and has risen since. Additionally, there are complaints that the consultants who manage the facility for the city have little understanding of the lifestyles of the residents in the area and thus, the hours of operation are not compatible with the times that it might be more profitable to keep the market open. As residents often travel long distances from Philippi to work and tend to work long hours, the tenant argues that if the managers would open the facility earlier and keep it open later into the evening, people coming and going on the train would pass by and boost business. “You can build something, but if you don't know the market, you can't come right – they [the management/developers] don't know what people own and the management don't know about markets” (Interview April 29, 2009). This disconnect between the needs of community members and the state has resulted in a

project that uses scarce fiscal resources in a way that has done very little to benefit the residents of Philippi or elsewhere.

Cape Town's Olympic bid.

A number of activists and officials in Philippi acknowledged that some of the impetus for investment in the area was related to Cape Town's failed bid to host the 2004 Olympics (Interview with councilors and community leader April 29, 2009). According to one community activist: "we... took advantage of that and used political alliances with the ANC to push for community halls and sports complexes to be built" (Interview May 6, 2009). In describing the city's attempt to win the 2004 Olympics, Hiller (2000) argues that Philippi was particularly impacted. While efforts to attract mega events often assume that the potential benefits from hosting the event will provide resources for addressing urban poverty, in general the events instead privilege the interests of capital by focusing investment in the wealthier parts of the city (Whitson and Macintosh 1996). In Cape Town however, Hiller (2000) argues that the bid was explicitly framed as an effort to help restructure the segmented space of the apartheid city by directing investment toward the historically disadvantaged Cape Flats. This is not to deny that many of the pro-growth actors such as businesses and bureaucrats were involved in supporting the bid. The bid originated under the guidance of Raymond Ackerman, owner of a prominent South African retail chain, and was eventually supported by the ANC, which held municipal power at the time. However, the extent to which efforts were made to invest in disadvantaged areas was largely unprecedented. In determining where and how to invest in Olympic infrastructure, the city's bid proposal relied heavily on the MSDF,

particularly the Metro Southeast Plan that identified Philippi as a burgeoning node for public investment (Hiller 2000). It was proposed that two of the sporting venues to be built would be located in Philippi. It was hoped that these new facilities would foster community revitalization and attract investment to the area and that their construction would bring jobs. The bid committee required that 30% of the labor force come from the local community. It also required that 50% of commercial and business transactions in construction came from previously marginalized communities. This was substantially above the 20% required by national legislation. Additionally, the bid built off of the city's Integrated Metropolitan Transport Plan whose goal was to facilitate better transportation links between the Cape Flats and historically white areas of the city – two areas that had purposefully been disconnected under apartheid. A major part of this plan was to create rail and road links between the new node being developed at Philippi and Bellville and Wynberg (historically white areas). As part of this process, a new rail station was developed at Stock Road in Philippi. As noted, much of the public investment in Philippi is a result of the MSDF and other planning initiatives that existed independently of the Olympic bid. So while the Olympics may have accelerated the process, they were not necessarily the catalyst for change. What this instance does illustrate however, is a level of cohesion on the part of the City of Cape Town in aligning the allocation of public resources with efforts to better integrate the city and invest in poorer communities.

Where many of these efforts to foster effective public investment in Philippi break down is in the process of public consultation. While there was a stated intention of ensuring community engagement in decisions about local development in relation to the Olympics, often these consultations were ineffective and consisted merely of government

officials presenting their pre-designed plans to communities. Hiller (2000:449) describes it as a process of “transmitting information about Olympic plans for reaction... The nature of public input that resulted was rather limited at that point.” In other words “the Olympic agenda and timetable, and the top-down thinking which it requires, does not easily dovetail with local agendas and timetables or community participation – key goals in development” (Hiller 2000:452).

Lack of Community Engagement

Philippi, unlike many other informal and transitional communities in South Africa, is certainly not off the state’s radar. It has been a site of substantial public investment since the collapse of apartheid and the local state has played a very active role in attempting to use the area as a catalyst for larger developments on the Cape Flats. Although, Philippi began as a transitional space of informal settlements and resettlement of refugees from other communities, it has clearly been viewed by the municipal government as a more permanent community, one that requires the types of capability-enhancing services and social infrastructure that allow a community to develop and thrive. However, the case of Philippi also makes it clear that public investment on its own is not sufficient for local development and capability enhancement. This investment must reflect community needs. While the building of new schools and clinics has been vital to the community, other investments such as the Philippi Fresh Produce Market are merely very expensive white elephants. It is clear that one of the primary reasons for this wasted investment was the lack of effective engagement between Philippi residents and the state. This created a situation in which the state was unaware of whether or not their efforts

would actually meet the needs of citizens and citizens were unaware of the details of many of the projects planned by the state. This lack of synergy made it difficult for the goals of both parties to be met.

The lack of community consultation and the resultant exclusive governance coalition in Philippi is the product of a variety of sources. One of the most important is that unlike Khayelitsha, civil society in Philippi lacks a strong cohesive organizational structure that can ensure the actions of the state are serving the integrated needs of community members. In describing forums and opportunities for public participation in Philippi, many residents characterized the atmosphere as fragmented (Interview May 21, 2009; Interview April 21, 2009). This fragmentation exists along a variety of axes. Much of it comes from the varied histories of how people came to reside in Philippi and the disagreements they brought with them (Interview with local NGO official May 21, 2009). There is also a stark division among those who see alliances with political parties as a mechanism for fostering local development and those who see it as an obstacle (Interview with community activist May 6, 2009). It is the fragmentation - both in terms of scale and interests - embodied in these various processes that limits the potential for an effective community voice to make demands on the state and ensure that investment in the area meets the needs of residents.

Fragmented mobilization.

In Philippi, community organization is not completely absent. Rather, it is reflective of more fragmented, smaller scale interests and revolves around particular projects rather than generating an integrated community approach toward engaging with

the state around issues of local development. Activists in Philippi tend to be engaged at the local neighborhood level rather than scaling up issues to be addressed at the broader community scale. One such example relates to an RDP housing development for low wage earners in a section of Philippi East. Residents moved into the area from all across Cape Town. Some came from former African townships such as Gugulethu while others came from historically coloured townships such as Hanover Park and Mitchell's Plain. The housing project, initiated by the state and the development firm GEM, promised residents single houses and a stable rent structure. However, upon arrival residents found that neither of these commitments was being met. Instead, they were provided with multi-unit homes and asked to pay higher than promised rates. Additionally, the structures themselves were found to be unsound, lacking proper foundations and frequently allowing rain water inside. Many also lacked electricity. In February of 2001, residents organized a local committee called the Acacia Philippi Community to address these concerns. They directed their complaints to both the developer and the municipal government. Residents argued that engagements with the provincial minister of housing proved to be unreliable as the official in charge changed each time there was a shift in the party in power in provincial government; which in the Western Cape has occurred with almost every successive election since transition. In response, the committee has used a variety of additional tactics. They have engaged in protests to demand change from the city's mayor. They have also picketed and brought their story to the media. Additionally, they have been working with the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign. Through these actions, they had been successful in getting the developer to commit to a series of meetings, to which attendance on behalf of the company's representatives had been

spotty. As one local activist noted: “There’s always an excuse to skip meetings” (Interview April 29, 2009). Efforts have also been stymied by the fragmentation of the community itself. The Acacia Philippi Community has had relatively stable leadership since its inception. However, it has been challenging for leaders to hold the community residents together around pertinent issues. “People who are staying here become enemies over little things the Company can sort out.... It’s difficult to live together. Some people are short-tempered” (Interview April 29, 2009). There has also been very limited support from the local ward councilor in dealing with the government on the community’s behalf. One local activist described the councilor as being particularly disengaged, frequently cancelling meetings he had scheduled to discuss the issue with the community. While the situation of the Acacia Philippi Community represents a degree of mobilization and engagement with the state, its goals are focused on the singular issue of arrears and housing in this particular area of Philippi, as these are very immediate and pressing concerns for residents. There has however been no engagement with other neighborhoods in similar situations in Philippi. While the Acacia Philippi Community may eventually succeed in making changes for this community, the ability of organizations such as this to serve a broader developmental role for Philippi is quite limited, as it operates at a micro-level.

It is not only the Acacia Philippi Community that has taken a more localized approach to community organization in the area. Housing and service delivery are also critical issues for many other neighborhoods in Philippi. In Klipfontein, these issues are more dire than in some parts of Philippi because tension is not only over the right to adequate housing and basic services, but as in many other informal areas of cities in the

developing world, the struggle is also related to residents' access to the land, which this community has occupied for well over 100 years. Dwellings in Klipfontein are comprised primarily of shacks made of corrugated metal. While many of the structures have access to basic household services, the quality of those services is often lacking (Interview with community activist April 28, 2009). Houses in the area are still dependent on the bucket system for toilets and the waste is only collected every eight days. This situation is far from ideal and the municipal government has done little to address the need for toilets in the community. The state has however responded to community demands for the installation of additional water pipes for residents. While these pipes were not located on individual plots, residents organized to connect their own pipes to the stand pipes, channeling water to each individual dwelling. Additionally, a community activist notes that the area is particularly prone to flooding and the current sewer system is unable to handle the vast amounts of water (Interview July 28, 2009). While they have not provided a better water management system, the activist argues that the city's Disaster Management branch has been very responsive in providing pumps and other remediation services after flooding occurs (Interview April 28, 2009).

While community organization and mobilization in Klipfontein has been important in securing greater access to basic services in the community, it is primarily focused on efforts to prevent development of the land on which the community is located. Proposed development in the area would result in the eviction of current residents. As described previously, Klipfontein was one of the initial settlements in the Philippi. The land on which these residents live is currently held in a trust by the neighboring Methodist church. As developers have become interested in the industrial potential of

Philippi, the holders of the trust have become increasingly open to selling the land (Interview with community activist July 28, 2009). Residents would subsequently be moved a good distance away, to an area of Cape Town known as Blue Downs, and feel that this would be incredibly disruptive to their work lives and children's schooling (Interview with community activist April 28, 2009). In response to these initiatives, residents of the area have formed the Klipfontein Community Committee. This organization has engaged in multiple protests to ensure that the city government does not accept any actions of the trust as representing the interests of community residents. There have been organized marches to the provincial Department of Housing as well as tire burnings to make the community's cause known. The committee has also developed an alliance with the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC), which has associational ties to Shack Dwellers International. The relationship with CORC however, has been relatively contentious. The organization was able to provide services to the community such as an enumeration of households but they are also viewed by the Committee as being overly aligned with the trust. While the level of mobilization in Klipfontein is high and there is concerted effort to engage with state, the issues around which mobilization occurs tend to be very localized. Community leaders are engaging in an issue based manner about land tenure, housing development, and service provision in Klipfontein. These are all incredibly important and very pressing issues for residents. There is however, very little if any engagement with other community organizations or dialogue about the development of the broader Philippi area. Attempts to scale up by connecting with organizations such as CORC begin to offer potential for creating a broader voice for the concerns of Klipfontein residents. However, in many ways, these

efforts bypass the larger community in which Klipfontein is embedded and limit the ability of the Committee to address issues of allocation of public investment in Philippi. Again, while mobilization exists, it is only at a small-scale neighborhood level and is disconnected from other organizations within Philippi. It therefore fails to serve as a vehicle for addressing a broader and more comprehensive plan for Philippi.

Evans (2002b) critiques the ability of neighborhood based movements to create more livable cities on the grounds that they can be particularly parochial and often deal only with very localized concerns. He argues that in order to be successful, it is important that they scale-up their efforts and garner broader support by inserting themselves into larger social movements. The communities of Philippi support his assertion that interests can be relatively narrow and without integration into broader community-wide forums, it may be difficult for communities to effectively engage with the state regarding broader community development. As a larger community, Philippi has seen a number of public investments. There is potential for interest in this area to foster local development and enhance local capabilities. However, because of the very fragmented and immediate nature of local needs, the broader community has been unable to cohesively engage with the state about issues that directly affect Philippi as a whole. As the state attempts to focus public investment toward the area, the divergence in scales at which the state is operating versus the scales at which civil society is operating is likely to further limit the potential for effective engagement.

Politicized development.

The scale of civil society organization is not the only issue limiting the potential for state-society synergy regarding development in Philippi. Ideally, community-wide forums such as ward committee forums or SANCO that are designed to aggregate community needs and engage with the local state around capability enhancement could provide an institutional arena for scaling up neighborhood interests. However, these organizations themselves are largely viewed as ineffective by the local community and members of each group profess loyalty to their own organization while lamenting the inefficacy of others. One community member referred to the ward forum as the only progressive structure in Philippi while categorizing all other civil society organizations in the area as “dysfunctional” (Interview May 6, 2009). Another local activist described SANCO as the single effective community structure in Philippi (Interview July 29, 2009). While representatives of each of these groups see their own organization as the exclusive efficacious community structure, many unaffiliated residents have a much more pessimistic view of all community-wide representation in Philippi. The local development and ward forums as well as SANCO have been characterized as particularly politicized (Interview with community activist May 6, 2009; Interview with ward councilor April 29, 2009). A local SANCO activist described the organization as being tied to politics. “Politics is our food. It’s our everyday life” (Interview July 29, 2009). However, the political connections within SANCO are not bipartisan. Instead the local SANCO branch, like those described in Soweto, is very closely aligned with the ANC, giving the party its official support during elections. The SANCO activist noted that although SANCO is comprised of a variety of representatives with varied interests, they

support the ANC. In a sentiment echoed by many South Africans he argued that “voting against the ANC is akin to betraying Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, and Mbeki” (all key figures in the anti-apartheid struggle) (Interview July 29, 2009).

In Soweto, the tight links between SANCO and the ANC served as a stable channel of patronage for the politically connected. SANCO became a conduit to the ruling party whereby influential figures were able to procure benefits for local residents. In Philippi, however, the politicization of local development organizations works a bit differently as a result of the fluid nature of party power in both the Cape Town metropolitan government as well as the Western Cape provincial government. Since the creation of the current Cape Town uni-city, contestation between the DA and the ANC has been intense, with real potential for shifts in the party in power during each local election. There has been a similar situation within the provincial government. Additionally, the Congress of the People (COPE), formed in 2009 by a breakaway faction of the ANC, has been influential in local politics in Cape Town and is a powerful force in Philippi (Interview with local activist July 29, 2009). The fluidity of political parties in the area has meant that while community structures in Philippi often maintain close ties with political parties, those ties are not as stable as those encountered in Soweto and do not represent the interests of the entire community. Instead, a civil society that is fragmented along political lines serves to only further divide the community rather than unite them under common goals of community development. Local NGOs have attempted to navigate this politicized fragmentation in an effort to create more cohesive community structures that are able to engage with the state. According to a representative from one of these NGOs, negotiating the political and councilor dynamics has been “a bit

of a minefield.... It would make work easier if we didn't have to negotiate that stuff but of course these issues get politicized and particularly fraught in places where resources are scarce and then it's very important who's aligned with whom" (Interview May 20, 2009).

It is in part this political factionalization of civil society that prevents the creation of a community-wide organizational structure that might be able to effectively address local development. Community organizers have noted that without a powerful community-wide structure such as the KDF in Khayelitsha, residents become increasingly reliant on ward councilors to be conduits of local demands (Interview May 20, 2009). This has given some of the councilors in Philippi an inordinate amount of power over local development. One representative of a local NGO observed that people in the area are often nervous of upsetting the councilors that have the power to be gatekeepers and withhold resources. The councilors in the area have been characterized as self-interested officials who "talk to us like saints but they have two tongues" (Interview with local NGO official May 20, 2009).

There have been numerous instances in which the politicization of development projects has ensured that the political interests of the ward councilors take precedence over capability enhancement. In one particularly extreme example, a ward forum member took on the cause of starting an academic enrichment center and bringing two Grade R classes (similar to pre-school in the US context) to the area. Funding for the project was to come from the Provincial Department of Education. Upon being made aware of the potential funds coming into the community, the councilor demanded that he be given

R6,000 (approximately \$880) of these funds per month in return for his involvement with the center (Interview with municipal official May 14, 2009). The councilor has also been neglectful in dealing with housing provision and basic services in parts of Philippi. Across the street from where the Joe Gqabi bus station and Fresh Produce Market were built, a temporary relocation area was established in 2005. With its small houses of zinc sheeting, this was supposed to be a temporary site for residents of an informal settlement that was tapped for formal development in another part of the city. Residents were promised they would be able to move into their newly provided formal houses within a year. Five years later, in 2010, the residents were still living in the temporary area. Residents argued that those who had been moved out into the new housing were those with connections to the councilor. When the community attempted to approach the councilor and demand the housing they were promised, they were told to “go to Delft” - an area of state-provided housing development further east on the Cape Flats (Interview with municipal official May 14, 2009). The potential for provision of housing in Delft is particularly limited as the housing being built there has already been allocated to other residents. While there are many instances of corrupt councilors working in Philippi, this did not characterize all of them. Residents argued that there are certainly councilors who take the wellbeing of their constituents seriously (Interview April 29, 2009; Interview April 28, 2009). However, it has still been difficult to get councilors within Philippi to coordinate their action around local development. As one local NGO official lamented, they frequently operate as a “bunch of individuals and can’t table anything collectively” (Interview May 21, 2009).

Activists in Philippi were well aware of the contrast between processes of local development in their community and nearby Khayelitsha. It was pointed out that the KDF in Khayelitsha provides a forum through which collective needs can be discussed. On the other hand, without the presence of these types of institutional structures in Philippi, this is less feasible (Interview with NGO official May 21, 2009). There is also a sense of resentment among Philippi residents that in recent years much of the public investment has stopped flowing into the area and has instead been focused in Khayelitsha (Interview May 21, 2009; Interview May 20, 2009; Interview April 29, 2009). One very tangible example of this is the hospital being built in Khayelitsha discussed in the previous chapter. Initially, that hospital was supposed to be built in Philippi opposite the Joe Gqabi bus station. However, largely due to the influence of the KDF, it was relocated to Khayelitsha.

The case of Philippi illustrates that while there was a substantial amount of will among the local state to foster development in the area, public investment is largely unsustainable and unlikely to meet real community needs without effective engagement between the state and communities. The ability of the municipal bureaucracy to effectively formulate public investment projects that aligned with a broader vision for the city's development through the SDF and iSLP allowed for resources to be directed toward a community with substantial needs. There were coherent plans for development in the area, however without effective engagement with residents, these plans failed to meet local needs and public funds could have been used much more effectively. Projects from the Fresh Produce Market to public housing and servicing projects failed in Philippi because a fragmented community was unable to cohesively engage with the state around

local development and provide information about the ways in which these investments might be better able to address local needs. Instead projects were designed by municipal bureaucrats with limited engagement with community members. This mirrors Scott's (1998) argument that state-led development planning that fails to effectively engage with communities is likely to result in white elephants.

The level of community fragmentation is important in understanding why public investment in Philippi has not been more effective. Civil society in Philippi is largely divided around the concerns of individual neighborhoods or political allegiances as opposed to the development of the community as a whole. Much of this is likely due to the immediacy of localized needs. Ensuring that the housing issues of a particular neighborhood are addressed is likely to be more pressing for many residents than engaging with the state around fostering broader community development. At the same time, those groups such as SANCO and ward committees that are supposed to provide the institutional basis for community cohesion have become more concerned with party politics than with developmental aims. In the absence of cohesive, non-partisan community organization, ward councilors have not provided a viable alternative. Instead they have often been plagued by corruption, self-interest, and strong handed tactics to ensure that they personally reap the benefits of the public investments that occur in the area. They have also been ineffective in working together to create broader representation across Philippi. While Philippi has been a site of substantial public investment, in the absence of these mechanisms of community coordination, this investment has been largely unsustainable and often gone to waste. Despite this fact, because of the cohesive planning of the municipal government in Cape Town, in many ways Philippi has been

better off than Diepsloot, a similar transitional informal settlement in Johannesburg that has experienced almost complete neglect by the state.

DIEPSLOOT

History of Diepsloot

Like Philippi, Diepsloot was intended to be a temporary informal space where residents who were relocated from informal settlements elsewhere in the city would be provided permanent RDP housing. However, the population of the community grew at a rate that outpaced the rate at which RDP housing was being provided. This has resulted in the creation of a diverse, contentious, and fragmented community on Johannesburg's northern border that consists of a combination of informal settlements, RDP housing, and market-based housing. Diepsloot is located about 43 kilometers north of the Johannesburg city center, just within the northernmost stretch of the metropolitan border. It is wedged between the busy N14 highway to the northwest and William Nichol Highway to the east. This sprawling settlement stands in contrast to the surrounding landscape of open veld that stretches north toward Pretoria. To the south, is the exclusive residential area of Dainfern Estate, with its large homes with high security walls, electrified fences, and private security guards, providing a stark contrast to the corrugated metal shacks that make up many of the residences in Diepsloot.

Established in 1994, Diepsloot was intended to provide accommodation for residents removed from other informal settlements in northern Johannesburg. Previously, the area had been farmland. The first group to be resettled here came from Zevenfontein informal settlement just south of Diepsloot. Fearing declining property values and rising

crime, residents of Dainfern, a wealthy community adjacent to Zevenfontein, were instrumental in ensuring the removal of residents to Diepsloot (Benit 2002). The Dainfern residents erected barriers and road blocks to enclose the Zevenfontein settlement. Simultaneously, Johnnic Properties, which had been responsible for the development of Dainfern and wanted to expand its investment in the area, was instrumental in convincing the state to remove residents from the informal settlement (Benit 2002). The developer built fences around the informal settlement and offered to pay the municipality to remove residents. Not only did Johnnic Property seek to profit from development in Dainfern but also in Diepsloot. They subsequently used a partner company to lobby to build RDP houses in Diepsloot for those Zevenfontein residents who had been relocated, ensuring profits from both the displacement of residents as well as their resettlement. The tension between those with economic interests in Dainfern and the Zevenfontein residents was not unique. The provincial authority had previously attempted to move Zevenfontein residents to a site neighboring the wealthy neighborhood of Bloubosrand. However, once Bloubosrand residents heard of the proposition, they quickly mobilized in opposition and the state suspended its planned relocation. Once arriving in Diepsloot, former residents of Zevenfontein were provided with 1,124 serviced plots in Diepsloot West (Benit 2002).

The next to arrive in the area were homeless families accommodated by the Rhema Church located in Honeydew, about 25 kilometers southwest of Diepsloot. About 273 families were provided with temporary unserviced plots in what is known as Diepsloot 1. Even today, this area remains almost entirely unserviced. The largest of the initial resettlement groups to arrive in Diepsloot were those evicted from informal settlements in Alexandra, a large African township in northeastern Johannesburg. These

residents had been living in an area of Alexandra termed the Far East Bank when it was slated for redevelopment. In Alexandra, organization of property owners in opposition to the growing population of informal settlements sped the relocation of numerous shack dwellers to Diepsloot (Benit 2002, Lucas 1995). About 3,000 people were to be temporarily moved into Diepsloot 1. Over the next few years, residents from other informal settlements around Johannesburg were forcibly moved into Diepsloot 1 and in 2001 another 4,522 people from Alexandra were forcibly relocated to Diepsloot. These residents did not qualify for state subsidized housing (Dlamini 2005). To this day, Diepsloot 1 is known as the “reception area” and is characterized by high density shacks and very few basic services. The initial plan for Diepsloot was that most of those relocated here would be provided with RDP housing, however, as the population of the area grew with each subsequent relocation, the housing demand became increasingly overwhelming and the proportion of residents living in shacks relative to those living in formalized housing continued to grow rapidly (Himlin, Engel, and Mathoho 2007).

The dynamics of the creation of Diepsloot are illustrative of the dominance of capital in the broader urban governance coalition in Johannesburg. Rather than fostering synergistic relations with the urban poor, the state has excluded these voices in favor of the demands of capital interests. In the case of relocating residents from Zevenfontein, this includes prioritizing the interests of property developers and wealthy residents concerned with property values. However, these power dynamics are not strictly used by the elite. The influence of property owners in the poorer township of Alexandra was also central to the removal of residents of informal settlements. By 1998, the majority of Diepsloot’s residents had come to the area from informal settlements within the

boundaries of metropolitan Johannesburg (Setplan 1998). While initially planned, the area had essentially become a reservoir for those living in informal settlements in other parts of the city (Himlin et al 2007). When property values in other parts of Johannesburg were threatened or developers saw a more profitable use for land on which informal settlements were established, the residents were relocated to Diepsloot, causing a population explosion in an area that was isolated, thereby posing less of a threat to the interests of developers and property owners.

While the initial residents of Diepsloot came from other parts of Johannesburg, much of the more recent population influx has been fuelled by rural migrants from South Africa or residents from other southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Somalia who are seeking employment in Johannesburg (Interview with local business owner and activist September 5, 2009; Interview with school official February 19, 2009; Interview with ward councilor December 13, 2008). As discussed below, relations between native-born South Africans and foreign nationals in Diepsloot have frequently been contentious and often violent. While there are no official figures, it has been estimated that the current population of Diepsloot is approximately 150,000 people (Bearak 2011).

Service Provision in Diepsloot

By 1997, it was clear that Diepsloot was growing in size and there was an acknowledgement by the Northern Metropolitan Local Council that it needed to be recognized as a permanent settlement rather than a temporary relocation site (Himlin et al 2007). In 1999, it was determined that there was an estimated housing backlog in

Diepsloot of about 5,000 families. In order to develop plots for these people, which were to include an RDP house with basic services, a development company by the name of Elcon was tapped in a joint venture with the municipality to develop 3,800 stands while the city council would develop 1,000 stands through government subsidies. In order to free up resources for this development, Diepsloot was identified as a special project by the Provincial Premier of Gauteng. For those that qualified for state subsidized housing, the plan was to transfer title to their plots. Afterwards, through the People's Housing Process, residents would build their own structures on the serviced land.

In the formal housing sections of Diepsloot, where RDP and/or market-based housing have been built, there is on-site access to water, toilets, and electric lines. However, in the informal settlements of the area, the conditions are generally much different. Residents living in the shacks of Diepsloot frequently lamented that servicing was moving very slowly (Interview with community activist August 13, 2010; Interview with business leader August 13, 2010). There is rarely any access to electricity. Instead when neighboring houses or communities have electricity, shack dwellers will participate in what is frequently referred to as "democratic electricity." This entails illegally connecting one's own dwelling to an electric line provided to another person's home and drawing on their supply. This practice is particularly dangerous as wires are often run across streets in high traffic areas. Many residents of informal settlements are killed each year as a result of electrocution from illegal electric connections. As seen in the photo below, the City of Johannesburg's corporate electricity provider, City Power, has started a campaign to stop these connections. However, in Diepsloot, there is no talk of providing alternative legal electric connections to those living in the area's shacks.



Johannesburg City Power Sign (Source: Amy Kracker Selzer 2010).

Access to toilets is another common issue in Diepsloot. When travelling through certain areas, the smell of human waste fills the air. Burst sewer pipes are a daily occurrence and residents note that it takes weeks for the municipal authorities to repair the problem (Interview September 5, 2009). For many years, residents living in Extension 1 were reliant on the bucket system for toilets, only recently seeing pit latrines installed. Even with these, residents note that when there are blockages, the city is very slow to come to Diepsloot and fix them (Interview September 5, 2009). Some residents note that there are still areas of Diepsloot that lack toilet facilities entirely (Interview February 19, 2009). Water is also an issue for residents not living in the formalized portions of Diepsloot. Many of the informal areas lack communal taps and rely instead on Johannesburg Water's tanker trucks to provide water to the community. Often community water needs are underestimated by the government and not enough is provided (Interview with NGO official April 16, 2009). As argued by an NGO activist who had worked on issues of service delivery in Diepsloot, this system of water delivery

is particularly difficult for those who are employed. If they happened to be at work when the tankers came – which is very common as they would often come on weekdays – residents had no choice but to pay a neighbor to collect their water for them or else they would have to go without (Interview with NGO official January 14, 2011). Trash collection has also been a problem. The areas with RDP and market-based housing enjoy regular trash collection by Pikitup, the City of Johannesburg’s trash collection corporation. However, in informal areas, residents must put their trash in a dumpster to be collected communally. Some residents argued that Pikitup does not come as often as they are supposed to, making it difficult to keep the area free of litter (Interview with clinic employee February 19, 2009; Interview with small business owner September 5, 2009).

Poor access to infrastructure is further reflected in the virtual absence of community services in Diepsloot until very recently. Roads in the RDP and market-based housing areas of Diepsloot are generally paved, however they remain in a state of disrepair (Interview with local school official February 19, 2009). Most of the roads outside the formalized areas of Diepsloot remain unpaved and riddled with deep divots, leaving many of them impassable by vehicle, particularly when it rains (Interview with local activist and business owner September 5, 2009). The lack of passable roads not only makes travel difficult for residents trying to move within Diepsloot, it also poses serious problems for emergency vehicles such as ambulances, police cars, and fire trucks that are trying to access those in need. Given the fact that most of the facilities providing emergency services to Diepsloot are still many kilometers away, the impassability of the roads adds one more layer to the problem of emergency response in the area.

For a community of 150,000, access to emergency services in Diepsloot has been abysmal. It was not until 2006 that there was a police presence of any sort in Diepsloot (Interview with local school official February 18, 2009). It was then that the Johannesburg Metro Police established a small office in an empty shipping container in the settlement. However, both the size and scope of this office have been insufficient (Interview with local ANC official February 18, 2009). While the Metro Police have some crime fighting ability, their primary mandate is the enforcement municipal bylaws and regulations and the issuing of traffic tickets (City of Johannesburg 2011). The responsibility for addressing crime belongs primarily to the South African Police Service (SAPS). A permanent SAPS facility is just now being developed in Diepsloot West. However, since its inception, Diepsloot has been serviced by the Erasmia SAPS station, which is 18 kilometers away in Pretoria (Interview with ward councilor December 13, 2008). In many cases, this has meant that the police are unreliable in dealing with the rampant crime in Diepsloot and community members instead respond to criminal activity through sometimes arbitrary mob violence (Bearak 2011). The virtual absence of the police is not the only glaring deficit in terms of emergency services in Diepsloot. It was not until 2009 that a fire station was built in Diepsloot West and ambulances are just now beginning to arrive to the area (Interview with NGO official April 16, 2009). The necessity of these services is magnified by the fact that many residents rely on paraffin oil for light and heat. This can be particularly dangerous and flammable and in densely populated areas, such as shack communities, as these fires are likely to spread from one shack to the next very quickly. Without a nearby fire station, the impacts of these fires in informal settlements like Diepsloot can be catastrophic in loss of life and property.

The lack of emergency response in the area impacts not only police and fire services but also health. Most residents needing emergency care are sent almost 30 kilometers north to Kalafong Hospital in Pretoria (Interview with community leader February 21, 2009), a long distance to travel in the midst of a medical emergency. The healthcare situation in Diepsloot is made even more tenuous due to the limited number of clinics within the community. There are only two small clinics and almost every informant noted that they were not anywhere near sufficient in servicing the needs of residents. The first clinic in Diepsloot – located in Diepsloot West – was built in 1999. The second was only built in the last couple years. Residents complained that in order to be seen at the clinic, it is necessary to arrive at 4:00am and wait until it opens at 8am. Because the clinics are only open until 5pm, it is not guaranteed that those who seek help will be able to see a nurse (Interview with community activist September 5, 2009). Instead, many residents travel approximately 20 kilometers to seek care at Witkoppen Clinic (Interview with community development worker February 21, 2009).

Like other public services, access to schools in Diepsloot has been limited. Within the area, there are four public and two private schools. The private schools are unaffordable to most of the area's population, leaving the vast majority to rely on only four schools (Interview with community leader February 19, 2009). This includes two primary schools and one combined primary and high school (Sunday Times 2006). One additional high school was subsequently opened in 2009 (Interview with local ANC official February 18, 2009). The limited number of schools for such a large population has resulted in massive over-crowding (Interview with local activist September 5, 2009). As a result, many residents are forced to send their children to schools as far away as 30

kilometers (Interview with ward councilor December 13, 2008). This means that families must absorb large costs in paying for commuting and students spend large chunks of their day just getting back and forth to school.

In 2006, an official from an NGO associated with development in Diepsloot took stock of the area's public facilities, comparing what facilities exist with established guidelines for human settlement planning (Sunday Times 2006). At the time these figures were published, Diepsloot had a population of more than 82,000 residents (Africa News 2006). It was pointed out that Diepsloot had three crèches but needed one for every 500 families. Diepsloot had two primary schools but needed one for every 1,500 families. There was one combined primary and high school but one stand-alone high school was needed for every 3,000 families. Even with the additional high school that was opened in 2009, there is nowhere near a sufficient provision of high schools in the area. At the time, 15 more clinics were needed to service a community of Diepsloot's size. While this survey was conducted prior to the construction of the fire station, it was argued that one is necessary for every 6,000 residents. While the new fire station will help, it is not sufficient to meet community needs. At the time the report was released, there was also no police station in Diepsloot but it was made clear that one station is necessary for every 25,000 residents. Again, the subsequent provision of police services is still a far cry from what is necessary, especially in an area characterized by high levels of crime such as Diepsloot. For comparison's sake, the lack of services in Diepsloot today is akin to a city with the population of Providence, RI having no hospitals, being serviced by a single police station, and providing only four public schools, two clinics, and a single fire station.

In the absence of state provided services, local NGOs and churches have attempted to fill the gap and address local needs (Interview with NGO official April 16, 2009; Interview with CPF official February 18, 2009). For example, a Methodist Church from the wealthy Johannesburg community of Bryanston has established a large NGO called Bophelong – a Sotho word meaning “Place of Life” - near an eastern entrance to Diepsloot. The NGO provides sports and recreation opportunities, daycare, and medical facilities for residents (Interview with NGO official April 16, 2009). Currently, their daycare provides services for 730 children between the ages of 6 and 15. The school’s approximately 80 teachers are all Diepsloot residents. The NGO also has a large field that is used for soccer, basketball, and netball. The leader of the NGO pointed out that this is the only green field available in all of Diepsloot. All of these services are funded through donations of the church’s Bryanston congregation. While NGOs such as this offer valuable services that fill a glaring void in state-provided services, their ability to expand their services to meet the huge need in Diepsloot is largely contingent upon donations, a dilemma that is likely to make their efforts less sustainable.

Philippi and Diepsloot illustrate a stark contrast in terms of service provision. While both were intended to be sites of opportunity and provide housing and services to those forced from other informal settlements, the levels of public investment in capability-enhancing services have been starkly different. Even though Philippi is smaller than Diepsloot, it has seen a significantly greater amount of investment in public facilities, even in raw numbers. While the provision of public housing in Philippi through iSLP was associated with integration into broader community development and services, development in Diepsloot was conceptualized in a more single-minded manner, focusing

almost solely on the provision of housing and neglecting the more integrated needs necessary to sustain such a community.

The lack of investment in capability-enhancing services in Diepsloot can be explained by the limited incorporation of the community into the city's urban governance coalition and the bureaucratic fragmentation of the municipal bureaucracy in Johannesburg. As noted previously, in Johannesburg, only those actors who are able to serve party interests are included in the urban governance coalition. Therefore, it was only when investment in the community served the needs of the ANC that any attention was paid to public investment in Diepsloot. Once the area lost its political relevance, it disappeared from the state's agenda. Rather than being driven by the demands of the community or comprehensive planning, the state's approach to development in Diepsloot reflects the interests of property developers who feature prominently in the city's urban governance coalition. It was property developers whose interests were reflected in the city's spatial planning documents calling for Diepsloot to remain self-sufficient and segregated from the rest of the city so as not to affect nearby property values.

Engagement in the State and Service Delivery in Diepsloot

While there are glaring needs in terms of service delivery, engagement between the community and the state around service delivery in Diepsloot has ranged from clientelistic to non-existent. This is due in part to the fragmented history of the area as a transitory space for residents from various parts of Johannesburg and Africa as well as the political context of engagement in Johannesburg's urban governance coalition. As noted previously, a number of residents of informal settlements in other parts of

Johannesburg were forcibly moved to Diepsloot (Benit 2002). Upon arrival, each group was relocated to separate areas, with only certain groups qualifying for RDP housing or access to services. In addition to tensions associated with this divergent access to resources, there have also been mounting tensions between long-term residents and new arrivals, specifically foreign nationals. These various divisions have played out along both social and spatial cleavages within Diepsloot, making it difficult to develop broad based community organizations necessary for effective engagement with the local state.

Space, service delivery, and community in Diepsloot.

When households were forcibly resettled in Diepsloot from around Johannesburg, each group was moved to a separate area (Himlin et al 2007, Benit 2002). Those coming from the Zevenfontein informal settlement were moved to serviced plots in Diepsloot West. Much of the public investment that has subsequently occurred in Diepsloot has been centered on this area as the result of a 1991 site and service scheme implemented by the municipal government. Diepsloot West has seen much of the RDP housing development and has also been the location of the new fire and police stations. Those relocated by the Rhema Church in Honeydew and those evicted from Alexandra were moved to Diepsloot One. As this reception area was originally intended to be only a temporary settlement, to this day it remains almost completely devoid of services. This differentiation has reinforced the spatial and social correlation between access to capability-enhancing services and historical communities, providing further impetus for community fragmentation. It has not been uncommon for those residents in the reception area to jump the fence separating their area from Diepsloot West in order to access the

public facilities of their neighbors. As these facilities are guarded by Diepsloot West residents, these episodes of trespassing have been met with acts of violence (Benit 2002). This inequality in access to services only compounds the social divisions that exist between each area based on divergent histories. Each group that came to Diepsloot came with its own history and leadership structure and many of those leaders were reluctant to give up their influence in order to create a more cohesive community that encompassed the broader Diepsloot area (Benit 2002). This has made the creation of cohesive community organizations especially difficult.

The Diepsloot Community Development Forum.

The spatial and social fragmentation seen in the creation of Diepsloot is reflected in the institutional opportunities for community mobilization and the interests that have been represented in dialogue with the state. This was especially true of the now defunct Diepsloot Community Development Forum (DCDF). As the state began the process of building RDP houses in Diepsloot in the late 1990s, community fragmentation had important implications for the ability of residents to influence development processes. It has been argued that the DCDF played a critical role in negotiating with local state officials over the types of services provided to the community and providing a link between residents and the state, authoritatively voicing their perspective as the consensus of the community (Beall et al 2002). The DCDF claimed to have direct ability to engage with the state. “We have a hot line to the premier. If he can’t come to us when we call, he sends someone to fetch us and we go to him” (Quoted in Beall et al 2002:138). Rather than representing a comprehensive attempt to use public investment to integrate

Diepsloot into the urban structure, it has been argued that the Premier's interest in the area was motivated by political self-preservation. Given his fragile position within the ranks of the ANC, he sought out a support base among the urban poor in order to increase his own political standing. This relationship between the Premier and the DCDF evolved along the clientelistic party lines described in Chapter 4 and once engagement with the DCDF was no longer politically expedient for the Premier, Diepsloot fell of the radar of the local state.

The DCDF arose out of a Diepsloot community policing forum and came to prominence as a result of its role in negotiating land development objectives in Diepsloot with the local municipal council. The structure of the DCDF consisted of various subcommittees dealing with local issues such as environment, health, and education (Beall et al 2002). The organization gained much of its traction using a devolved committee structure in which each street or block would mobilize and link up with larger DCDF structures in a manner that tied much of Diepsloot into the DCDF. Through these processes, the organization became a key player in community politics. Much of the organization's capacity came from its ties to PlanAct, a Johannesburg-based urban development NGO. PlanAct worked in the community between 1997 and 2002, facilitating the structure and goals of the DCDF (Interview with NGO officials January 14, 2011).

While the DCDF gained a substantial amount of influence in Diepsloot, the extent to which it represented the interests of the broader community in its negotiations with the local government, as opposed to its own vested power and influence with the ANC, is

highly debatable. Beall et al (2002) argue that the DCDF was often highly exclusionary. This became increasingly evident with the large number of foreign nationals arriving in Diepsloot. Rather than incorporating this growing constituency, many members of the DCDF are argued to have been overtly xenophobic in their exclusion of foreigners, who were seen as co-opting the resources that they viewed as belonging to South Africans (Beall et 2002).

The claim of lack of representation of the DCDF has also been made on political grounds (Benit 2002). The DCDF was historically aligned with the ANC, the party that has held power in both the Johannesburg metropolitan government as well as the Gauteng provincial government since the end of apartheid. As noted previously, the DCDF had a relatively direct channel to influential government officials. However, there were a number of groupings within Diepsloot that felt that their interests were not being addressed by the DCDF and formed their own breakaway community forum, the Interim Steering Committee (ISC) (Beall et al 2002). The goals of the ISC included an attempt to bring together the often antagonistic communities of Diesploot One - home to many of the former Alexandra residents – and Diepsloot West – home to the former Zevenfontein residents. The ISC had declared the DCDF as illegitimate and not representing the true interests of the community (Benit 2002). It had tried to establish its role as the legitimate representative of the community in order to forge an alliance between the construction companies building in Diepsloot, in the hopes that they could direct and benefit from the projects. Politics and influence were often at the heart of the battle between the ISC and the DCDF. Because the DCDF was seen as serving the interests of those aligned with the ANC, residents and leaders whose political allegiance lay with the Inkatha Freedom Party

(IFP) felt they were not being represented (Beall et al 2002). The IFP members who withdrew from the DCDF lamented that the entire project had been monopolized by the ANC premier. Engagement between these various community organizations often turned violent, as political influence and access to resources were at stake in the struggle between these two groups. In one instance, members of the DCDF were arrested for violent behavior against members of the ISC (Beall et al 2002). Through mediation by the ANC controlled council, an agreement was eventually made that brought many of the defectors back into the DCDF and restored its reputation as the primary arbiter of state-community engagement in Diepsloot. As in Soweto, this incident demonstrated the importance of links between the party and civil society in establishing legitimacy in the eyes of the state. Those organizations that did not have the backing of the party, and in this case the Premier, were declared illegitimate.

Ties between the ANC and the DCDF had important implications for the form that development in Diepsloot took. This is largely a result of the fact that the ANC saw investment in the area as an agreement between state officials, the DCDF, and private businesses such as developers. It has been debated as to whether the decisions that came out of negotiation between these entities really represent the interests of the broader base of Diepsloot residents or instead serve the interests of politicians and developers with the endorsement of the DCDF merely being a mechanism for maintaining power (Beall et al 2002). In the process of creating a development strategy for the area, it was decided in a 1998 IDP that Diepsloot should be developed into a self-sustaining settlement. This was in opposition to using public investment to integrate the area into the broader spatial framework of Johannesburg by providing more efficient transportation links and creating

a continuous development between Diepsloot and the more populated spaces of the city (Beall et al 2002). This decision was not the result of an attempt at comprehensive spatial planning but rather the influence of capital in the urban governance regime in Johannesburg. In the end this decision did not serve the interests of the residents of Diepsloot, but rather of the private developers in the neighboring wealthy areas who saw the expansion of Diepsloot as an obstacle to the potential sales of high-end housing estates that they wished to build in the area.

Attempts to create a self-sustaining, contained settlement at Diepsloot have been hotly criticized as mirroring the spatial exclusionary policies of the apartheid regime. Landmark work by Massey and Denton (1993) clearly illustrates that in instances of urban spatial isolation, structural factors are likely to reinforce patterns of infrastructure and service deprivation rather than providing any sort of impetus for economic growth or public investment in the area. One of the mechanisms they highlight is that segregated areas are often unable to obtain the political recognition necessary to maintain a sustainable voice in local politics and therefore make demands on the state. This is exactly what occurred in Diepsloot. Matshego, the ANC Gauteng Provincial Premier that had sought out a support base through public investment in Diepsloot, was removed from office. With his departure, Diepsloot no longer offered any political advantage and public investment in the area rapidly fell off of the party's and local state's agenda (Beall et al 2002). As described in Soweto, drawing public investment into particular localities in Johannesburg is highly dependent on individual connections and networks. The links between Matshego and the DCDF had provided a temporary route through which the ANC on the ground (through the DCDF) and the ANC in political office could use these

networks to their mutual benefit. However, in the absence of a bureaucratically coordinated plan that incorporated Diepsloot into a broader vision for an integrated city, the sustainability of this network and the public investment it brought were contingent on particular individuals. Following Matshego's removal from office, Diepsloot was neglected by the local state. According to a senior official in the city's planning department, from this time and until about 2008, Diepsloot was completely absent from the city's agenda (Interview January 15, 2011). Another municipal official reiterated the fact that "the city hasn't engaged in Diepsloot at all" (Interview July 12, 2009). The neglect of the area in development planning is highlighted by the fact that in 2001, after Matshego had left office, thousands more displaced residents of Alexandra were moved by the local government to Diepsloot without any coordination between departments to plan for the increased demand for infrastructure and services (Beall et al 2002). Many of these evictees were merely placed on plots of land already occupied by other families (The Sowetan 2001). Many were not provided with access to water and the already over-filled schools were unable to absorb them (Mail and Guardian 2001). Without the networks provided by the Premier and without the injection of public investment that lent it its supposed legitimacy, the DCDF disappeared from Diepsloot. Its inclusion in the urban governance coalition only lasted so long as it was politically expedient for the party.

Post-DCDF engagement with the state.

Despite its issues with legitimacy and representation, the DCDF carried substantial weight in Diepsloot. Since its collapse, no community organization with

similar clout has emerged to engage with the state around local development. Until today, the most powerful community organization in Diepsloot is the community policing forum (CPF). The role of the CPF in engaging with the state and fostering development has been nebulous and is generally limited to dealing with crime. CPFs were established across South Africa as a participatory method for communities to engage with police. The CPF in Diepsloot has been especially strong with a high degree of participation (Interview with NGO official April 16, 2009). This is in part because they provide the only option for ensuring any semblance of policing as the SAPS office is so far away. The CPF has been praised by some residents and NGOs in the area as allowing them to operate in a way that enhances local development. For example, one large NGO in Diepsloot uses CPF members as security guards to ensure that employees and community members using the premises are protected (Interview April 16, 2009). An official with this NGO stated that when computers were recently stolen from the facility, the crime was reported to the CPF and within a week the computers were found and returned. He praised the CPF as being a form of “self-governance” and arguing that in Diepsloot “that’s how they survive.”

The CPFs in Diepsloot have historically had an anti-development streak as well; one that serves not to represent the interests of the whole community but instead divide it. In the absence of a strong police presence, the CPFs have actively pursued vigilante justice (Bearak 2011). They have taken it upon themselves to serve as judge and jury in dealing with suspected criminals in the area; rounding up suspects, hearing cases, and doling out punishments themselves. These punishments consist of fines, severe beatings, and even brutal methods of killing the supposed perpetrators. This process is especially

problematic in a place like Diepsloot that is socially fragmented. With its recent influx of foreign nationals from around Africa, the area has seen severe tensions between South Africans and “makwerekweres” as foreigners are called. The brutality that these tensions can invoke was seen in the horrific xenophobic attacks that occurred throughout Diepsloot in May 2008. During this time, many foreign nationals and those merely suspected of not being native-born South Africans were killed through brutal means such as necklacing – whereby a victim has a gas filled rubber tire placed around his neck which is then set on fire. This brutal behavior has its origins in the community divisions and mistrust among residents. One Diepsloot resident who is active in an anti-crime group in the area argued that:

“Zimbabweans are very dangerous... They steal a lot from us and many can easily harm your head.... The xenophobic attacks to me are so sweet and I was watching them as they happened. Every South African had been mobilized to stay out of the shacks because you never knew what would happen if you stayed indoors. So we were all forced to come out and watch the attacks... It is very easy for a Zimbabwean to chop off your head for a very simple thing” (Interview September 5, 2009).

A member of the CPF stated that:

“in Diepsloot we like everybody but we have problems with people from Zimbabwe and Mozambique as they are robbing us and killing us because the border is so open and they can come in anytime without papers and can and do disappear likewise without traces as many of these have no papers and are therefore easily involved in crime” (Interview February 18, 2009).

To the extent that Diepsloot CPFs harbor and even endorse this approach toward foreign nationals, their limited engagement with the state bypasses a substantial portion of Diepsloot’s population and can hardly be called representative. The xenophobia in Diepsloot can be directly related to the scarce resources in terms of infrastructure and

services in the area (Interview with ward councilor December 13, 2008). There is a feeling among many residents that foreign nationals not only bring violence but also that they come to places like Diepsloot and use scarce public resources that some residents feel were intended for South Africans.

As the state had largely lost interest in Diepsloot and the community became increasingly fractured, residents have become frustrated with the absence of service delivery. When community members have tried to engage with ward councilors around service delivery issues they often get no response. A representative from a Diepsloot NGO had tried for five years to get the local ward councilor to set up a meeting with the Department of Health to address the lack of health services in Diepsloot. However, the councilor would never respond and the official ended up working through Rotary International to set up the meeting instead. The representative argued that the councilor was reluctant to set up the meeting between the NGO and the Health Department because if he did so, he might not be able to take full credit for any services that were subsequently provided (April 16, 2009). Councilors are also notorious for not effectively informing the community of meetings or the types of projects happening in the area (Interview with local business owner September 5, 2009). The neglect of Diepsloot by government officials does not go unnoticed by residents, who recognize that engagement between the state and community has been substantially lower in Diepsloot than other parts of Johannesburg (Interview February 18, 2009).

With the deadly 2008 xenophobic outbursts in Diepsloot, the state finally began to recognize the extent of deprivation in the area. It was further acknowledged that

something needed to be done when violence again broke out in July 2009. Fuelled by political divisions within the community, a rumor spread that began a wave of service delivery protests that finally grabbed the attention of the local and national government. The incident was triggered by failed bureaucratic coordination in regard to the delivery of sanitation. At the time, Johannesburg Water was attempting to build a sewer pipe through a part of Diepsloot, as the existing pipes were continuously bursting and needed to be upgraded (Interview with municipal official January 15, 2011). In order for this to happen some shacks needed to be relocated. The protocol for this type of process was that Johannesburg Water would notify the councilor who would call a ward committee meeting to deal with the issue and notify the community. At the time, there had been tension between the ANC and SANCO in the area. SANCO found out about the plan and in order to gain political clout, pre-empted the council meeting, telling people they were being moved to Brits, a town about 50 kilometers away in Northwest Province. In reality, the plan was merely to move people to another area within Diepsloot. In the subsequent days, there was clear confusion and lack of communication between city officials, ward councilors, and community residents as to what was actually happening (Heese and Allan 2009). Community members, who were infuriated with the situation, embarked on weeks of protests over the state of housing and service delivery in Diepsloot. Residents that had been waiting for housing for many years were under the impression that they would again be moved to wait for housing somewhere else, far from the social networks and jobs that kept them in Diepsloot. In response to the protests, the national Human Settlements Minister, Tokyo Sexwale, came to the settlement spending a night in a shack, and allegedly standing in one of the many pools of sewage in Diepsloot (Omarjee 2009). It

has been argued that it was the chaos of the xenophobic attacks and service delivery protests in Diepsloot that finally drew state attention back to the area and resulted in some of the recent infrastructure investments such as the fire station and police office (Interview with municipal official January 15, 2011).

The lack of service provision in Diepsloot can be attributed to a number of dynamics associated with the urban governance regime in Johannesburg. First, it is clear that officials in the state are only willing to incorporate community organizations into urban governance coalitions when it serves their particularistic political interests. When an investment in an area is no longer politically expedient and there is no bureaucratic capacity to implement a comprehensive plan to direct public investment toward neglected communities, poor communities are left to fend for themselves. In Diepsloot, it was only once the situation had turned inordinately violent that the state once again turned its attention to the area. Second, Diepsloot has remained spatially isolated from the rest of Johannesburg, allowing it to remain off the agenda of the municipal state. In the absence of comprehensive urban planning, property developers and land owners have exercised disproportionate influence in the urban governance coalition, which has sidelined the interests of the urban poor.

CONCLUSION

The cases of Philippi and Diepsloot provide a context for understanding the dynamics of service provision in spaces that were originally transitory and continue to be marked by significant levels of residential informality. It is clear that the state's approach to public investment and capability-enhancing services in these two communities has

been significantly different. In Cape Town, bureaucratic efforts at spatial planning centered on integrating the historically disadvantaged Cape Flats into the broader municipal space and have helped to direct public investment toward Philippi. The municipality's coordinated goal of investing in Philippi, as described in the city's MSDF, was subsequently reflected in projects such as iSLP and the city's Olympic bid attempt.

On the other hand, Diepsloot has largely remained off the map of the municipal government. Any efforts to address inequalities in public investment resulted from political ties rather than a cohesive municipal effort to better integrate the urban space. Instead, the municipality took the approach of bending to the will of developers and letting Diepsloot develop as a self-sufficient area rather than attempting to use public resources to integrate it into the larger space of the city. This spatial segregation made it easy for the area to stay off of the radar of the municipal state when making decisions about public investment. As a result, when political ties no longer proved a viable mechanism for bringing public investment to Diepsloot, the area was largely neglected.

While Philippi saw more substantial public investment than Diepsloot, it is clear that much of the attention given to the area did not reflect local needs. Investments such as the Fresh Produce Market, some of the state housing projects, and the construction of schools have failed to meet local needs in part because of the lack of synergy between the state and community when designing these projects. This type of exclusive coalition is due largely to the fragmented nature of community organizations in the area. Civic engagement has been centered on more localized concerns with limited potential for coordination among community groups. This has made it difficult to create the kind of

comprehensive community-wide civil society organizations that exist in places like Khayelitsha. As a result of the lack of state-society synergy, when public investment has occurred, it has frequently not met the needs of residents. The case of Philippi demonstrates that even when there is municipal will to invest in community development and capability-enhancing services, these efforts must be met with coordinated civil society input, otherwise the resulting investment is unlikely to meet actual needs.

Philippi represents a case of limited success because there is sustained public investment but because of community fragmentation, it is implemented with limited input from civil society. Diepsloot shares this history of community fragmentation and in many ways residents have become increasingly fragmented in recent years. However, Diepsloot residents find themselves in an even more tenuous situation because there is neither cohesive community engagement nor coordinated efforts by the state to address local needs. This means that without the kind of violent protests that arose during the 2008 xenophobic attacks or 2009 service delivery protests, the area has limited mechanisms for making demands on the state. It is only when the area serves the interests of political officials that there has been any attempt to include community organizations in the urban governance coalition. And even then, only those groups that are seen as serving party interests are deemed legitimate.

CHAPTER 6

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICTS

The central business districts of Cape Town and Johannesburg represent another important arena in which to examine variation in urban governance regimes. Under apartheid, neither CBD experienced the neglect in public investment and capability-enhancing services described in the townships or informal settlements. Instead, the CBDs were especially well serviced. Various measures were undertaken to ensure that as the economic engine of the city, the CBD remained an area that privileged white residents and businesses (Beavon 2005; Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen, and Worden 1999). One of the most notorious of these processes was the forced removal of non-white residents from their communities in the CBD to the peripheral townships. For example, the forced removal of residents from the racially diverse neighborhood of District Six in Cape Town helped to ensure that unhindered access to the economic hub of the city became a privilege reserved for whites (Dorett 1999). Because of their position as centers of capital and white economic privilege, an understanding of public investment in the CBD serves not to provide a comparative evaluation of changes in access to capability-enhancing services as in previous chapters but instead provides a lens into the influence of capital in the urban governance regimes of each city. While there has been some private investment in the communities described previously, the impacts of powerful business and property investors are likely to have less of an impact in these spaces because their interests are centered elsewhere; specifically in the CBDs. According to structural perspectives and the logic of the growth machine, the capital interests concentrated here should wield inordinate amounts of power in urban governance

coalitions to the exclusion of other interests (Graham and Marvin 2001, Sassen 2001, Logan and Molotch 1987). It is argued that because of variation in political contexts, this assumption holds in Johannesburg but not in Cape Town.

STAKEHOLDERS IN THE CBD AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

The previous chapters have focused on configurations of the urban governance regime in the context of townships and informal settlements. While capital has played a role in some of the issues taking place in these areas, it is important to understand the power that capital wields in the urban governance regimes in the parts of the city where it is concentrated, specifically the CBD. As noted previously, structural perspectives have argued that capital is generally the dominant player in urban governance (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Stone 1989, Logan and Molotch 1987) and its power is increasingly centered on the CBD (Graham and Marvin 2001, Sassen 2001). In these perspectives, the discussion of capital generally refers to property owners as well as larger formalized businesses rather than small businesses and informal traders. In order to examine structural assumptions about the power of capital in the CBD, the term will be used in a similar manner here. Capital interests are likely to shape not only the CBD but dynamics throughout the rest of the city as well. The extent to which the local state is beholden to the interests of capital in the CBD has the potential to influence the state's priorities and the resources (both financial and bureaucratic) available to address issues in other parts of the city. While the previous cases primarily emphasize the role that citizens play in urban governance, this chapter allows for a more thorough examination of the relationships

between citizens, the state, and the capital interests that are argued to increasingly dominate urban politics in the context of neoliberal globalization.

While capital tends to be centered on the CBD, there are a variety of others actors who also depend on access to this area; often for conflicting uses. For example, due to processes of industrial restructuring over the last several decades, the informal economy has grown dramatically in cities of the global south (Agarwala 2008). In urban South Africa, much of this informal economic activity occurs within the CBD. The informal sector is traditionally defined by its lack of regulation, in opposition to those employed in the formal sector whose labor conditions are legally regulated (Portes, Castells, and Benton 1989). This sector includes the self-employed or those working through micro-enterprises that fall outside the purview of state regulation. In the CBDs of South Africa, a significant portion of the informal sector consists of street vendors selling goods or services from the sidewalks of the inner city.

The relationship between those employed in the formal and informal economies is often contentious. This has been especially true in the case of street vendors in the CBDs of Cape Town and Johannesburg. As described by an official from a firm attempting to foster CBD regeneration in Johannesburg, there is frequent tension between informal traders and formal business owners. The property owners see sidewalk traders as occupying a space that was not designed for them and creating a dirty streetscape that results in declining property values (Interview July 7, 2009).

The ways in which the interests of various stakeholders such as formal businesses and informal traders in the CBD are incorporated into the urban governance process

represents a broad category of conflicts associated with what Lefebvre terms the “right to the city” (Purcell 2003). According to this perspective, within the urban space, rights should be conferred not on the basis of liberal definitions of citizenship and through formal political channels but instead on the basis of the simple act of residing in the city. He divides these rights into two categories, the right to participation and the right to appropriation (Purcell 2003). The right to participation mandates that all residents of the city should have a say in any decision that influences the urban form. For example, this could pertain to those decisions made in relation to state policy or business investment. For Lefebvre, the role of residents in shaping these decisions should take place through direct engagement rather than just through the kinds of institutions favored by liberal democracy such as voting. He critiques traditional liberal democratic processes as privileging the interests of capital, leaving limited space for the urban poor to shape the city in ways that serve their needs. He instead advocates a broader role for urban residents not only in participating in institutional political decisions but in expanding the array of decisions subject to citizen engagement to include all issues that influence the form of urban space, including physical, social, and spatial relations of the city (Purcell 2003). In addition to broadening the scope of issues subject to debate, this concept also broadens the range of civil society actors to be included in urban decisions and the mechanisms through which they participate, thereby advocating for an approach that is more consistent with the ideals of participatory democratic processes.

In addition to advocating for the right to participation, Lefebvre makes the point that all residents should have the right to physically access and occupy the space of the city – or the right to appropriation. This concept emphasizes the use values of urban

space for all residents. Because of the convergence of often conflicting interests in the CBD - such as property owners and informal traders - interactions between the state, business, property owners, civil society, informal traders, and various other users of urban space around issues of the right to appropriation can be especially contentious. By understanding how these dynamics play out in the Cape Town and Johannesburg CBDs, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of their respective urban governance regimes.

While neither Cape Town nor Johannesburg ideally reflect Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city, these two cities have taken very different approaches to fostering a right to participation as well as a right to appropriation. Both have included capital as a key player in governance decisions, however, in Johannesburg, the influence of capital has been so strong that it has silenced the voices of those who oppose its vision of the CBD. In many ways, the state has bent to the whims of capital and even fostered its position as the dominant player in the urban governance coalition. As a result, the coalition of actors shaping the Johannesburg CBD closely approximates a growth coalition (Logan and Molotch 1987). In Cape Town, capital has also been influential in shaping the urban form, particularly in the immediate post-apartheid era; however, through the influence of subordinate civil society and political processes, the singular influence of capital has been mitigated to a greater extent than in Johannesburg. This has limited the power of the growth coalition.

An examination of the CBDs of each city is important beyond the fact that it allows for an understanding of dynamics taking place within them. These cities represent

interdependent and intertwined spaces. What takes place in the CBD is likely to have significant impacts on other areas of each city. For example, in a context of finite resources, if public investment is centered on the CBD in order to serve businesses and property owners while attracting new investment – as much previous theory has suggested is likely (McDonald 2008, Graham and Marvin 2001) – resources are less likely to be available for investment in other parts of the city. A senior official with the Cape Town municipal government stated that he was often confronted with the argument that municipal investment in the CBD is unfair given the relatively well-off position of this area and the dire poverty that exists on the Cape Flats (Interview August 6, 2010). To the extent that capital maintains a strangle hold on decisions related to public service provision, resources are more likely to be channeled into spaces such as the CBD rather than being distributed to those areas that are in need of greater investment in urban livability.

On a methodological note, relative to the communities described previously, access to capability-enhancing services is less of an issue in the CBDs of Cape Town and Johannesburg as these spaces have historically had relatively high levels of provision. Therefore in order to understand the nature of urban governance regimes in these two CBDs as well as the consequences for the resulting urban forms, an alternative process must be examined. In both cities, the post-apartheid period has been dominated by a focus on inner-city regeneration. This has included an attempt to reverse the flight of both domestic and international businesses from the CBD in favor of the heavily securitized commercial nodes emerging in other parts of the city. In the midst of these processes, conflicts over use and exchange values have become particularly acute. The ways in

which urban governance regimes have dealt with urban regeneration can therefore tell us a great deal about whose interests are heard and prioritized in urban governance decisions.

URBAN GOVERNANCE IN THE CAPE TOWN CBD

Figure 6a. Cape Town CBD.



History of the Cape Town CBD

Since 1652, Cape Town's CBD has been the primary site of economic activity in the Western Cape Province and a site from which goods and people have traveled into the interior of South Africa. The city itself was first established by the Dutch East India Company as a provisioning and medical station for sailors travelling between Europe and Asia. The settlement was centered on a fort, which still stands in the Cape Town CBD, and the estate of Jan van Riebeeck, the leader of the Dutch East India Company's expedition. Initially, the meat provided to the ships was acquired from the indigenous Khoikhoi people. However, the bartering system between the Dutch and Khoikhoi proved unreliable and permanent farming settlements were established in the area adjacent to the fort (Western 1996). Within a year, slaves were being imported to work these farms. While the first slaves were African, eventually the Dutch East India Company began importing slaves from India, Indonesia, and other parts of Asia. Slavery was abolished in 1834 but its history left an important mark on the racial diversity of Cape Town and claims to the area around the CBD. The descendants of the Asian slaves imported by the Dutch East India Company eventually formed the largest portion of the coloured racial category.

The racial diversity of the Cape Town population was reflected in the residential population of the central city. According to Western (1996), in 1936, 37% of the residential space of the city was racially mixed, a proportion much higher than South Africa's other major cities at the time. However, relationships between racial groups were still subject to the same power dynamics taking place elsewhere in South Africa. This

was particularly true in the CBD, an area where whites were increasingly asserting control over the urban space. In 1901, bubonic plague was discovered on the docks of downtown Cape Town. A fear of the relationship between disease and slum conditions caused the state to invoke the 1897 Public Health Act, which gave health officials a great deal of power. Under this act, many of the (non-white) slums of Cape Town's CBD were cleared of their residents (Bickford-Smith et al 1999). Africans living in the District Six area of the central city were rounded up by armed guards and forced to move to locations outside of the CBD. Temporary camps were established for slum residents and were eventually followed by more permanent ones. Rather than recognizing poverty and overcrowding as the basis of the unsanitary conditions of Cape Town's slums, race was identified as the key threat to spreading plague throughout the central city and therefore, slum clearance of the non-white population to peripheral locations was decided to be the solution.

The dynamics of the First and Second World Wars again reshaped the economic and racial composition of the CBD. As a result of the demands of the wartime economy, manufacturing flourished in Cape Town and the demand for cheap labor to fill the subsequent jobs meant a large migration of Africans as well as Europeans to Cape Town (Bickford-Smith 1999 et al). During this time, some areas within the central city reestablished their relatively diverse racial composition. However, the subsequent rise of apartheid ensured that diverse areas such as District Six that were in close proximity to the economic hub in the CBD became exclusively the terrain of white residents and businesses. At the official institution of apartheid in 1948, the racial composition of Cape Town was 44% white, 44% coloured, 11% African, and 1% Indian (Western 1996).

While this diversity was reflected in the spaces of the central city, it conflicted with the vision of the CBD held by apartheid planners. Because of its history as the site of Van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape and its aesthetically appealing position beneath the slopes of Table Mountain, the location of the CBD was seen by white Capetonians as a somewhat sacred space (Western 1996). It was quickly decided that in the process of reshaping the city, white capital would not be relocated from the CBD; instead non-whites would be moved to the Cape Flats through forced removals.

As apartheid reshaped the racial character of the Cape Town CBD, its economic character began to change as well. Apartheid coincided with the expansion of car ownership, a phenomena which in Cape Town, as in cities around the world, resulted in the growth of peripheral suburbs. For white residents, this meant increased residential opportunities to the south and east of the CBD. As people moved, so did many retail facilities. Once the central destination for shopping in Cape Town, the CBD began to lose retail and entertainment clientele to the shopping complexes, bars, and theaters springing up in the suburbs (Dewar 2004). This trend served to solidify the CBD's position as the center of business, legal, and government activity in the city while social functions moved to the suburbs. The fact that employment in many of these remaining businesses was available only to whites served to further solidify the racial exclusivity of the CBD. In this respect, apartheid represented an extreme restriction of Lefebvre's right to appropriation.

Cape Town CBD Post-Apartheid

In the post-apartheid era, the Cape Town CBD remains the center of the city's economy. As of 2000, the CBD was home to 29% of formal businesses in the city and 27% of total employment (Dewar 2004). Many of these businesses are in the financial and business services sectors (Boraine 2010). It is these sectors specifically that are most likely to demand the types of high tech infrastructure that structural theorists argue absorb a large portion of the municipal tax revenue and are particularly courted by those cities wishing to be competitive in the global economy (Sassen 2001). The CBD also represents a spatial concentration of high value land, constituting 21.6% of the city's taxable property (Boraine 2010). A number of major national and multi-national corporations are headquartered in the central city, along with key government offices such as the national parliament and the city council offices.

At the end of apartheid, the CBD's dominance as the economic center of the city was being challenged by a number of forces. Factors such as a fear of crime that accompanied democratic transition manifested itself as skepticism about investment in the CBD among white property owners (Dewar 2004). There were also argued to be limited parking opportunities in the central city and the cheaper price of newly built peripheral office space accelerated the decline of rental rates in the CBD. The rise in informal street traders in the central city after the end of apartheid also created a perception of crime and grime among business and property owners in the area (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). Many businesses cited this as a key reason for considering moving their offices to the suburbs. During this time, there was a

feeling that “businesses and residents were fleeing the decaying and crime-ridden city centre that had become dominated by street-hawkers and vagrants” (Lemanski 2007:451-452). Between 1995 and 2000, development in decentralized nodes was occurring at five times the rate of development in the CBD (Pirie 2007). This led to a decline in central city office rents by about 30%. In order reverse these trends and foster inner city regeneration, public-private partnerships between businesses and the local state were undertaken.

Urban regeneration.

Around the world, central city decline and subsequent attempts at regeneration are embroiled in debates about what constitutes decline and whose interests are served through efforts to regenerate the city. Because of their dominant position in the growth machine, it is argued that urban regeneration primarily serves the interests of property owners and businesses (Logan and Molotch 1987). In an attempt to maintain investment, in the central city, it is argued that local government caters to the will of these actors in order to maintain tax revenues and political support from business. This leaves little space for Lefebvre’s vision of the right to participation and generates an urban form that limits the right to appropriation among the urban poor. The implication is that regeneration creates a city that serves the interests of a wealthier segment of the population as opposed to the diversity of users that engage with the urban space.

In Cape Town, goals of fostering urban regeneration that incentivizes capital investment while expanding the right to the city have created considerable tensions and resulted in significant shifts in approaches toward urban regeneration. Attempts at inner-

city regeneration have been lead by the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), which was established in 1999 as a quasi-municipal entity. The Partnership was a collaboration among the City of Cape Town, the South African Property Owners Association, and the Cape Town Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry and was intended to address the disinvestment that had been taking place in the CBD. It was designed along a public-private partnership model. Funding for the organization comes from both private sector contributions as well as from the City of Cape Town, which is its largest funder. The city's Department of Economic and Human Development contributes R6 million to the CTP (Interview with official in Department of Economic and Human Development July 15, 2009). The board of the CTP currently consists of representatives from a variety of sectors including academia, local government, local business, NGOs, and the arts. At its formation, the stated vision of the organization was to create an "inclusive, productive and diverse city centre that retains its historic character and reflects common identity for all the people of Cape Town" (quoted in Boraine 2010). It was also intended to market the city as an attractive site for private investment on a global stage (Dewar 2004). The extent to which attempts at regeneration took on an inclusive form has varied dramatically throughout the organization's history as a result of social and political dynamics within the city.

From its foundation until 2003, the approach adopted by the CTP predominantly reflected the interests of inner-city businesses with limited concessions to other uses of the urban space. Its focus was on creating Cape Town in the image of a global city. The CTP's initial CEO, Michael Farr, argued that the organization was "building a globally competitive city for residents, investors, and visitors to enjoy" (Quoted in Lemanski

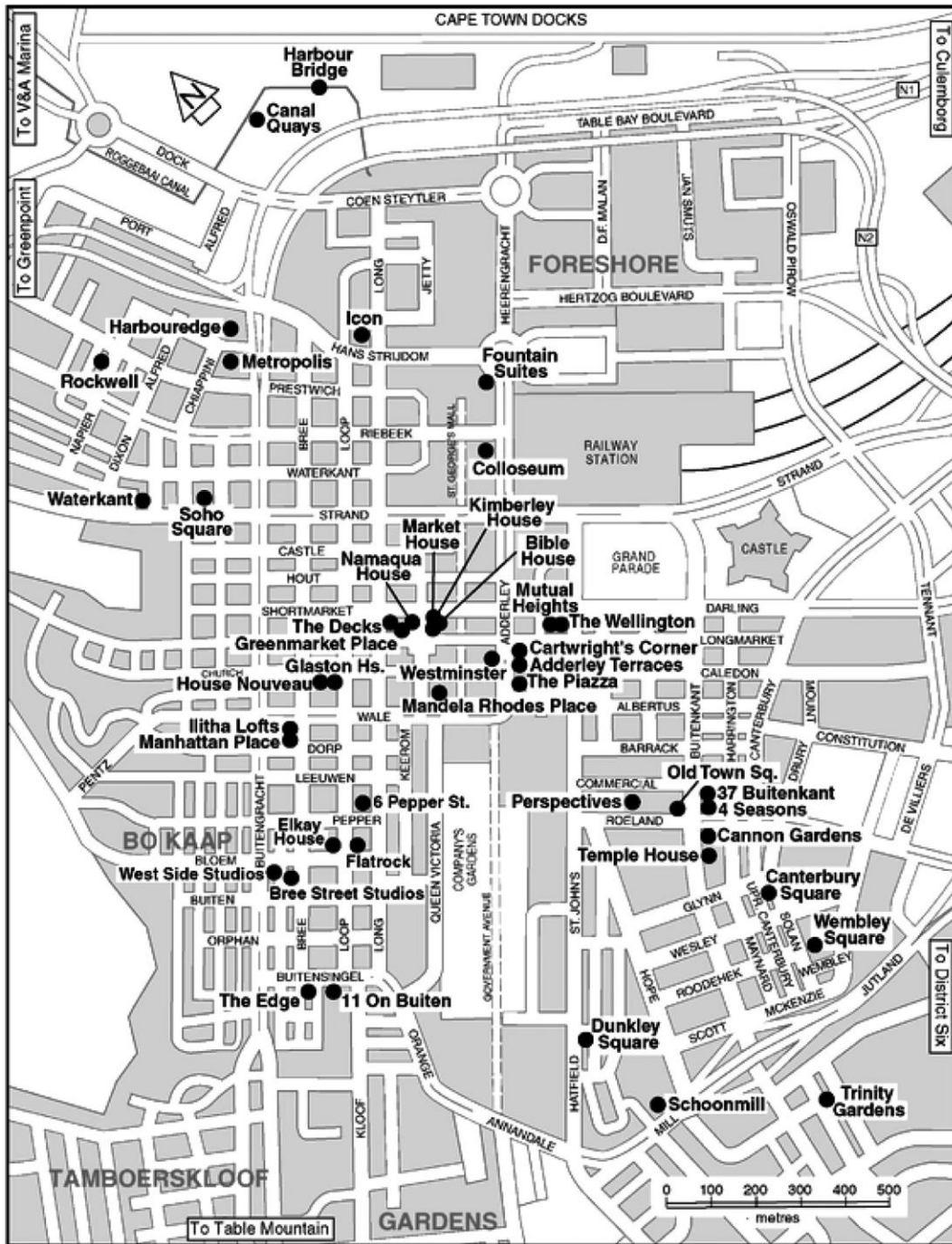
2007:451). In order to fund this regeneration and recreate Cape Town as a “globally competitive city,” one of the first efforts of the CTP was to establish a ring-fence tax fund (Piri 2007). Through this mechanism, a portion of the property taxes collected in the CBD (an area that disproportionately contributes to the tax base of the entire city), were to be set aside for reinvestment in the central city. This meant that those funds could not be redistributed elsewhere, such as the more impoverished townships. In 2000, the CTP established a central city improvement district (CCID) in the CBD. Improvement districts had been popular in other parts of the world and quickly caught on in post-transition South African cities. Those owning property in a CCID are required to pay a monthly fee that is used for sanitation and security services within the designated area. The establishment of a CCID requires 51% of the property owners in the designated area to agree to participate. If this is achieved, all property owners are required to pay in into the CCID. The fee is usually around 13% of their property rate (Miraftab 2007). In Cape Town, the establishment of the CCID has resulted in the hiring of 2 security managers, 160 security officers, six patrol vehicles, and 68 parking marshals. This created an increasingly securitized space for businesses and their employees. However, it has been argued that these types of environments create an environment of increased hostility toward the urban poor and homeless whose behavior becomes increasingly monitored and often criminalized (Mitchell and Heynen 2009). In this sense, the right of appropriation of these urban residents is limited.

In addition to the CCID, a number of efforts were made to ensure that the CBD remained a destination for business investment as well as tourism. Built in 2003, the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC) was located in the CBD and intended to

attract domestic as well as foreign business conventions (Lemanski 2007). In the first six months it was open, the CTICC hosted 196 events, attracting 290,000 visitors (Pirie 2007). In order to cater to this business clientele as well as attract tourists, the central city has seen a rapid rise in investment in hotels. Since 2000, over 1,000 hotel rooms have been added to the existing stock in the CBD (Pirie 2007). Many of these hotels are being established in converted commercial buildings.

The process of regeneration in Cape Town has also been characterized by large scale conversion of former commercial space in the CBD to residential space. Figure 6b illustrates the locations of various new residential developments in the central city. According to Visser and Kotze (2008), much of this new investment is related to the municipal government's designation of the CBD as an Urban Development Zone (UDZ). This designation provides tax incentives to attract private investors to the area such as offering accelerated depreciation allowances for new construction as well as refurbishment of buildings in the CBD. The allowances in Cape Town were set at 20% for 5 years for refurbishment and 20% in the first year for new construction followed by 5% for the 16 subsequent years. The residential spaces being sold in these buildings range from studio to three bedroom apartments and have an average floor size of 96m². The average sale price for these units has been around R1million (approximately \$120,000) (Pirie 2007). Between 80 and 90 percent of these units are being sold to Capetonians and about three quarters have been sold to owner occupiers.

Figure 6b. New Residential Developments in Cape Town CBD.



Source: Pirie 2007:135.

In terms of stemming the tide of capital and residential flight, efforts at urban regeneration in the CBD have been very successful. The area has seen a 90% reduction in serious crime, between R14 billion and R18 billion of new investment has poured into the CBD, over 170 buildings have been redeveloped, property values have been restored, and public spaces have been revitalized (Boraine 2010). A majority of investment coming into Cape Town is now directed toward the CBD (Interview with municipal official July 15, 2009). According to an official from Wesgro, an investment facilitation agency for the Western Cape, investors from big companies are making it a point to be in Cape Town (Interview July 29, 2009). In 2000, commercial vacancies were at about 60%. By 2005, that number had dropped dramatically to 9.92% (Pirie 2007). Much of this growth came in the types of finance and service firms argued to dominate the global economy (Sassen 2001). The CBD now includes 30 banks and foreign exchange outlets, 65 accounting firms, and 313 attorneys (Pirie 2007). Additionally, property interests, which are argued to dominate the urban growth machine (Logan and Molotch 1987), have a significant presence with 56 property companies and brokers (Pirie 2007). In regard to residential growth, it is argued that a round-the-clock residential presence in the CBD will breathe new life into the area as nightlife, shops, and restaurants are likely to benefit from a more captive clientele (Pirie 2007).

These changes have been substantial and have dramatically reshaped the Cape Town CBD. However, debate about whose interests are served and the processes through which these changes have taken place have not been without criticism or conflict. Many of the benefits of regeneration described above are accrued to the relatively well off business and property owners that have seen the value of their real estate increase. To the

extent that the new residential development has occurred at the higher end of the real estate spectrum, the CBD has the potential to become an increasingly exclusive upper-class space. These concerns about the fact that regeneration has largely benefited business, property owners, and the upper segment of the class strata (as structural theories would predict) have become an important part of the political dialogue in Cape Town. This dialogue has had a significant impact in shifting the priorities of CBD regeneration to better reflect the rights of all residents to access and use the space of the CBD.

In its initial years, the Cape Town Partnership served largely as a mouthpiece for local businesses in the CBD (Miraftab 2007). In the process of establishing the CCID described above, a Cape Town city planner involved with the CTP argued that “much to everyone’s surprise, in the process, the City to a certain degree let the leadership role gravitate towards the business... there was no memorandum of understanding drawn up between the partnership and the [municipal] council, which clarifies and sets objectives, goals and expectations, roles and the rest of it” (Quoted in Miraftab 2007:606). This emphasis on the interests of formal business and neglect of other interests can be seen in the CTP’s approach to informal traders in the CCID.

Informal trading tends to be more lucrative in the Cape Town CBD than in other CBDs throughout South Africa and trader organizations tend to be relatively strong due to the fact that the management of informal trading is outsourced from the city to the trader organizations themselves (Skinner 2000). There are approximately 1,400 informal traders in the Cape Town CBD (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). The city’s Informal Trade Management Unit (ITMU) was established to address informal

trading in the city, providing an interface between the state and traders. Many street vendors saw this as a turning point in how the city engaged with participants in the informal economy. Previously, their only engagement with the state had been through officials designated to enforce bylaws on informal trading, which had created a contentious relationship between the state and traders and had limited space for cohesive and productive engagement. While the establishment of the ITMU marks an improvement, because this unit was not within one of the major service-providing departments, its influence and funding were relatively limited (Skinner 2000). This left room for the CTP to insert itself as a key player in the regulation of informal trading within the CCID and minimize space for traders within the urban governance coalition. With the establishment of the CCID in Cape Town, members of the business community involved with the CTP voiced support for the types of “broken window” policies that had been adopted by Giuliani in New York and, as one municipal official put it, essentially “wanted the poor out of their sight” (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). The goal adopted by the CTP to deal with informal traders in the CCID was to create designated markets for them, removing them from the sidewalks where they were seen to block entrances to formal businesses and create competition for customers. Input from the CTP was particularly influential in the city council’s subsequent adoption of informal trading bylaws, which limited informal trading to these designated markets and specially designated sidewalks (Miraftab 2007). At the time, the CTP voiced interest in ensuring that informal trading was even further limited and removed from all sidewalks in the CCID.

Attempts by the CTP to make the CCID more business friendly were not only related to informal traders but to other types of informality as well. One such issue concerned the city's homeless population. In the early history of the CCID, the city's homeless residents were routinely rounded up and transported to areas outside of the CBD. Essentially, the CTP used its Community Policing Officers to arrest and remove vagrants, parking attendants, vendors, and beggars from the CCID, again, in a manner similar to Giuliani's policies in New York (Lemanski 2007). In their support for these efforts, businesses and property owners failed to distinguish between vagrancy and criminality (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). These policies severely infringed upon the urban poor's right of appropriation of urban space by making it clear that their use of the Cape Town CBD was incompatible with their goals of survival. The CEO of the CTP at the time argued that the removal of the urban poor had brought substantial investment to the CBD in a manner aligned with goals of achieving global city status. This was specifically because "cities which are safe and clean, with a well-managed public environment, inspire confidence, and domestic confidence, is the necessary trigger for international confidence" (Quoted in Business Day 2003).

The CTP's tactics of creating a sanitized CBD that served the interests of business rather than the variety of users of urban space were eventually met with substantial social and political disapproval, which would have significant implications for the operation of the CTP and the future direction of urban regeneration (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). In its early years, the CTP was led by Michael Farr, who had previously served as the CEO of South Africa Tourism and the Tourism Business Council of South Africa. He was seen as closely aligned with business interests in the city and had created

an urban governance coalition in the CBD that prioritized the input of capital to the exclusion of other actors. Farr was criticized for his often insensitive approach to dealing with urban poverty and the unaccountable clout he had gained as a result of his position (Lemanski 2007, Miraftab 2007). His leadership was characterized as elitist and driven by a perception that he was above the city's political processes. This created an impression that the CTP was governing the city as opposed to being an integrated component of the municipal bureaucracy (Lombard 2002a). Appointed by the DA, Farr had been particularly dismissive of the ANC, leading to political tensions. In reference to his leadership and the approach of the CTP toward inner city regeneration, one ANC councilor commented that "we need to know if the tail is wagging the dog. We need to relook the concept of partnerships. The idea of partnerships is a good thing... It does not mean the partnership governs. If you create partnerships you maximize your resources, not take away your power or responsibilities" (Mfeketo as quoted in Lombard 2002b). Opposition to the approach of the CTP was not only led by political representatives but also members of subordinate civil society. One of the most vocal opponents was COSATU, whose officials criticized Farr's approach to the CBD and his alliances with capital, which they saw as alienating the citizens of Cape Town, especially the urban poor (Lombard 2002b). Members of COSATU argued that the Partnership "was turning the city into an elitist hub" (Lombard 2002a:2) and demanded that the municipal government make significant changes in the approach of the CTP so that its efforts did not alienate citizens.

Opposition to the CTP's tactics came to a head when the approach to CBD regeneration became politicized in the context of municipal elections and the ANC's

criticism of the Partnership's approach was stepped up. After the 2002 local elections, the DA lost control over the municipal government to the ANC. Subsequently, the relationship between the municipal government and the Partnership was restructured to ensure greater state oversight and realign the organization's priorities. It was mandated by the new ANC mayor that "high level" city officials would be appointed to the Partnership's board and that the actions of the CTP would be decidedly more pro-poor. A key goal of these decisions was to ensure that the organization's activities more accurately reflected broader priorities of the municipal government, rather than allowing the CTP to continue to act in a manner that was responsive only to business (Lombard 2002a). This included expanding the social development efforts of the Partnership to some of the city's poorer neighborhood outside of the CBD in an effort to prevent resources from being hoarded in the central city. The political climate therefore, was influential in ensuring greater integration of bureaucratic goals within the urban governance regime. Farr's continued presence made the government vulnerable and in order to avoid the collapse of the CTP, he stepped down in early 2003 (Miraftab 2007). In essence, a change in the political climate and the demands of subordinate civil society provided the impetus for what would be a significant shift in approach to inner-city regeneration. This shift meant that the Partnership would be more effectively integrated into the municipal bureaucracy rather than allowing it free reign. The ability of municipal leaders in the ANC to highlight the decidedly pro-business agenda of the CTP served their interests in gaining political clout while at the same time engendering a significant shift toward a more inclusive approach to urban regeneration.

In response to this call for greater inclusivity, Andrew Boraine, an anti-apartheid activist who had been the former city manager, was appointed CEO of the Cape Town Partnership in 2004. While the mandate of the organization and its focus on attracting investment to the city center remained largely intact, the practices of the organization saw dramatic shifts. There was a change in both focus and tactics, ensuring that the CBD served a much broader segment of the urban population. Boraine's leadership began a discursive shift in the organization, arguing that "poverty is not a crime" and "we can't create an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty" (quoted in Miraftab 2007). This was reflected in the change of the CTP's slogan from "creating a world class city" to "creating a city for all;" an acknowledgement that becoming globally competitive should not supersede the creation of a livable city. This discursive shift was accompanied by shifts in the organization's membership. One of the key changes made at this point was to expand the board of the CTP to include officials from NGOs as well as black professionals rather than just business representatives and state officials, thereby creating a more inclusive perspective on inner-city development (Lemanski 2007).

Changes in the approach to dealing with the CBD were not limited to changes in the structure or discourse of the CTP. As described previously, the CTP had previously used its resources and clout to physically remove informal vendors, street kids, and vagrants from the CCID. In an effort to create a more compassionate approach to dealing with poverty in the CBD, the mayor initiated the Smile-A-Child Campaign, which helped fund NGOs that dealt with issues faced by street kids. In 2004, the CTP joined the mayor's efforts and initiated its social development program in conjunction with the Smile-A-Child Campaign. The social development program is based on the recognition

that previously, social and criminal issues had been lumped together, however; the two need to be addressed through different mechanisms. The social development program seeks to provide access to social services for those living on the streets (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). The CTP has partnered with homeless shelters to provide resources for the homeless and the head of one of the city's largest shelters serves on the board of the CTP. The organization has also partnered with job creation agencies and created programs that employ the unemployed and homeless residents of the CBD in the city government.

The reaction of the business community to the shift in tactics of the CTP has often been negative (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). The approach was certainly a deviation from the previous tactics that had garnered so much support among Cape Town's business leaders. Many perceived the new approach to be soft on crime. The response of the CTP was not to change policies to appease businesses but instead to embark on an education program about homeless issues in the CBD, directed largely at members of the business community (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010).

A similar change in policy toward informal trading took place in the city. As noted previously, the business community had used the CTP to lobby for informal traders to be moved from sidewalks into market places where they would be segregated from the city's formal businesses. Businesses had threatened to leave the CBD and move to the suburbs if this did not happen (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). It was however recognized by the CTP that traders' livelihoods depended on their ability to sell their goods in public spaces with access to a large number of customers. It was

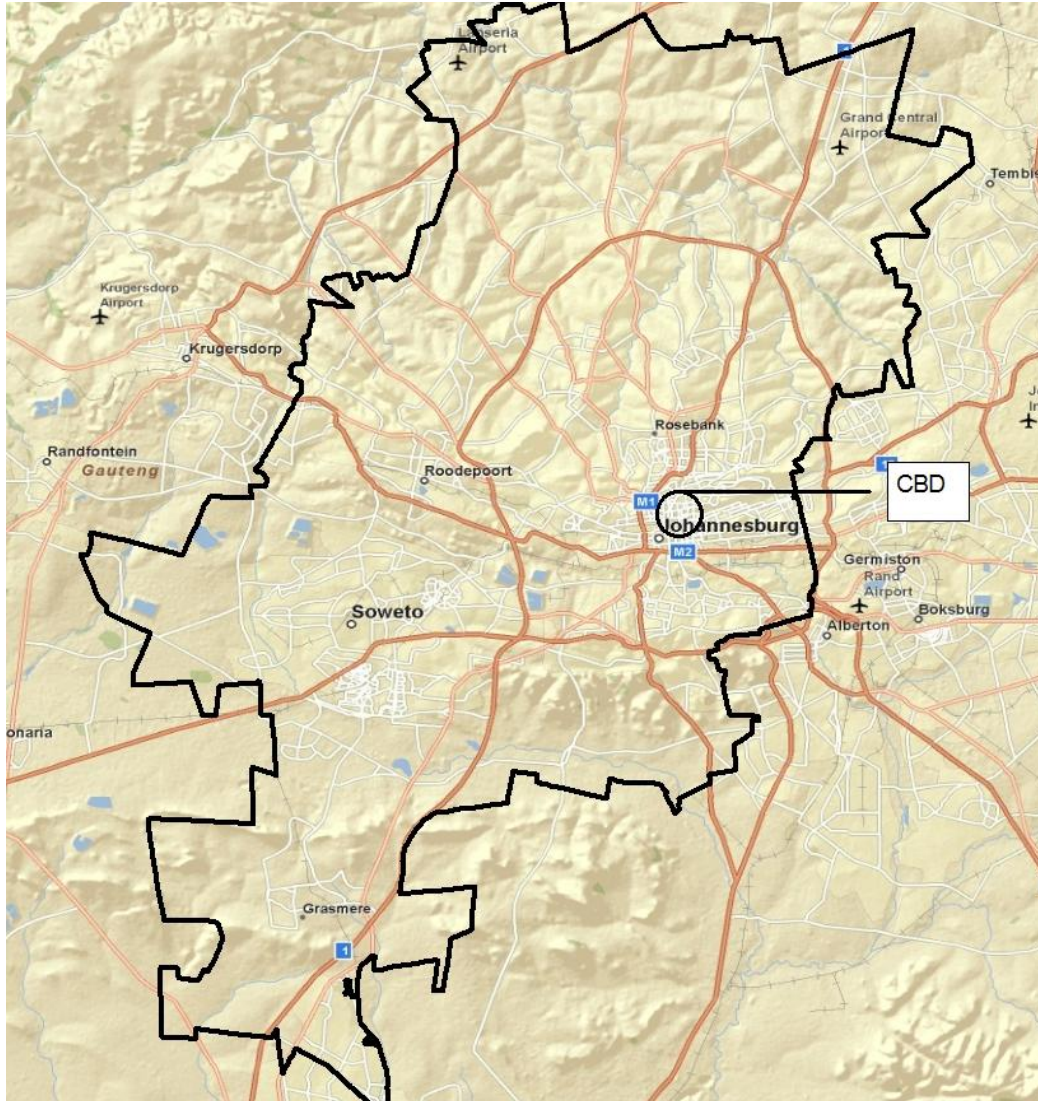
recognized that “traders had a right to the city” and compromise needed to be reached (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). Through a process of consultation with traders and business owners, the CTP got traders on the street to upgrade to trader barrels that advertise for nearby formal businesses. This reduced the competition between informal traders and formal businesses for street access and created more space for pedestrians on the sidewalks.

The approaches to dealing with street kids, the homeless, and informal traders have seen a marked shift in the Cape Town CBD. Attempts to create a more inclusive space however have reached beyond these issues. One of the recent initiatives of the CTP has been to create inclusive public spaces for Capetonians of various class and racial backgrounds (Lemanski 2007). This is based on the idea that public places are one of the spaces where all residents of Cape Town are able to come together and meet as equals. These spaces provide an arena where people of various backgrounds can engage with one another without being shielded by their cars or gated homes (Interview with municipal official August 6, 2010). These efforts include free jazz concerts in the city’s Greenmarket Square as well as art festivals and other public gatherings in the city’s public spaces that are intended to provide free entertainment to bring in those residents who have felt alienated by the direction that CBD development had taken in the past (Miraftab 2007). It has been argued that these approaches must prioritize the needs of residents of Cape Town as opposed to tourists or visitors. As Boraine notes: “Our approach [the CTP] assumes that if the area works first and foremost for Capetonians then it will almost automatically work for visitors (but not the other way around)” (Boraine 2010).


The shift in priorities of the CTP does not mean that the Cape Town CBD has become an ideal space representing Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city. There are still a number of challenges and processes that favor the interests of property owners and businesses. As mentioned above, the transformation of the CBD has meant that property values have risen and investment in new residential development has been taking place at the higher end of the property market. This new development is inaccessible to the vast majority of the city's poor. There has been discussion within the CTP of ensuring that population densification in the CBD must include at least 20% affordable housing (Boraine 2010). However, given the high price of property in the area, it is uncertain whether this is feasible (Miraftab 2007). While it remains to be seen whether this ideal becomes reality, it is clear that the political climate in Cape Town has reshaped the urban governance regime in a way that expands residents' right to the city. Political competition provided the incentive to integrate the CTP back into the municipal bureaucracy in a manner that served the broader goals of the municipality as opposed to the particular interests of capital in the CBD. It also incentivized the creation of a more inclusive urban governance coalition in dealing with issues of poverty in the CBD. In contrast to the situation in Cape Town, the exclusive and powerful ties between the state and businesses and property owners in Johannesburg have resulted in a CBD that more explicitly serves the needs of capital to the detriment of the urban poor.

URBAN GOVERNANCE IN THE JOHANNESBURG CBD

Figure 6c. Johannesburg CBD.



Legend

 City of Johannesburg



History of the Johannesburg CBD

Johannesburg is a much younger city than Cape Town. The birth of the city is widely acknowledged to have occurred in 1886 when gold was discovered on farmland on the Witwatersrand. In response to the discovery, miners flocked to the area and named the first mining camp “Johannesburg.” Within months, the camp grew from 300 miners to 3,000 (Beavon 2004). By 1892, a rail line had been established linking Johannesburg and Cape Town and by 1896, only 10 years after the discovery of gold, the city had the largest population in all of sub-Saharan Africa with 102,000 people. The racial composition of the growing population of Johannesburg was relatively diverse. The original prospectors were primarily white men from across South Africa and around the world. Additionally, Indians from Natal who had served their term as indentured servants began arriving in Johannesburg along with coloureds who had been working transport lines from the Cape (Beavon 2004). Once it was realized that there was enough gold in the mines to sustain long-term mining, the mine owners recognized the need for a massive force of cheap labor. By 1899, approximately 100,000 Africans had been recruited to Johannesburg to engage in the backbreaking, low paid labor.

The growth of the mining industry shaped the subsequent geographic form Johannesburg would take. An initial town plan was established in 1886 which laid out the basic structure of what would become the CBD. This plan set aside initial plots of land for commercial and residential purposes and was later expanded to include the established mining camps. These layouts were established based on an assumption that Johannesburg, like other gold towns, was likely to be a boom town that would disappear

within a decade. With the realization that the gold reserves were extensive along with the ever-expanding population of the city, the CBD began to take on a more permanent character. Government offices were established and the kinds of commercial and financial institutions necessary to support the mining industry began to emerge. For example, the city's informal stock exchange was moved from a tent in one of the mining camps to a formal building within the CBD. Banks soon began to move into nearby offices. The growing city also saw a rise in teachers, butchers, retailers, and various other professions that serviced the growing and increasingly permanent population.

The rapid growth of the city and its more permanent nature meant that expansion beyond the small previously planned area would be inevitable. On the ridges bordering the CBD, wealthy Johannesburgers began constructing mansions and establishing posh residential neighborhoods. Residents of these areas were exclusively white. As the white population continued to grow, the demand for African service workers grew as well. Those employed in the mines lived primarily in the mining compounds; however, those working in the city had to find their own accommodation. Many lived in the racially diverse poor communities in the northwestern part of the central city, which soon became sites of forced evictions. As happened in Cape Town, the removal of non-whites from the city center occurred prior to the official institution of apartheid. As in Cape Town, removals initially occurred early in the 20th century under the guise of sanitation and public health. As non-white inner city neighborhoods became overcrowded, the city's Health Committee advocated that these slum areas be declared unsanitary and destroyed. The council's fear that the cases of the plague that had been seen in Cape Town might make their way to Johannesburg amplified their efforts. Once a case of the plague was

actually discovered, the city moved forces into the area within hours and burnt the slum down. As noted in Chapter 4, it was this incident that led to the establishment of the first portions of Soweto as African, coloured, and Indian residents were moved into temporary housing in that area. At the time, the state only had the power to legislate the residence of Africans and most Indians and coloureds subsequently returned to the city. The fact that the new settlement was a great distance from the CBD was an obvious inconvenience for Africans working in the city. However, it also inconvenienced white employers who lobbied for accommodation for some of their employees in the city. A process of permitting allowed some of these employees to live in the slums on the outskirts of the CBD. Eventually, unpermitted African residents made up a large portion of these communities as well. Through the use of the 1923 Urban Areas Act, the 1934 Slums Act, and eventually the 1950s Group Areas Act, the removal of non-whites from the CBD took on a more permanent nature that would last until the final days of apartheid.

During the early phases of apartheid, Johannesburg's CBD experienced substantial investment. The area saw the expansion of new modern buildings that concentrated offices and services around the already existing retail centers of the city. In the 1950s, a number of banks also consolidated their presence in the central city. The area maintained an aura of both residential and commercial prestige. The growth of trendy apartment complexes in neighboring areas such as Hillbrow reinforced the city as the center of shopping and entertainment for the region. However, the development of retail centers in the expanding suburbs and processes of urban decentralization soon began to undermine the prominence of the CBD. The decline in prominence of the central city can be attributed to a variety of factors (Beavon 2004). First, the 1960s saw a rapid growth in

the presence of shopping centers in the growing peripheral suburbs, drawing retail activity out of the CBD. The rising energy costs of the 1970s made the maintenance of many of the tall older office buildings in the central city unsustainable for businesses. In response, many began to move to offices in the suburbs that were located on cheaper land and were more economical in their energy use. Additionally, the Johannesburg CBD had seen a growth in industrial uses in the post-war era. However, the rising property prices in the CBD limited potential expansion for factories. This coincided with the passage of the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act in 1967, which was aimed at moving industrial activity out of many of South Africa's larger cities and closer to cheap labor sources in the homelands. This was intended to prevent an influx of Africans into the cities and in response, a number of factories relocated from the eastern area of the CBD.

While these trends of flight from the CBD began in the 1960s and 70s, the later era of apartheid saw even greater declines. Between 1980 and 1994, the city's manufacturing economy declined by R0.9 billion (Pienaar 1994). A similar trend was seen among the finance and service sectors. In 1982, seven of South Africa's leading accounting firms had their head offices in the Johannesburg CBD. As of 1994, all remained in Johannesburg but only two were located in the CBD (Bremner 2000). Of the 14 top advertising firms located in Johannesburg, seven were located in the CBD in 1991. However, by 1994, all 14 had moved to decentralization locations. One of the most symbolic departures from the CBD was the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, which left its historic location in the CBD for a new building in the suburb of Sandton in 2000. While these trends mark a substantial amount of capital flight, there are a number of firms that

maintain their central city presence, including the offices of large national banks and the headquarters of mining offices.

The late apartheid nature of the CBD was characterized not only by capital flight but also a substantial shift in the demographic composition of residents. As white residents moved out of central city neighborhoods to the expanding suburbs, non-whites began moving in. Under apartheid, this was illegal; however, the law was circumvented by having white sponsors rent an apartment in their own name and then sublet it to non-white renters. As restrictions on residence were slowly lifted towards the end of apartheid, these “graying” areas became increasingly non-white. In 1985, residents of apartments near the CBD were 70% white, 25% coloured and Indian and 5% African (DeConing, Fick, and Olivier 1987). By 1996, 95% of these apartments were being rented to non-whites (Beall et al 2002). Not only has the residential character of the area changed but its economic function has as well. Rather than the formal white-owned businesses that filled the urban space in the previous century, the central city has seen an increase in the urban informal economy (Bremner 2000). This change is largely a result of policy shifts. Under apartheid, the informal sector was outlawed, while today it occupies a tenuous space between being recognized as a legitimate form of business and constantly being under threat.

Johannesburg CBD Post-Apartheid

Commercial development.

In the post-apartheid era, inner city policy was dominated by attempts to stem what capital and the local government perceived to be urban decay. As in Cape Town,

Johannesburg has tried to rebrand itself as a “global city” in an effort to attract global and domestic investment and it was decided that a key mechanism for achieving this goal was to regenerate the CBD (Bremner 2000). Efforts at transforming the CBD have consistently reflected the interests of capital to a greater extent than efforts at urban regeneration in Cape Town. Capital and particularly property owners have had a considerable stake in the regeneration of the city, as they feared losing value in the properties they owned (Beall et al 2002). This represents a relatively consolidated set of stakeholders as the majority of property in the CBD is owned by only 20 landholders (Rogerson 1996). In order to lobby for the interests of this group, the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was established in 1992 as an alliance among CBD businesses. In its limited lifespan, the organization exerted considerable influence on central city planning and effectively excluded additional stakeholders from decision making processes (Beall et al 2002).

The CJP emphasized the need to “normalize” the Johannesburg CBD through processes that enforce the city’s bylaws, building control, and landuse management (Fraser 2008). One of the key initiatives in achieving this goal was the creation of business improvement districts (BIDs) in the central city. These were the equivalent of the CCID implemented in Cape Town and were viewed as a way to regain control of the streets from vagrants and informal traders in order to reverse urban decay (Beall et al 2002). The establishment of BIDs is argued to bring “cleaner, safer, and more attractive Urban spaces... non-bureaucratic and innovative management of Urban areas... maintain and increase property values... stabilize rentals and improve occupancy rates” (Cox 2000:2). These goals all reflect the needs of property owners rather than expanding the

rights of other urban residents to use the city in ways that serve their needs. Going into effect in 1999, legislation regarding the establishment and power of BIDs was heavily influenced by the CJP as it was drafted using CJP legal resources (Peyroux 2006). For property owners, these improvement districts supply additional street cleaning, security, and bylaw enforcement (Interview with business organizer July 7, 2009). Business improvement districts in Johannesburg are facilitated and managed by a private entity called Kagiso Urban Management, which was established by the CJP. The initiation of a BID requires that all property owners within the designated area pay an additional levy to cover the costs of the services provided. Once approximately 30-40% of owners in an area agree to the formation of a BID, Kagiso initiates the legal processes necessary for its establishment. However, in order for the BID to be officially established, 51% of property owners must consent.²² Once established, all property owners in the designated area are required to pay the BID levy.

BIDs, which have garnered a great deal of support among the business community, exert a large amount of power in managing urban space. Their influence in dictating municipal policy stems in part from the shared goals of both business and the municipal government (Peyroux 2006). Through the private provision of additional security and sanitation, the BIDs take on what has traditionally been a municipal function, relieving the municipality of the associated cost and responsibility (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009). The sanitized space is in turn argued to increase property values, thereby expanding the municipal tax base (Cox 2000). Because political stability

²² This is according to BID legislation. Kagiso prefers that 60-65% of property owners consent to the establishment of a BID in order to reduce future tensions between members.

is assured in Johannesburg and ties between the state and capital are mutually beneficial, there is limited incentive to respond to the interests of other actors using the urban space. Without this incentive, this exclusive alliance between the municipal state and business becomes entrenched and sidelines other stakeholders within the Johannesburg CBD, resulting in an exclusive urban governance coalition.

In addition to extra security, dealing with informal traders is one of the key functions of the BID. Property owners see informal traders as a nuisance and obstacle, occupying spaces on the pavement that were not intended for their use (Interview with local expert July 7, 2009). The head of the CJP lamented this situation in proclaiming that:

“For a number of years, motorists had to dodge informal traders as they fanned out on the roads from this building, pushing ‘borrowed’ supermarket or other trolleys to get their wares to their pitches both early in the morning and late in the afternoon. At one stage the council actually designated informal traders’ paths within the road reserve (like bicycle paths) in order to provide a safer passage for both the traders and the motorists” (Fraser 2008:188).

In addition to this view that informal traders occupy spaces to which they have no right, traders are also claimed to generate trash that makes the area less visually attractive, decreasing property values (Interview with local expert July 7, 2009). In 2001, the city council, in cooperation with business, had informal trading laws in the BIDs and the central city changed so that informal traders could only sell their goods in designated formalized markets. Getting informal traders off of the streets of the CBD became one of the key initiatives of the city’s Inner City Office (Beall et al 2002). In one instance, traders were moved from an area in the CBD to a newly constructed market in Yeoville, an inner city residential area that lacked the street traffic and customer base associated

with the CBD (Beall et al 2002). This significantly limited potential income that traders depended upon for survival.

Informal traders have had very little, if any, influence in the way these processes play out as they have not been included in the governance coalitions that make decisions about their fate. The relationship between informal traders and the various actors in these spaces can be seen in the process of the formation of the Main St BID in central Johannesburg. This BID is located in the area of the city where the large mining houses are headquartered. Additional property owners in the area include the Gauteng Provincial Government, NedBank, and Zurich Financial Services. The process of creating a BID in the area has been driven by one of the largest property developers in the city who owns a number of properties in the area (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009). This property owner has been instrumental in rallying the private sector to create a BID and in securing the necessary financing. His efforts were later recognized by the municipal Johannesburg Development Agency as exemplary for creating a business destination in the city center (van der Merwe 2009). The creation of this BID was very much driven by the property owners with little input from the municipal government, let alone from informal traders or other users of the urban space, fueling the impression among property owners that this was their street and their project (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009). The process of developing a BID requires that public hearings be held with concerned stakeholders. The involvement of local informal street traders in these areas has occurred rarely if at all (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009; Interview with business community organizer July 7, 2009). In the case of the Main St BID, meetings concerning the regeneration of the area were attended primarily by property owners with some representation from

street-level businesses but virtually no attendance by hawkers or hawker associations (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009). These meetings were also attended by members of the provincial government but their input in guiding the process was very limited, essentially meaning that the only real voice represented was that of property owners. The resultant character of the area thus reflected the interests of the property owners. It was made clear that hawkers had no role to play and while they once had a significant presence in the area, they are now absent (Interview with local expert July 1, 2009). When asked about informal traders in this area, a municipal official dismissively noted that “they’re not encouraged” (Interview August 16, 2010). Instead, there is an emphasis on the elite nature of the area. In describing the Main St BID, a municipal official noted that even the street and sidewalk sweeping are done discretely and the security guards are well-dressed in order to portray the upscale nature of the area (Interview August 16, 2010). A four star hotel was recently built on a nearby corner, housing a café and restaurant that were described as finally providing an upscale place where city officials can go for lunch (Interview August 16, 2010). The green space in the area has also been privatized, consisting largely of walled gardens in between buildings which are privately owned. It was argued that many people see this area as developing into another Sandton – a reference to an upscale area in Johannesburg’s northern suburbs.

Goals of recreating Sandton, Soho, or other globally prestigious upscale neighborhoods in the Johannesburg CBD are frequently voiced by municipal officials as well as property and business owners who have the greatest influence over CBD regeneration (Interview August 16, 2010a; Interview August 16, 2010b). This provides a clear indication of the upscale vision for the CBD, which can be seen in projects such as

the Arts on Main development in the city's Deep East area. Arts on Main is described as a hub for Johannesburg's "creative community" contributing to the "Johannesburg CBD's regeneration" (Arts on Main 2011). The project is located in a converted industrial space and contains restaurants, bars, galleries, and shops that all face onto a large interior courtyard. The central facing layout of the complex and the securitized entrance separate it from the surrounding community. The owner of the property also owns the rights to develop nearby properties. One building has already been converted into a boutique hotel with an upscale shop on the ground floor. There is a common perception among property developers and municipal government that this area is becoming a replica of Soho (Interview August 16, 2010).

The vision of creating upscale places in the CBD is not unique to Arts on Main. Similar processes are occurring throughout the central city. In the area of Braamfontein, a large property development agency has bought a number of buildings and is in the process of converting them into offices, student apartments, and retail spaces. With the commercial flight from the Johannesburg CBD, many vacant properties were occupied by squatters looking for a place to live. Other residential buildings saw a rise in absentee landlords who abandoned their properties as values plummeted (Beall et al 2002). The purchase and upgrading of many of these buildings has meant that previous residents are being displaced. One of these residential buildings was purchased by this property development agency for conversion to an upscale hotel. When an employee of the agency was asked where the previous residents had gone he responded that he did not know but quipped that "chardonnay always wins," breezily acknowledging the class component of power in the process of urban regeneration (Interview August 16, 2010).

The impacts of this development are felt not only by residents but also owners of small retail businesses. The property development agency's vision for the area is to "recreate Park Slope in Johannesburg" (Interview with employee August 16, 2010). This goal is being pursued in part through the conversion of buildings into upscale condos and apartment buildings but also through a transformation of the street level, including the creation of coffee shops, high end boutiques, and bars, all catering to an upscale clientele. In the words of one of the agency's representatives: "once you have a Starbucks, people think it's a good neighborhood" (Interview August 16, 2010). This reflected a larger vision for the area that was described as the "Saturday space for the northern suburbs" (Interview August 16, 2010), implying that the businesses were not intended to cater to the current residents of the CBD but instead to residents of the city's wealthy northern suburbs. The creation of this vision has had the effect of raising rental prices for current street level shops to unsustainable levels. A representative of the property development company described an incident where a shop owner yelled and pleaded that he not drive him out of his small shop and called him a capitalist pig. The representative remarked that this was the first time he had thought about the people in the area rather than just concerning himself with creating a specific use of space. Despite this realization, this official viewed the developments taking place as merely creating a certain lifestyle as opposed to engaging in anything political.

The state and urban regeneration in Johannesburg.

The developments described above have had an important impact on reshaping the inner-city of Johannesburg in a way that advantages upscale property owners and

limits both the right to participation and right to appropriation among informal traders, lower end retailers, and poorer residents. In many ways, the influence of capital has increased as the municipal government takes a back seat. This can be seen in the BIDs where property owners exert their influence by replacing some of the functions previously held by the city and more importantly in dictating the rules that govern these spaces. However, this does not mean that the municipal state has completely removed itself from processes of CBD regeneration. Instead, specific municipal agencies have facilitated the structure that gives capital the power to reshape the urban form in their own interests, to the exclusion of others. In the Johannesburg CBD, this happens primarily through the JDA. The vision of the organization is to create a platform that makes it easier for developers to “do what they need to do” (Interview with municipal official August 16, 2010). This has specifically meant that the JDA works to create links between businesses and property developers and the municipal government in order to ensure that capital’s needs are met. In order to facilitate these relationships, the JDA actively seeks out and creates platforms to engage with CBD property owners and businesses. One of the more effective approaches in establishing these ties has been for the JDA to seek out business forum meetings and request a spot on the agenda to speak about the ways in which the JDA and municipal government can serve the needs of inner-city businesses (Interview with municipal official August 16, 2010). Property owners have remarked that these collaborations have been especially useful in facilitating engagement with the state and that the JDA has been particularly supportive of their vision of urban regeneration (Interview with municipal official August 16, 2010, Interview with property developer employee August 16, 2010). In this manner, the JDA

creates and reinforces the links that enable space for capital to engage in the urban governance coalition.

In addition to the efforts of the JDA, the mayor has recently established an agenda that prioritizes inner-city development. In order to facilitate his vision, he has instituted monthly meetings with CBD property owners to help facilitate regeneration. These meetings are led by the former head of the CJP (Interview with municipal official August 16, 2010). The mayoral prioritization also means that developers' applications for rezoning and building in the CBD are given priority and fast-tracked through the city's landuse planning department (Interview with municipal planning officials August 16, 2010). Through these processes, officials described property owners and government as working side-by-side to facilitate regeneration and close ties have been developed between city officials and the largest property owners in the city (Interview with municipal official August 16, 2010).

In Johannesburg, the municipal government has actively instituted forums for property owners and businesses to have an important role in the urban governance coalition. However, similar platforms do not exist for those segments of the population whose interests do not coincide with capital (Interview with municipal official January 15, 2011). The alliance between government and business actively sidelines the interests of poorer residents, informal traders, and smaller businesses in the CBD as these interests are not provided access to the state or given a significant voice in urban governance processes in the central city. In Cape Town, political divisions within the municipal government provided a check on the extent to which the municipal government could

form such tight alliances with capital at the expense of other urban users. However in Johannesburg, similar checks on the power of the state and capital to dictate the urban form do not exist. Therefore, the urban governance configuration in Johannesburg is more exclusive and more closely approximates a growth coalition.

CONCLUSION

Structural perspectives argue that capital is the primary actor in urban governance coalitions and the drive to attract and maintain globally mobile capital has magnified the ability of businesses and property owners to influence the urban form in a manner that prioritizes their own interests. This is said to diminish the use values of other residents of the city and limit both their right to participate in decisions about the urban form as well as their right to appropriation of urban space. These dynamics are frequently played out in the space of the CBD where the interests of capital are heavily concentrated and frequently come into contact with conflicting uses of the urban space. The cases of Cape Town and Johannesburg demonstrate that the extent to which capital dominates the urban governance coalition varies significantly. While neither city represents Lefebvre's ideal of the right to the city, Cape Town comes closer to this vision while dynamics in Johannesburg more closely approximate a growth coalition.

Both Cape Town and Johannesburg faced the challenge of declining private investment in the CBD in the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods. Both cities were eager to attract domestic as well as foreign capital back to their CBDs and first attempted to address this dilemma by ensuring that policies favored the interests of capital over all other users of the urban space. In Cape Town however, the extent to which this explicitly

pro-business agenda could subordinate the needs of the urban poor were limited by local political processes. Political competition and changing government in the city ensured that the extent to which capital could dominate the urban governance coalition through the CTP was limited. Eventually, this led to a shift in approach whereby the city was able to continue to foster economic growth while at the same time acknowledging that the urban space needed to serve needs other than just capital. Essentially, political dynamics in Cape Town put a check on the extent to which a growth coalition could dominate over a pro-poor agenda and refocused the agenda of CBD regeneration. Political competition also resulted in the cohesion of the municipal bureaucracy by ensuring that the actions of the CTP coincided with municipal planning agendas rather than serving the particularistic interests of capital.

In Johannesburg on the other hand, businesses have dominated processes of urban regeneration in the CBD, frequently replacing the state as the director of the urban form. This has been a process in which the state has been complicit in yielding its power to businesses and property owners. There has been no space for the interests of the urban poor to be reflected in urban governance decisions about the resulting urban form. The dominance of capital has been reinforced by the municipal state which has actively sought to establish ties with property owners and businesses to ensure their needs are being met while at the same time limiting space for engagement with other segments of the CBD's poorer population. This coalition between the state and capital is reflective of an exclusive urban governance coalition and embodies the key components of a growth coalition. Without the competitive political dynamics taking place in Cape Town, this exclusivity is able to go unchecked.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Shifting from a conceptualization of development as economic growth to one focused on capability enhancement necessitates a corresponding shift in our understanding of how to more effectively foster development. A capability approach offers a great deal of promise for refocusing efforts toward more aggressively promoting human development and reducing inequality, as these are key mechanisms for enabling individuals and communities to live the lives of their choosing. While previous literature provides clues about possibilities and constraints in fostering capability-enhancement, it fails to provide a systematic overview of the conditions that enable this type of development. The variation in expanding access to capability-enhancing services seen in Cape Town and Johannesburg provides an important lens through which to examine these processes. As a result of apartheid policies, these cities were both characterized by fragmented urban forms and extreme inequalities in access to capability-enhancing services. According to the capability approach, local development is contingent upon remedying these inequalities. Because capability enhancement relies on communal conceptions of need as well as public investment to address those needs, it must be a common project of both the state and civil society. This implies that in order to understand the potential for expanding access to capability enhancement we must direct attention toward processes of governance.

URBAN GOVERNANCE REGIMES AND CAPABILITY ENHANCEMENT

The urban governance regime perspective developed here provides a framework for understanding the conditions that allow for the expansion of service provision. This potential is dependent upon the two key axes of the urban governance regime – the inclusivity of the governance coalition and the cohesion of the bureaucracy. In Cape Town, the presence of an inclusive coalition and a cohesive bureaucracy allow for more substantial improvements in access to capability-enhancing services relative to Johannesburg, where a fragmented bureaucracy and an exclusive governance coalition limit this potential. A synthesis of these broad patterns as well as the ways in which local communities conform to or deviate from these trends allows for the expansion of previous understandings of urban governance while also informing the potential for local development in South African cities as well as cities around the world. Table 7-1 replicates the summary table in Chapter 1 and lays out the configurations of cities and communities along the axes of coalitions and bureaucratic configurations as well as the developmental outcomes articulated in previous chapters. The implications for expanding access to capability-enhancing services in these cases are discussed below.

Table 7-1. Urban Governance Regimes.

		INCLUSIVITY OF THE GOVERNANCE COALITION	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
BUREAUCRATIC COHESION OF THE MUNICIPAL STATE	Cohesive	Cape Town (<i>Khayelitsha, Cape Town CBD</i>) Outcome: Capability enhancement	(<i>Philippi</i>) Outcome: Suboptimal capability enhancement
	Fragmented		Johannesburg (<i>Soweto, Diepsloot, Johannesburg CBD</i>) Outcome: Restricted capability enhancement

Inclusivity of Governance Coalitions

One of the key findings of this research is the extent to which engagement between the state and subordinate civil society is critical in expanding access to capability-enhancing services. Where this engagement exists, the state has been more responsive to community demands and public investment has more effectively met community needs. Where it has been absent, investment in service provision has either been limited (as in Soweto and Diepsloot) or has deviated from community interests to the extent that projects are of limited use to residents (as in Philippi). This finding

provides empirical support for Evans' (2008) assertion that the expansion of capabilities is dependent upon the creation of synergistic relationships between the state and civil society. An inclusive governance coalition provides the setting in which this mutual engagement can take place. The case of Khayelitsha demonstrates this particularly well. Here, a well organized civil society was able to effectively engage with a responsive state regarding local service delivery needs. Through processes of both collaboration and conflict between the state and civil society, this resulted in increased public investment in the community and the effective expansion of access to capability-enhancing services. On the other hand, in Johannesburg, the case of Soweto demonstrates the ways in which an exclusive coalition limits the potential for creating synergy and severely constrains the space for effective service provision.

Despite the importance of fostering an inclusive urban governance coalition and the positive results it can produce, much of the previous urban theory has focused on the factors that inhibit this type of configuration (McDonald 2008, Castells 2000, Stone 1989, Logan and Molotch 1987). These perspectives argue that the interests of subordinate civil society are sidelined in favor of capital, which tends to be the dominant actor in the urban governance regime. This severely limits the potential for creating a synergistic relationship between the state and subordinate civil society, thereby inhibiting the expansion of capability-enhancing services.

In accordance with this work, the current research demonstrates that in both Cape Town and Johannesburg, capital is an important actor in the urban governance coalition. This can be seen most clearly in the space of the CBDs. Here, there is a heavy

concentration of business and property interests, which have a stake in seeing certain policies enacted. In both cities, there were concerted efforts by businesses in the CBD to make the area more “business friendly.” This included removing informal traders and the homeless from the streets while creating a sanitized atmosphere that attracts additional investment and increases property values. This would significantly undermine the right to the city among the urban poor.

In Cape Town and Johannesburg, the business community was endowed with what Stone (1980) refers to as systemic power, whereby its economic importance garnered special attention from the state. However its ability to translate this into preemptive power (Stone 1988) and dictate urban policy is dependent on the extent to which subordinate civil society was a partner in the urban governance coalition. The cases of Cape Town and Johannesburg demonstrate that the prominence of capital in the urban governance coalition relative to civil society cannot be taken for granted but is instead contingent upon local political dynamics. The creation of an inclusive urban governance coalition and the subsequent potential for state-society synergy depends largely on the state creating space for engaging with civil society as opposed to simply privileging engagement with capital. While previous theory notes the importance of this dynamic (Baiocchi 2005, Evans 2002b), it is limited in its explanation of the factors that allow for effective state-civil society synergy that can mitigate the pressures of capital. The comparison of Cape Town and Johannesburg highlights the importance of local political dynamics in expanding or limiting space for these synergistic relationships.

In Johannesburg, the fact that the ANC holds uncontested power in the municipal government has allowed it to consolidate influence by limiting space for engagement with subordinate civil society. To the extent that civil society groups question the actions of the ANC-led government, they are seen as undermining the party's established channels of influence and thereby threatening its dominance. The blurring of lines between the state and the party in Johannesburg implies that because it is in the interests of the party to limit space for civil society in the urban governance coalition, this is reflected in the actions of the state. On the other hand, the fact that there is consistent competition for political power in Cape Town creates incentives to foster more inclusive urban governance coalitions that allow for the creation of synergistic relationships between the state and subordinate civil society. This competition means that party channels do not serve the same clientelistic function that reinforces elite power in Johannesburg. Instead, it incentivizes alternative channels of engagement between the state and civil society. To the extent that election depends upon the ability to deliver services and public investment to poorer communities in Cape Town, officials are incentivized to gather information about needs in order to garner support. This necessitates more open channels of communication between the state and civil society and the creation of a more inclusive urban governance coalition.

These dynamics also influence the form of civil society. In Johannesburg, where subordinate civil society is ignored by the state, the only form of civil society that gains any influence is that which is aligned with the party, such as SANCO. However, the ability of SANCO to make demands on the state is severely restricted when not aligned with the party's agenda. However, in Cape Town, the inconsistency of political power

has incentivized civil society groups such as the KDF to remain autonomous from political allegiances, allowing them to effectively engage in the governance coalition regardless of which party controls the municipal state.

Inclusive governance coalitions depend not only upon the openness of the state to engaging with subordinate civil society but also the ability of civil society to engage with the state. The various community case studies demonstrate the ways in which engagement between these actors influences the potential for capability enhancement. These dynamics are laid out in table 7-2. In communities in Cape Town, the state has generally been open to engaging with civil society for the reasons described above. While this offers great potential for expanding access to service provision throughout the city, it is contingent upon the presence of a cohesive civil society. This potential is especially evident in the case of Khayelitsha. However, in the case of Philippi, the potential for fostering an inclusive coalition has been limited as a result of the fragmented nature of civil society. Because of historical and political fractures as well as the immediacy of local needs, civil society in Philippi is organized at a localized level that has been unsuccessful in engaging with the state around issues of community development. While the bureaucratic cohesion of the local state in Cape Town has meant that public investment has still been directed toward Philippi, lack of synergy has resulted in the failure of this investment to meet local needs.

Of the community cases studies, Diepsloot has the most limited potential for capability enhancement. Here, synergy has been made difficult by the presence of a fragmented civil society that is unable to cohesively interact with a state that has

expressed little interest in engaging with civil society when it is not politically expedient. Therefore, both of the actors necessary for fostering synergy are unable to generate this type of relationship. Table 7-2 summarizes these dynamics and illustrates that while at the municipal level Cape Town and Johannesburg follow broad trends of inclusivity and exclusivity of the urban governance coalition, there is internal variation in the extent to which there is potential for synergy.

Table 7-2. State-Society Relationships.

		STATE ENGAGEMENT	
		Engaged	Disengaged
CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT	Engaged	Khayelitsha	Soweto
	Disengaged	Philippi	Diepsloot

Bureaucratic Cohesion and Capability Enhancement

Bureaucratic cohesion has been argued to be an important component of implementing broad-based development planning (Chibber 2002, Evans 1994). The comparison of Cape Town and Johannesburg demonstrates that this type of planning is essential for addressing the kinds of entrenched inequalities in service provision inherited from apartheid. The fact that Cape Town’s municipal government is characterized by a more cohesive bureaucracy than Johannesburg’s has a number of important implications for expanding access to capability-enhancing services. The ability of municipal agencies to direct public investment toward historically neglected communities is dependent upon ensuring that municipal structures work together toward a common goal. Without this cohesion, the goals of the state are likely to be sidetracked by particularistic interests;

likely capital due to its strong influence in urban governance processes. Cohesion helps to insulate state action from these pressures, thereby providing the potential for a more equitable distribution of public investment.

The importance as well as the limits of this bureaucratic cohesion in expanding access to services can be seen most clearly in the case of Philippi. In Cape Town, a cohesive bureaucracy has allowed the municipality to engage in comprehensive planning that lays out a vision for state intervention in the urban space. A major component of these plans has been to better integrate the space of the city and undo the spatial fragmentation that characterized apartheid planning. In Philippi, these efforts translated into expanding access to housing, transportation networks, health and educational facilities, and fostering economic opportunities. Through the various service provision departments, a number of projects were instituted to achieve these goals. The implementation of these planning objectives brought public investment to Philippi, however, its potential to effectively meet community needs was limited by a lack of engagement with the community. The fragmentation of local civil society hindered effective engagement with the state and meant that the projects that were implemented in the area did not reflect the needs of citizens. Public investment became associated with white elephants such as the Fresh Produce Market. This case demonstrates that while bureaucratic cohesion is necessary for expanding access to capability-enhancing services, it is not sufficient. It must be coupled with engagement between the state and civil society.

Bureaucratic fragmentation in Johannesburg has resulted in the further marginalization of the urban poor and provided additional space for capital to influence the urban form. The case of Diepsloot exemplifies this dynamic through the lack of bureaucratically cohesive planning in regard to informal settlements. The relocation of residents from other informal settlements to Diepsloot was largely the result of a lack of comprehensive planning on the part of the municipality, which opened space for capital to dictate urban governance. Without a cohesive approach to addressing urban informality on the part of the state, property developers and wealthier residents were able to shape state action in a manner that ensured that their own economic interests were protected. This resulted in the displacement of residents of neighboring informal settlements to the northern reaches of the city. Once residents were resettled in Diepsloot, there was no comprehensive plan for providing access to services in the area or integrating it into the broader municipal form. Many areas remain devoid of public investment to this day. It was only when violence erupted that the municipal state began to realize these issues needed to be addressed and public investment was finally directed toward Diepsloot.

The importance of the bureaucracy in fostering as well as implementing comprehensive development planning calls for a renewed focus on the role of bureaucratic capacity in service delivery. A capability approach to development requires a strong state (Evans 2008). As demonstrated in South Africa, it is important that this state be characterized by bureaucratic coherence. However, rather than reinforcing bureaucracies, states are increasingly outsourcing service provision responsibilities to private companies or semi-privatized authorities (Bakker 2003). These dynamics are

likely to fracture the state bureaucracy and institute disparate goals for various state entities. As seen in Johannesburg, this can limit the potential for effectively delivering capability-enhancing services to those communities with the greatest needs.

It could be argued that in Johannesburg the bureaucracy is not necessarily fragmented but is instead cohesive around the goal of fostering capital investment. However, this overestimates the extent to which the state controls the actions of capital as opposed to merely implementing policies that reflect the demands of capital. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the Johannesburg CBD where capital interests are particularly strong. In the creation of BIDs - which are highly influential in determining how urban space is used and who has access to it – the state was virtually absent. The creation of the Main Street BID exemplifies the influence property owners exercise in determining the use of urban space in the absence of state oversight. Property owners were essentially able to dictate the terms and purpose of the BID. Additionally, BIDs have coordinated efforts to address security and sanitation needs where there state has been unable to do so. In many ways, capital is filling the vacuum left by the state.

POLITICAL COMPETITION, COALITIONS, AND BUREAUCRATIC COHESION

The findings of this research suggest that the inclusivity of urban governance coalitions and the cohesion of municipal bureaucracies are not completely independent of one another. While the causal relationship between the two factors cannot be concretely determined based on the data collected for the current research, some preliminary suppositions can be made. It appears that the political competition that results in greater inclusivity of the urban governance coalition also impacts upon the cohesion of the

bureaucracy. In Johannesburg, the lack of political competition sidelined subordinate civil society from the urban governance coalition and subsequently facilitated the fragmentation of the municipal bureaucracy. This can be seen with the corporatization of service delivery associated with iGoli, which fragmented planning and service provision in the city (Murray 2008). The adoption of this policy was largely a result of the exclusivity of the urban governance coalition. Civil society groups opposed to iGoli, specifically COSATU, were marginalized in the governance coalition in favor of furthering an ANC agenda that served the interests of capital. The resulting fragmentation further privileges the position of capital in the governance coalition. As argued in the literature, this fragmentation increases the space for particularistic interests to influence governance decisions (Sellers 2000). This can be seen in Diepsloot where the lack of a cohesive plan for resettlement and integration of the area into the broader municipality created a space for property developers and land owners to dictate policy.

In Cape Town, political competition results in greater inclusivity of the governance coalition, which appears to bolster bureaucratic cohesion. In municipal debates about the privatization of service provision, competition resulted in the need for the state to incorporate the interests of subordinate civil society, inhibiting privatization and the resultant bureaucratic fragmentation. As described in chapter 3, the municipality had considered the idea of outsourcing service provision to separate semi-privatized agencies as had been done in Johannesburg. This would likely have resulted in greater bureaucratic fragmentation as these agencies would not necessarily be as securely incorporated into the municipal structure as the state-controlled service providers. However, it was in part the political competition in Cape Town - which creates the space

for engagement with civil society - that prevented the privatization of services (McDonald and Smith 2002). In an effort to address the concerns of the urban poor and gain political clout, members of the ANC prevented privatization in conflict with broader party goals. The relationship between inclusivity and cohesion can also be seen in the Cape Town CBD. Here, the responsiveness of the state to COSATU's demands that the CTP be reigned in, resulted in the reintegration of the CTP into the larger municipal bureaucracy. Rather than allowing the organization to continue its independent agenda of facilitating business interests, it became increasingly subject to municipal oversight.

These relationships between party competition, inclusion, and bureaucratic cohesion are particularly important in understanding the potential for development in South Africa. However, care should be taken in generalizing these results beyond the South African experience as context matters a great deal in influencing these dynamics. For example, in India party competition has not necessarily fostered cohesion or broad inclusivity. Instead, it has resulted in splintered relationships between the state and numerous segments of civil society as well as a fragmented bureaucracy (Herring 1999). These dynamics have prevented the implementation of a broad cohesive developmental agenda rather than incentivized it (Chibber 2006). Part of the reason for these divergent experiences has to do with the nature of democracy in South Africa and the ANC itself. In India, democracy and diversity have incentivized the state to be responsive to a variety of interests, even where their goals are in opposition to one another (Herring 1999). In South Africa, the ANC has appointed itself as the ambassador of democratic revolution and the sole agent of development. This means that it sees little value in engaging in contentious community politics as this will only delay its ability to implement its vision

of a developmental agenda. This is reflected in remarks made by an ANC member of parliament when he stated: "You can see features of... a bureaucratization of the struggle: thanks very much. It was important that you were mobilized then, but now we are in power, in power on your behalf: Relax and we'll deliver" (as cited in Southall 2003:53). Because the party sees itself as the agent of revolution, it has adopted a technocratic approach to governing that allows for the rapid implementation of its agenda while dismissing dissent as anti-revolutionary. This has resulted in the further insulation of the party and failure to engage with subordinate civil society. The path to development that the ANC has embraced has been markedly neoliberal and responsive to the demands of capital (Bond 2000). As noted earlier, adoption of neoliberal policies of privatizing service delivery has resulted in bureaucratic fragmentation and less effective delivery. In Cape Town, where political competition exists, it has been able to put a check on the singular agenda of the ANC and forced greater responsiveness to citizens as well as greater bureaucratic cohesion. In the case of service privatization, this has even given the local ANC the ability to deviate from national agendas.

If the ANC's approach to delivering development entails fostering economic growth by forging alliances with capital to the exclusion of subordinate civil society, this begs the question of why they have not experienced the success that other nations that have taken this path have seen. In Evans' (1994) examination of successful development in South Korea, the state was able to foster successful industrial development through an exclusive coalition centered on ties between the state and business elite. An inclusive coalition that incorporated the interests of subordinate civil society might have threatened to splinter the state's developmental agenda. The fact that South Korea was dominated by

an authoritarian regime allowed the state to pursue this agenda with limited political or social repercussions. In urban South Africa, even where the ANC holds hegemonic power, the democratic nature of the government implies that power is not guaranteed, incentivizing at least a degree of responsiveness. This is especially true in the context of the vast inequalities that characterize South African society. Because subordinate civil society in South Africa has been mobilized around issues of redistribution, a neglectful state would be met with massive waves of protest as can be seen in the service delivery protests in Diepsloot in 2009. In a democratic context it is difficult to completely ignore these demands. While in Johannesburg, the state has been relatively non-responsive to subordinate civil society and has forged alliances with capital, the presence of an actively mobilized subordinate civil society is likely to prevent the extent of coalition exclusivity seen in South Korea. Therefore, development in South Africa is unable to follow the singular type of developmental trajectory embraced in South Korea.

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Expanding upon Urban Regime Theory

The findings of this research stretch urban regime theory in a number of ways that make it more relevant to understanding processes of development while also bringing it from its origins in cities of the global north to exploring trends in the global south. By and large, previous formulations of urban regime theory focus on elite pressures and fail to account for the ways in which pressures from subordinate civil society can influence urban governance processes. It is assumed that civil society, particularly as it reflects the interests of subordinate groups, has little if any influence in the urban regime (Stone

1989, Logan and Molotch 1987) as its interests are drowned out by the dominance of capital. This is argued to be increasingly true in the context of neoliberal globalization (Castells 2000). However, through a closer examination of political dynamics, this research demonstrates that in the context of political competition subordinate civil society can exercise a more prominent voice in urban governance.

Additionally, comparative discussions of governance regimes have focused primarily on cities of the global north (Harding 1996, Logan and Swanstrom 1990). However, cities of the global south are increasingly garnering attention as they have become sites of rapid population growth and intense inequality (Davis 2007). In response to these inequalities, new forms of citizenship are being asserted that attempt to create a more equitable urban form and expand the right to the city among the urban poor (Holston 2009). These dynamics call for a better understanding of the potential for effective governance regimes in the context of often insufficient state capacity, limited financial resources, massive inequalities, and the mobilized civil society that characterizes many cities of the global south.

Because regime theory has its origins in cities of the developed world, a number of factors are often taken for granted. First, substantial state capacity is assumed. This implies that the state is an active participant in the urban governance coalition and is able to implement an agenda that reflects the coalition's interests. As evidenced in Johannesburg, this assumption needs to be called into question. Here, the capacity of the state to implement a cohesive agenda is limited by its bureaucratic fragmentation, which allows capital to control the developmental agenda rather than the state.. The

incorporation of an institutional component into the concept of governance regimes provides a more complete understanding of the potential for fostering development.

The ability to maintain bureaucratic cohesion is linked to another important difference in urban governance in the global south, specifically the availability of financial resources. In these cities, higher levels of urban poverty mean that municipal revenues tend to be lower while needs are higher than in cities of the US or Europe. In this context, cities are increasingly turning towards privatizing service provision as a means to reduce municipal expenditures. As noted previously, this tends to further fragment municipal bureaucracies and allow for greater influence of private capital in governance coalitions. This is reflected in the semi-privatized service structure in Johannesburg where service providers are not fully incorporated into the municipal bureaucracy and answer largely to corporate boards. This implies that in cities of the developing world, the inclusion of subordinate civil society in urban governance coalitions is even more critical in mitigating these effects.

As the levels of inequality in the global south reach new heights and needs become more immediate, demands for representation of the urban poor are increasing, often lending residents a greater voice than they might have in other contexts. In each of the case studies, there is some degree of civil society mobilization regarding service provision. It is not necessarily cohesive and does not always result in a response from the state but the immediacy of needs incentivizes mobilization in a way that is absent in the developed world. Therefore, the potential for an active civil society to insert itself into

governance processes may be higher than in the global north and offer the potential to reshape the dynamics of the urban governance coalition.

Fostering State-Society Synergy for Capability Enhancement

While it has previously been recognized that engagement between the state and subordinate civil society is critical in expanding access to capability-enhancing services (Evans 2008, Baiocchi 2001), the case studies presented here further demonstrate that the nature of civil society influences the potential for synergy and expanding service provision. Effective engagement around issues of public investment requires a relatively cohesive civil society that is organized at the community level. As demonstrated by the cases of Philippi and Diepsloot, where civil society is fragmented, public investment is less likely to reflect the needs of the community. In Philippi, those groups advocating for improved state investment concentrated on issues occurring in a very localized context. This resulted in a geographically segmented civil society that has attempted to engage in development issues at a different geographic scale than the local state, thereby limiting the potential for synergistic development and resulting in projects that became white elephants. In Diepsloot, a fragmented history resulted in similar divisions of civil society groups. These spatial and political divisions were magnified by tensions between South Africans and foreign nationals. Civil society fragmentation not only inhibited unified demand making but ultimately resulted in massive internal violence.

Additionally, the structures through which the state engages with civil society matter a great deal. Those spaces that are dominated by politics have proven to be largely ineffective in providing a site for engagement around service delivery. This has been the

case in the ward forums, which were established to serve this purpose. Instead of providing potential for engagement, ward forums in both Cape Town and Johannesburg became a space for councilors to exert influence and further political goals, often at the expense of the community. At the same time, those community organizations with close party ties also failed to effectively engage with the state around service delivery. SANCO in Soweto and the DCDF in Diepsloot demonstrate that when these organizations become channels for asserting the party agenda, they lose the autonomy necessary to hold the state accountable for equitable public investment. It has been those organizations that have remained autonomous from the state that have had the most success in effectively engaging in the urban governance coalition in a manner that enhances access to services. The KDF in Khayelitsha shares a similar history to the DCDF as both were intended to be local development forums that allowed communities to engage with the state. However, the political autonomy of the KDF has allowed it to more effectively engage with the municipal government to foster development.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

The shift to conceptualizing development as capability enhancement warrants a better understanding of the conditions that foster more equitable public investment in service provision. In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, this is particularly important given a history of disparate access to capability-enhancing services. Despite the importance of the task, the potential for remedying these inequalities varies dramatically. The inclusivity of the urban governance coalition and the cohesion of the municipal bureaucracy in Cape Town offer better prospects for fostering local development than in

Johannesburg. Given that inclusion is largely dependent on local political dynamics, addressing the exclusivity of the governance coalition in Johannesburg and directing public investment toward more equitable service provision requires a shift in the political context.

The singular dominance of the ANC in local politics has been deeply entrenched but this does not necessarily mean that it cannot be challenged. In Johannesburg, this challenge is unlikely to come from the DA, which finds its base among more conservative white and coloured South Africans. However, at the national as well as local levels, the ANC has been characterized by significant internal divisions. In 2008, a faction of the party backing former president Thabo Mbeki split to form the rival political party Congress of the People (COPE). While there was speculation that COPE might become a threat to the dominance of the ANC, it won only about 7% of the vote in the 2009 general election and has since lost a great deal of its dynamism. While COPE may not be a long-term threat to the ANC, it does demonstrate a lack of cohesion within the party and the potential for the emergence of a splinter party to challenge to ANC hegemony. Should this result in real political competition in Johannesburg, it might offer the potential for mimicking the dynamics in Cape Town that incentivize a more inclusive urban governance coalition.

The challenge of creating a structure more conducive to development relies not only on the kind of political configurations that incentivize the state to engage with civil society but also the potential for civil society to effectively engage with the state. In the case studies above, civil society was most fractured in the informal settlements of

Philippi and Diepsloot. As informal settlements become an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in cities of the global south, it is important to understand the extent to which they offer a potential site for fostering a more cohesive civil society. Both Philippi and Diepsloot were sites of settlement for residents from a variety of backgrounds, including those who were relocated from other parts of the city as well as rural and international migrants. In both areas, the disparate origins of residents have made the formation of a cohesive civil society especially challenging. This is compounded by the context of limited resources. Outsiders are seen as a threat to what little there is to go around. Given that these circumstances are not particularly unique in informal settlements throughout the world, these areas may pose a particular challenge in fostering the state-society synergy needed for development.

Additionally, to the extent that neoliberal trends toward more privatized service provision result in the fragmentation of the municipal bureaucracy, they are likely to undermine efforts to foster development. The cohesion of the municipal bureaucracy is essential in ensuring that inequalities in service provision are addressed by allowing the creation and implementation of comprehensive planning. Privatization of service provision is likely to undermine this cohesion by reducing municipal oversight of service providers and shifting the emphasis of these entities from municipal goals to more singular agency or profit-oriented goals. Without bureaucratic cohesion, efforts at further integrating urban spaces and creating more equitable access to capability-enhancing services are likely to see limited success.

The findings of this research all point to the fact that while access to capability-enhancing services is a critical component of development, we must think of developmental success more broadly and consider the types of institutional configurations that enable capability enhancement. Development is not just about facilitating service provision but also about building inclusive and coherent developmental structures. It is within specific communities that the types of coordination necessary for making developmental demands on the state occur. At the same time, the importance of bureaucratic coherence in enabling delivery of services highlights the importance of the institutional configuration of the state in fostering capability-enhancement. In the context of both civil society and the state, institutions matter a great deal in fostering development. However, without the potential for linking these spheres, developmental efforts will be limited. This suggests that capability enhancement cannot occur through individual institutions alone. Institutions are only able to realize their full developmental potential when characterized by a degree of embeddedness.

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