

Access to the City: Place-Making and Development Dynamics

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Place-making and Development

- The crisis of post apartheid South Africa is centrally a crisis of “place-making”.
- It is about the failure to undo apartheid place-making trajectories and the associated spatial, social and economic consequences of these, which reproduce poverty and inequality.
- But the failure is equally about the inability of the post-apartheid change to create new and dynamic spaces for development.
- We might think of the need for “third spaces”, which embody a different cultural, economic and social logic.
- Places are always made through the interaction of structural determinants (economic, political, ecological etc.) and human agency, which can allow for greater social cohesion, civic organisation and economic endeavour.



What about Universities and Place-based development in their neighbourhoods?

- **“Liberation/decolonisation before development”** focus of the student protests, stress issues of entitlement/racial redress, but very little debate about development/joblessness etc.
- **“Fees must Fall”** discourses express [African] nationalism and have been largely disconnected from sub-national, city or region place-based development challenges in South Africa.
- **Disjuncture** between the ways in which universities are being galvanised to contribute to social and economic development in Europe, Asian and Latin America and the focus of the debate in South Africa.



Models for Universities in City-Region Building

- **“Enlightened self interest” improvement model** – uplift poor neighbourhoods through enlightened investment strategies by universities to uplift surrounding poor neighbourhoods.
- **Market-led “innovation district” model** – seeks to create new districts in derelict areas of the city which are neither run by the university nor the city, but connect the university with innovation and private sector investment in growth (inequality).
- **Public sector led “anchor strategy” model** – use public sector anchor institutions, including “Eds and Meds”, to transform places from the bottom up through partnerships (urban regeneration).



“Students are South Africa’s Future”

- Neighbourhoods are places for the reproduction of student life and talent in cities and towns.
- Costs in higher education are not merely connected to high university fees. Affordable access in high quality university city neighbourhoods is needed.
- 2018 student protests have largely been focused on neighbourhoods issues – accommodation, transport and student safety.
- How can student “access to the city” be enhanced without destabilising neighbourhoods and how can talented youth be seen as “assets’ rather than barriers to development in city regions?

FRAMING THE OPPORTUNITY

KEY INGREDIENTS



COLLABORATIVE PRIVATE MARKET



STRONG URBAN FABRIC



CIVIC ALIGNMENT



PRECINCT INFRASTRUCTURE



TOP RATED SCHOOLS



WORLD CLASS SECURITY



Ideas for Success in Place-making

- **Willingness of universities** to invest in “**catalytic**” mixed-use projects in their neighbourhoods.
- **Independent agencies** that are able to create, manage and sustain partnerships (midtown or city improvement agencies)
- **Committed and stable leadership** at the local government, business, community and university levels – shared goals and visions.
- **Absence of a single domineering (self-enlightened) partner** dictating terms of the relationship.
- **Shared place-based vision and ambition**, as well as a local appetite for civic engagement and urban renewal.
- **Supportive and robust public and private** sector institutions



Access to the City at the Margins

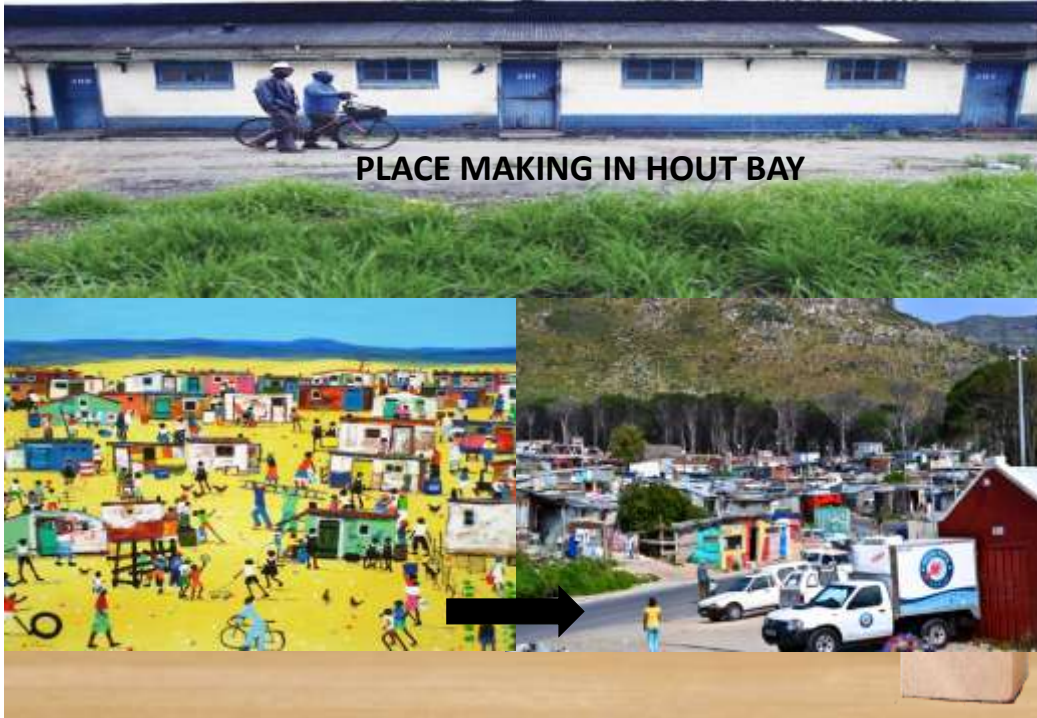


Access to the City Project, DHS, 2018

- New project with the Department of Human Settlements exploring issues around the “access to the city” and the “right to the city”
- Has the Department Human Settlements contributed to expanding “access to the city” and, thereby, supported poor people’s “right to the city”?
- The project is active in 5 cities – Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and East London.
- There is a strong focus on developing typologies of urban access and exploring how new RDP and informal settlements expand access.

Post Apartheid Urban Places: Neo-liberalism and exclusion?

- Saskia Sassen’s book *Expulsions* shows how globalisation and the financialisation has produced startling outcomes:
 - (1) expelled the majority from participation in the productive economy, squeezed out the middle class, and deepened poverty and inequality.
 - (2) created environmentally “dead spaces” of ecological destruction across the globe.
- Mike Davis in *Planet of Slums* describes the death of urban working class communities through the construction of “shack neo-liberalism” – a condition where the state is absent and a “savage sorting” occurs at the margins
- Richard Florida (2017), *New Urban Crisis*, write of the “new urban crisis” and of a “winner takes all urbanism”.



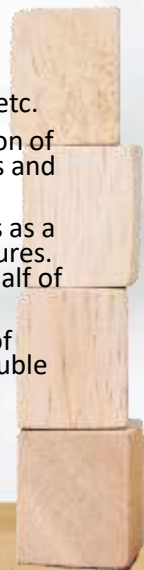
Place making dynamics in Imizamo Yethu

- Two groups of migrants settle. The Takastadt (Queenstown) and Gatyana (former Transkei) migrants move from the harbour hostels on the sand dunes in mid 1990s then to the municipal caravan park.
- Gatyana migrants initiate “chain migration” from 5 or 6 locations as rural neighbourhoods and become urban neighbours.
- Leadership keeps the Gatyana group together, but youth start falling in love with Takastadt girls. Conflict between Takastadt and Gatyana men over controlling access to the city
- Tension between older generation and the younger generation which is now pouring into IY by 2004, especially young women.
- Hout Bay residents prop up the structures in IY because they feel it will control access – the size of the community is “capped” and DA promises to deliver houses.
- Influx of “outsiders” gains momentum as the number of African nationals increase in new shack sections and they also set up new businesses on the main road. 2 factions of Xhosa speakers come together against the threat of foreign nationals
- Tensions rise and xenophobic violence follows..... Fires burn....



Type 1: High density, well-located *informalized* RDP settlements

- RDP settlements created since 2000 in well located suburban or industrial zones – Imizamo Yethu, Du Noon, Joe Slovo Park, Masi etc.
- These places are defined by social fluidity and the commodification of land and property – many of the RDP houses have changed hands and there are high rentals in the yards (R1000 plus, 28 per yard)
- There are large numbers of African nationals in these settlements as a result of their location and weak internal political and civic structures. In many of these areas, locals say that AN now comprise almost half of the population
- Rent seeking from land has led to vertical development in many of these areas as RDP houses have been demolished in favour of double storey units.
- Negative relationship with their neighbourhoods and the city.



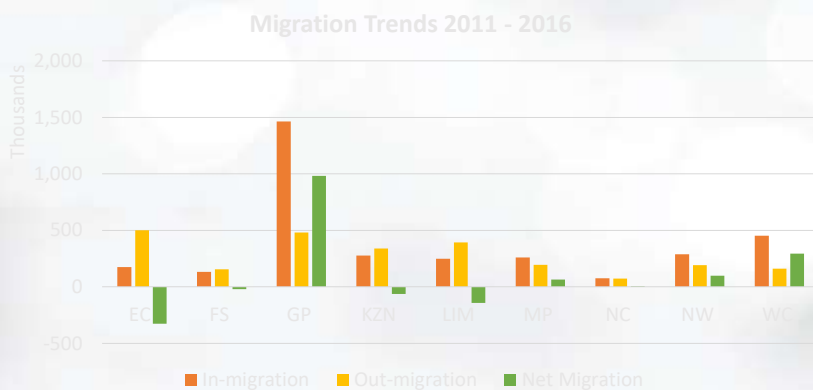
Type 2: Low density, poorly located *formalised* RDP settlements

- A good example is Reeston in East London, which was created to accommodate residents from Duncan Village high density shack areas.
- Socially and economically isolated, beneficiaries do not take up houses, they rent or sell them to others, stay in the shack areas, where density offers opportunities for city access and trading.
- Lack of commitment to place-making, no civic structures or social cohesion, families unable to afford transport costs on low wages.
- Rural homestead investment is preferable because of the sense of community, even though it is not supported with government subsidies.



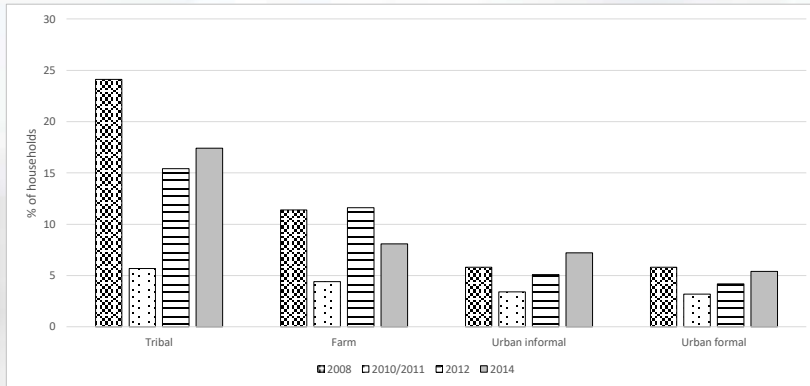
Migrant Labour after Apartheid?

- Does migrant labour still exist after apartheid?
- Does it matter for understanding urbanization and the post-apartheid SA society?
- Do people still move frequently between urban and rural places, or not? Is that important?
- Where do they invest their time and money?
- What are the implications for cities and rural areas, if “double-rootedness” or “translocality” is embraced?
- Do “migrant cultures” persist across the urban and rural divide and, if so, how are they constituted today?



- Almost 1 million net in-migrants moving into Gauteng. This is nearly 3.5 times the size of net-migration than the Western Cape.
- Roughly 300,000 net out-migrants out of the Eastern Cape.

Figure 1. Percentage of African households with labour migrants as adult non-resident members (2008 – 2014), by geography type.



- In 2004, 37 percent of rural African households included at least one migrant.
- In 2008 this had fallen to 22 percent and by 2010, to approximately six percent.
- Labour migration then appears to increase in 2012 and again in 2014, although the share of households with labour migrants remains far lower in 2014 than in 2005, or in 1993.

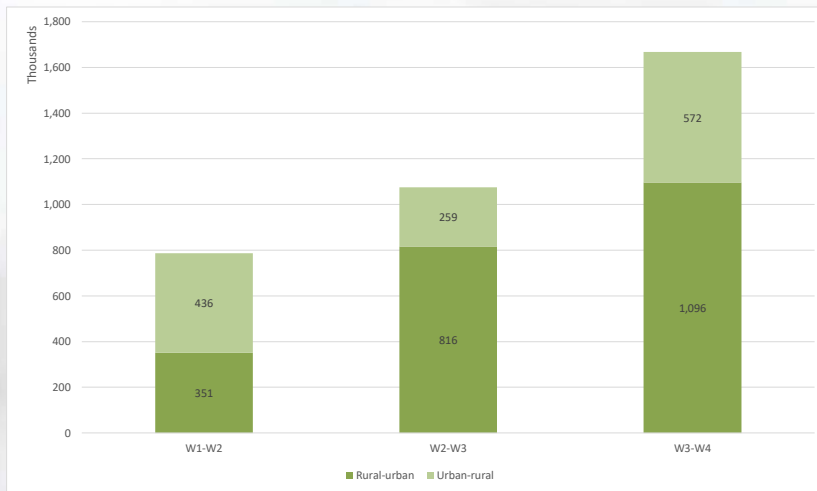
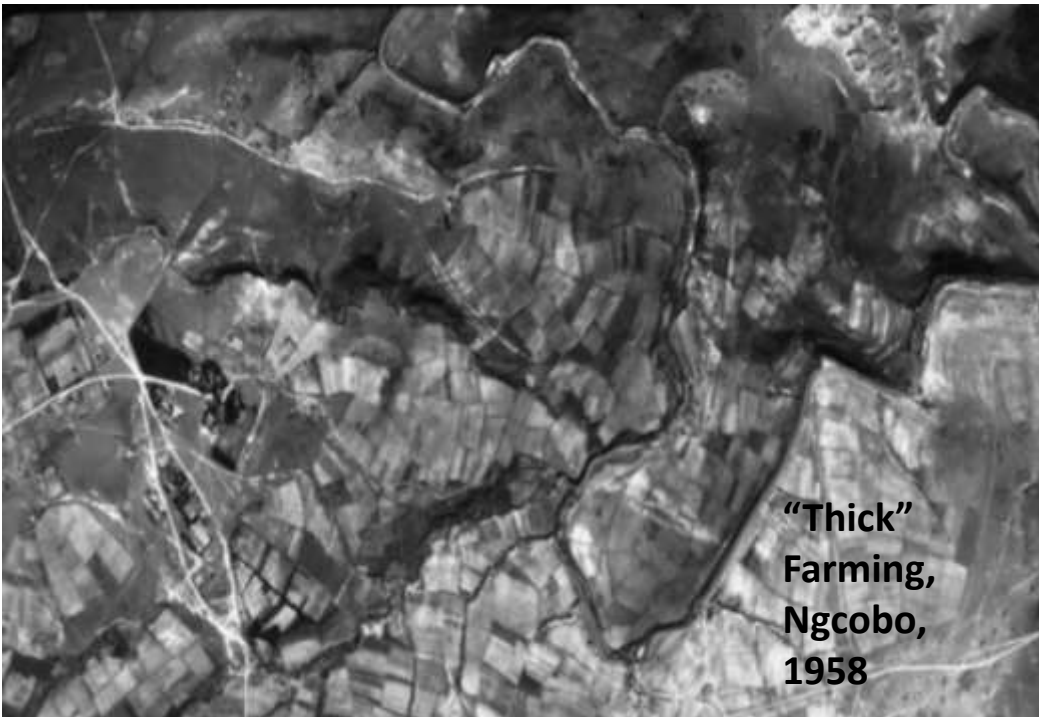


Figure 2: Location of urban and rural household members in 4 waves of NIDS data.

Source: Justin Visagie 2017, calculations from NIDS waves 1 - 4; own estimates

Persistent circulation and investment?

- Different styles of farming and agrarianism persist in rural places: “thick” (field production) and “thin” (garden plots) farming seems to wax and wane. The agrarian landscape still matters.
- The work of anthropologists stress the power of cultural continuities and social relation in these areas which build communities and homesteads.
- Focus on ritual and life-cycle rituals as the cultural capital that reproduces social relations. Family centred.
- Their primary focus has been on processes of “building the homestead” in troubled times.





Much has changed?

- Localised processes of urbanisation to homeland towns.
- The sale of cattle and livestock occurring on a continuous basis to meet household consumption and ritual needs. “Goodly beast” are being turned into “beastly goods”.
- The sharp overall decline in agricultural production, despite some evidence of a non-linear pattern.
- Massive changes in the rural built environment with the explosion of new urban-style house designs and aggregation of houses on single sites in places like the Transkei.
- Reproduction of “betterment” landscapes on invaded land in the old Border corridor, such as near Hewu (Wotshela)





Rural Landscapes of Change



**Urbanisation in former
Homeland Towns,
Ngcobo, Transkei**

Urban Settlement, Rural Anchorage

- Widespread desire for “double rootedness” in cities. Ceremonial economies at home reproduce social relations which are vital for survival in the city.
- Rural anchorage also caused by low marriage rates and urban insecurity, which increase interest in having a rural base.
- Lack of “housing ladder” in cities – few options outside of existing townships (where houses are already taken) or the suburbs (which are too expensive). RDP places making weak, rural social networks.
- The urban poor are generally least able to effect “two home” strategies, although clubbing together amongst siblings is common.
- Middle class families invest in lavish rural homes as a source of status and for social recognition at home.
- Township and RDP rental market an important source of income for rural home building and investment, denying the city settlement the chance to consolidate



TRADITIONAL FARMING
in Langa

SHACK FARMING
in Langa