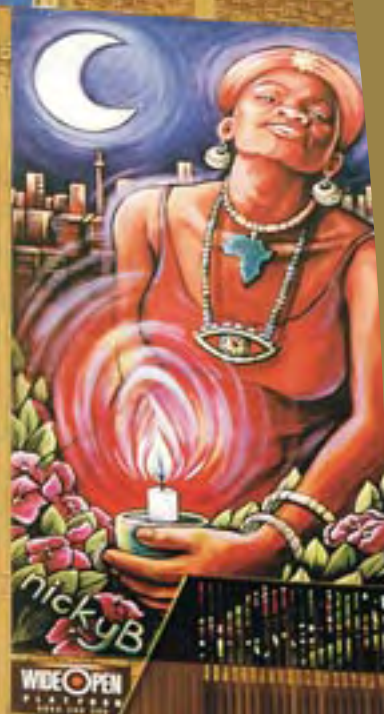


Joburg

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY
JOBURG'S COMMITMENT TO THE POOR



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Joburg's commitment to the poor

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The logo for Joburg, featuring the word "Joburg" in a stylized, black, sans-serif font. The letter "o" is replaced by a small, white, stylized figure of a person with arms raised, set against a dark background.

Executive summary

The City of Johannesburg has developed a Human Development Strategy (HDS) as a partner to its economic development strategy, *Joburg 2030*. The intention of the HDS is to provide a framework within which other City policies can accommodate a human development perspective and address conditions such as poverty, inequality and social exclusion on a city-scale.

Current trends show that more than half the households in Joburg – a city of 3,2 million people – earn R1 600 or less a month, and almost one in five residents do not have formal housing.

For the poor, Johannesburg is a dangerous place. Many go from day to day without adequate water, sewerage and electricity, and they live in overcrowded and hazardously dilapidated buildings.

These daily realities, compounded by the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS, sharp inequalities between rich and poor, and an increasingly unstable population are among the challenges facing the City.

A human development perspective of the HDS recognises that people are the City's biggest asset and that they need to be supported and encouraged to realise their full potential to become fully-fledged urban residents.

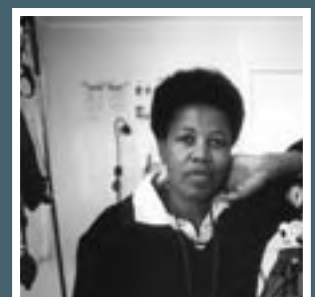
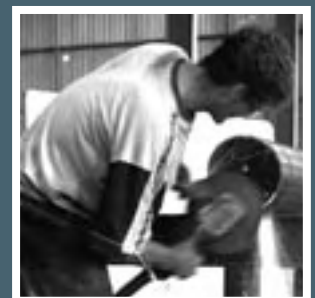
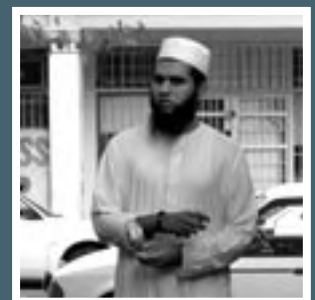


The United Nations definition of human development is used to guide this strategy and reads:

'The basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices. In principle, these choices can be infinite and change over time. People often value achievements that do not show at all, or immediately in income or growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and a sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.'

(Mahbub ul Haq, United Nations, 2004b, www.hdr.undp.org/hd)

At international, national, provincial and metropolitan levels, human development issues are claiming an increasingly prominent profile. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), to which South Africa is a signatory, highlight conditions of poverty, inequality and social exclusion, and they challenge country, province and city governments to respond.



A world-class African city for all – this is Joburg's commitment to the poor...

The HDS presents the City's plan for fighting poverty and for promoting human development in the medium term – to 2016.

It is comprised of three strategic directions, which together contribute to what has become known as the Joburg Triangle. The three strategic directions are:



Figure 1: Joburg Triangle

- **Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households** in their efforts to access the social safety nets offered by the three spheres of government. Some 51% of households in the city report they have a monthly income of R1 600 or less. This strategic direction is a direct response to their need for support.
- **Championing rights and opportunities** targets issues of inequality in the city. There are still households and residents in Johannesburg who do not have access to houses and services, and who do not have legal status as consumers. The ability of these households to access and enjoy the opportunities created as a result of Johannesburg's economic growth path is seriously constrained when their basic rights are not being met.

This strategic direction is a direct response to their situation and it addresses issues of economic inequality, gender and generational inequality and spatial inequality. The strategy supports city residents in an asset-building framework that is part of a longer-term approach to poverty alleviation.

- **Building prospects for social inclusion** is a longer-term objective that focuses on building social relationships and productive partnerships among city residents and between the City and its residents, so that together they are committed to working towards the goal of Johannesburg being a world-class African city for all, and able to do so.

Broadly, the three strategic directions together seek to build an approach within the City that responds to the imperative of developmental local government. In this, the emphasis is on building and consolidating some of the existing initiatives in the City, and on outlining new directions for optimising human development.

The table below summarises the indicative programmes which, at this stage, the HDS is comprised of.

Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households	Championing rights and opportunities	Building prospects for social inclusion
Responding to conditions of <i>household poverty</i> among Johannesburg residents	Responding to <i>inequalities</i> among Johannesburg residents	Responding to <i>social exclusion</i> among Johannesburg residents
1 Social package * priority * <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gaining access to the package Maintaining access to the package Targeting the poor Targeting non-account holders 	1 Economic equality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing a labour market intelligence database Supporting the expanded public works programme Establishing economic opportunities for women entrepreneurs in the informal economy 	1 Building social cohesion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bringing about youth action Spearheading diversity campaigns Initiating area-based campaigns Transforming and creating public space
2 Facilitating access to provincial social grants: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Launching an information campaign Accessing identity documents 	2 Gender and generational equality * priority * <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing an Early Childhood Development (ECD) priority Attending to women's health and security 	2 Building community trust in the City <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening social capital
	3 Spatial equality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reforming urban management Establishing sustainable human settlements 	3 Creating positive partnership programmes for social inclusion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing a social funding policy Connecting with corporate social investment partners

Table 1: Indicative programmes for the HDS

Chapter 1 of the HDS locates the strategy within the wider city vision of a world-class African City for all. Chapter 2 presents a detailed analysis of the difficulties facing Joburg’s poor residents. This chapter is structured around an analysis of poverty, inequality and social exclusion in Joburg. Chapter 3 considers briefly the roles and functions of local government relative to human development, and the opportunities for intervention. Chapter 4 presents the three strategies set out in Table 1 on page 6, and the indicative programmes that these suggest. Chapter 5 sets out the way forward.

Overview of strategic directions and indicative programmes

The three strategic directions of the HDS together suggest a series of programmes. These are raised in the HDS as indicative – strategic level thinking that will be refined once an implementation programme is agreed.

Strategic direction 1: Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households

This tri-sector acknowledges the struggle that the poor face in accessing social support mechanisms designed in their interest, and seeks to link households eligible for assistance with the social safety net that exists at provincial and local level.

Johannesburg residents are entitled to numerous grants, the most notable being the City’s social package of services and provincial social grants.

The focus of this strategic direction is on ensuring that Johannesburg’s poor and vulnerable households have effective access to provincial and metropolitan safety nets. These safety nets play two roles. First, safety nets play a redistributive role by transferring resources towards poorer members of society to help bring them out of poverty. Second, with additional resources, the poor are better able to manage risk and deal with the volatility of their poverty. This strategic direction suggests two indicative programmes:

1. Full provision of the social package. The ultimate goal of the City is to provide equal access to a full social package of services for all its residents on a progressive basis. This is a **priority** programme for the City and will require substantial budgetary commitment. Three stages of access to the social package are provided for:

- New arrivals to the city and newly displaced people will be provided with **urgent and interim household services**: water, sanitation, solid waste (refuse) removal.
- Households which are established in the city, but not yet fully integrated, will receive an **essential household services** package: free water, sanitation and solid waste (refuse) removal, plus access to public services such as roads, health, libraries, sports and recreation facilities, social services, parks, emergency services and the municipal police.
- Over time, all poor households will have access to a **full social package**: metered water, sanitation, metered electricity, solid waste (refuse) removal, housing, public transport and the range of public services.

To this end, the City has prioritised its investment in terms of gaining access (capital investment in the infrastructure required as part of the social package); maintaining access (operational investment in the ongoing management of services so that they function effectively); and targeting the poor through subsidised rates and tariffs, to ensure affordability.

2. Facilitating access to provincial social grants. Access to provincial social grants is often restricted because the poor and vulnerable lack information on its availability and their eligibility, or because they do not have an identity document, which is required before any grant can be paid out. The City will explore mechanisms to address these two blockages in ensuring widespread access to social grants within its jurisdiction.

Strategic direction 2: Championing rights and opportunities

This tri-sector reflects the need to overcome inequalities in the city and to support city residents to build their social, economic and human capital through the provision of targeted support.

South Africa has a rights-based Constitution in which the Bill of Rights entitles everyone to progressive access to housing, health care services, sufficient food and water, social security, and social assistance.

However, not all residents are equally able to claim their rights and opportunities. The poor and unemployed often struggle to join the labour market. These individuals suffer from economic inequality. Vulnerable groups in the city, such as women, children and youth can be excluded from opportunities, denying them the prospect of claiming their rights and realising their potential. When individuals in such groups are also migrants, people with disabilities or sick, HIV positive or marginalised in some other way, their situation is exacerbated. Finally, households who live on the urban periphery, away from economic opportunity and social facilities, may suffer spatial inequality. The commitment of the City to champion rights and opportunities is a direct response to the inequalities faced by these residents.

Programmes in respect of this strategic direction will address three broad categories of inequality: economic, gender and generational, and spatial.

1. Economic equality: Johannesburg's economic blueprint, *Joburg 2030*, makes powerful statements on the importance of economic growth for the city in the coming decades. However, while *Joburg 2030* focuses predominantly on the established formal business sectors, this component of the HDS deals with lower skilled job seekers. Three indicative programmes are suggested:

- Labour market intelligence database: This is about tapping into potential that already exists and linking it into the formal business sector by providing job seekers with access to information about real job opportunities.
- Expanded public works programme: This is about short- to medium-term labour absorption through public works, with a focus specifically on the City's



youth. It draws on the national EPWP, but focuses on the provision of infrastructure, home-based care and ECD.

- **Economic opportunities for women in the informal economy:** This is about assisting women with subsistence businesses in becoming entrepreneurs. Interventions could include information workshops, enhancing access to credit (through Business-City partnerships) and the development of a surety fund, business skills training, child care support, etc.

2. Gender and generational equality: Women and children are the most directly affected by poor services, and they often experience health and security burdens as a result of inadequate services.

Poor access to services (rights) also undermines the ability of women to access opportunities that might exist and thereby realise their potential to become productive members of the economy. A response to gender and generational inequalities suggests three indicative programmes:

- **Early childhood development (ECD):** In the absence of appropriate facilities, places of day care for children while their parents are away or at work have mushroomed across the city. These are privately run establishments, some more formal than others, many illegal in terms of existing regulations. Many lack safety facilities and play areas, and some pose direct dangers to the children they purport to protect. These facilities are clearly in demand and, as a common place where children collect, offer a unique opportunity for intervention by the City.

ECD – developmental by its very nature – is about supporting the development of safe, affordable and innovative centres for child care that provide poor and vulnerable children especially with a solid foundation leading to a successful school career. The City has identified a range of mechanisms in this regard. Among these, the City will use its monitoring and regulatory functions to prioritise the support and development of ECD facilities in the poorest and most marginalised areas. To the extent that this is constrained by existing health by-laws, a review and redrafting of by-laws will also be pursued.

- **Women’s health:** A focus on women’s health is critical to achieving the wider priority of an improved quality of life for women and children. The City has identified a number of measures which already exist, but which will now include a priority in respect of women, and especially the most vulnerable among these, such as domestic workers and new arrivals to the city. Such measures include access to basic services (water, sanitation, refuse removal), the provision of user-friendly clinics in high demand areas, awareness campaigns regarding primary health care, access to antiretroviral drugs and volunteer HIV and pregnancy testing and counselling, and access to emergency management services.
- **Women’s security:** A focus on women’s security considers the form and structure of the built environment and the impact this has on vulnerability. Vulnerability is increased, for instance, if proper infrastructure such as streetlights or reliable public transport is lacking, or if visibility is diminished

through the poor placement of dwellings or structures. The City has the power to impose regulations that address these issues through the formulation of its building codes and the approvals it issues for subsidised housing delivery. Further, specific departments will incorporate an awareness of gender security issues in their overall planning – Joburg Roads Agency will consider issues of safety in public transport facilities, City Parks will consider safety in public spaces, and similar issues.

3. Spatial equality: Apartheid spatial planning served to compromise urban opportunities for black city residents by locating townships on the periphery of the city. Aside from their locational disadvantage, these areas, in the past, also suffered limited provision of social and economic infrastructure. Notwithstanding the advent of the democratic dispensation, spatial development has largely continued within the overall framework of that set by apartheid-based plans. A response to spatial inequalities suggests two indicative programmes:

- **Sustainable human settlements (SHS):** A survey of relevant City policies found all accommodate the principle of sustainability but not necessarily sustainable human settlements. Therefore, the pursuit of SHS lies in a coordinated, integrated approach in which the delivery departments of the City – roads infrastructure, health and education facilities, planning for economic opportunities – work together in respect of specific settlements. To this end, proposals for a pilot initiative which would build a policy and delivery commitment to the concept of SHS throughout City departments are being developed.
- **Urban management:** The City must ensure that its management functions are facilitative and supportive of especially the poor and vulnerable. However, existing by-laws were drafted in a different context and sometimes have the unintended consequence of exacerbating the problems faced by, for example, waste pickers, street children and the homeless. To this end, a review of existing by-laws will identify where there are contradictory obstructions to the overall goal of human development. Further, gaps in the regulatory framework will also be identified and filled.

Strategic direction 3: Building the prospects for social inclusion in the city

This tri-sector reflects the need to build a city that is inclusive for all and to guard against other types of exclusion through strategic interventions.

Cities in pursuit of world-class status need to strike a fine balance between their conflicting imperatives. The sometimes uneasy relationship between economic growth and social responsibilities is reflected in social discord as the minority of city residents reaps the benefits of growth while many remain in conditions of poverty.

A social inclusion agenda seeks to build social cohesion among all city residents, to build community trust in the City, and to create positive partnerships for social inclusion in the city. The proposed programmes fall into three categories:

1. Building social cohesion: Johannesburg is a highly diverse city. Specific social cohesion programmes will target

- **The youth in “Youth Action Zones”**, through programmes addressing skills development, drug and alcohol prevention, HIV/AIDS support, sports and recreation, arts and culture, information technology, access to jobs, and similar issues of concern
- **Diversity and issues of xenophobia**, through public awareness campaigns and a celebration of Johannesburg as a cosmopolitan city
- **Excluded areas**, through the mobilisation of social resources and services such as the social package
- **Public spaces** so that they become comfortable venues for the public to interact in its full diversity

2. Building community trust in the City: Impoverished and excluded communities become self-motivating when they feel acknowledged and supported by the City government. Through existing structures such as ward committees, as well as other community-based partnerships, the City will pursue an enhanced relationship with its marginalised communities in particular.

3. Building positive partnerships: Substantial capacity for social development exists within the Community Based Organisation (CBO), Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) and business sectors, and much of this is already mobilised in the interests of the City’s poor and vulnerable. However, the City has the capacity for a wider overview and is able to identify areas of neglect. To this end, the City will engage with other players both in and outside of government to coordinate interventions and to target them effectively at the areas most in need. The City’s contribution is currently directed through the social funding policy which subsidises approved not-for-profit organisations in their assessment rates responsibilities, and provides grants through a mayoral support programme. A more strategic approach which includes, but is not limited to, such support will be developed. As part of this, the City will also engage with the Corporate Social Investment sector, creating linkages between service and support needs and funding opportunities.

Conclusion

Through its Human Development Strategy, the City of Johannesburg is committing itself to an equitable and inclusive city in which all residents enjoy a substantial quality of life and who are able to live and grow to their full potential equitably, drawing on the public and private resources that exist in support of their efforts.

Joburg’s Human Development Strategy acknowledges that arriving at this goal involves a process of prioritised interventions that target the most poor, vulnerable and marginalised in our city. Indeed, the success of the *Joburg 2030* strategy is dependent on the interventions of the Human Development Strategy which will support the participation of also the poor and vulnerable in the City’s goal of being a world-class African city for all.

A world-class African City for all

Introduction

A world-class African city for all – this is Joburg’s commitment to the poor...

But current trends show that more than half the households in Joburg – a city of 3,2 million people – earn R1 600 or less a month and almost one in five residents do not have formal housing.

For the poor, Johannesburg can be a dangerous place. Many go from day to day without adequate water, sewerage and electricity and many live in overcrowded and dilapidated buildings.

These daily realities – compounded by the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS, sharp inequalities between rich and poor, and an increasingly unstable population – are amongst the challenges facing the City.

These are challenges that can appear overwhelming but the City cannot afford to maintain the *status quo*, nor be slow to act. Unless direct and urgent interventions are made, projections show that poverty levels will worsen and the likelihood of social disruption will increase.

Action must be taken or Council will be faced with an increasingly unpredictable social, political and economic environment. Poverty must be tackled head-on or the ability of the City to deliver services to all its residents will be diminished and financial sustainability will be seriously compromised. Economic growth cannot be optimised in a context where a substantial proportion of the city’s population is living in hardship.

The Human Development Strategy (HDS)

Superimposing the current reality on the aspirations of Joburg’s strategy for the next three decades, *Joburg 2030*, shows that the journey ahead is an arduous one.

In response to the worrying trend towards poverty in Joburg, the City¹ has developed a Human Development Strategy (HDS). This strategy is the City’s plan for fighting poverty and promoting human development in the medium term, until the year 2016².

Guided by the vision of a world-class African city, the HDS supports the City in doing what is legally and politically required for it to become a mature developmental municipality. The strategy also ensures that the world-class African city is one for all urban residents, the poorest included. This is Joburg’s commitment to the poor.



¹The term ‘City’ applies to the City Council whereas the use of ‘city’ applies to the geographic jurisdiction.

²2016 is selected as the first human development milestone in the HDS. With the strategy being implemented in 2005 and 2006, a ten-year period allows sufficient time to monitor and evaluate its impact while creating the space for ongoing debate and policy change.



The HDS is geared to ensuring that the City delivers on its social imperatives, within the broader City agenda. It does not tackle issues of the environment or the economy. These are addressed in *Joburg 2030* and the Environmental Management Framework.

As international experience has shown, the HDS recognises that there is more to growing human development than tackling income poverty. Other principles underpinning human development, such as equity and a good quality of life, need to be mainstreamed equally into the planning and budgeting of a range of City departments.

The City is not starting afresh with the HDS. Already it is involved in numerous projects and programmes designed to improve the state of human development in Joburg. But in addition this strategy seeks to do two things:

- Build on and consolidate some of the existing initiatives in the City
- Outline new directions for optimising human development

The City has limited capacity given its legislative and regulatory jurisdiction and responsibilities. With restricted resources and an increasingly complex urban environment, the strategy for human development must be lean and targeted.

The position taken here is that the state of human development is most severely challenged by poverty, inequality and social exclusion; it is these issues that should be dealt with most forcefully.

Human development is about more than development and how it relates to people, and it is about more than economic growth. Human development is about enlarging people's choices. A human development perspective recognises that **people** are the City's biggest asset and that they need to be supported and encouraged to realise their full potential so as to become fully-fledged urban residents.

The definition of human development used by the HDS is based on that formulated by the United Nations:

'The basic purpose of development is enlarging people's choices. In principle these choices can be infinite and change over time. People often value achievements that do not show at all, or not immediately, in income and growth figures: greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against crime and physical violence, satisfying leisure hours, political and cultural freedoms and a sense of participation in community activities. The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives' (Mahbub ul Haq, United Nations, 2004b, <http://hdr.undp.org/hd/>).

Based on this understanding, city residents are seen to be at the centre of the HDS. The City understands its task to be more than improving income levels; it must include building the potential of city residents. Thus the point of departure for the HDS is the recognition that the City and its partners have a role to play both in protecting its residents from poverty and vulnerability and in building the capabilities of city residents to contribute to a positive future.



The Joburg Triangle: Joburg's commitment to the poor

Using this definition of human development and addressing the three key issues of poverty, inequality and social exclusion, the City is responding to Joburg's challenges within a framework termed the Joburg Triangle. This triangle is comprised of three components, each of which contains a strategic direction for human development. Through the Joburg Triangle the City commits itself to:

- Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households
- Championing rights and opportunities for poor residents
- Building prospects for social inclusion in the city



Figure 2 – Joburg's Triangle

These three strategic directions will be pursued in partnership with national and provincial government and civil society organisations. The exact means through which these three strategic directions are to be pursued are contained in a range of programmes discussed in Chapter 4. In the following sections of this chapter a more detailed explanation of the foundations of Joburg's conceptualisation of human development will be discussed.

The human development domain

The international context

At international, national, provincial and metropolitan levels, human development issues are claiming an increasingly prominent position. The global Human Development Report released annually by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the international measure for the state of human development. The Human Development Index (HDI), which forms part of the Human Development Report is a composite measure of people's health, education and purchasing power, their ability to communicate and to participate in the life of the community and their chances of having sufficient resources to obtain a decent living. The measure is based on life expectancy at birth, adult literacy, gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment, and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (UNDP, 2003: 44-45). The HDI aims to differentiate between poverty as a lack of assets, income and physical resources, deprivation in regard to isolation and powerlessness, and vulnerability, as a reflection of insecurity and limited resilience against shocks such as natural disasters.

The United Nations measures human development at a national level through three weighted indices. A combination of these three indices gives a reading of the state of human development in a particular country (UNDP, 2003: 4). The HDI acts as a gauge through which countries can reflect on their changing state of human development. It is not, however, programmatic. This means there is no attached set of programmes suggesting how to improve human development but rather a measure of how well countries are doing regarding human development.

In addition to the HDI there are more particular global programmes, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), which monitor conditions that perpetuate poverty and inequality. The objective of the MDGs is to drive a more targeted developmental agenda. The MDGs aspire to:

- Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty
- Achieve universal primary education
- Promote gender equality and empower women
- Reduce child mortality
- Improve maternal health
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensure environmental sustainability
- Develop a global partnership for development

In particular between 1990 and 2015, the MDG targets include:

- Halving the proportion of people living on less than \$1 per day
- Halving the proportion of people suffering from hunger
- Ensuring that, by 2015, children everywhere will be able to complete the full course of primary education
- Ensuring that gender disparity is eliminated in primary and secondary education by 2015
- Reducing by two-thirds the rate of child mortality
- Reducing by three quarters the rate of maternal mortality
- Having halted, and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015
- Having halted and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other diseases by 2015
- Halving the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and sanitation goals (www.millenniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mi/mi)

The South African government is a signatory to the MDGs and the City can make a contribution towards these global targets through delivery of services and a focused social development programme.

National context

Concerns with human development and the imperative for an appropriate strategy are also a reflection of the visions of South Africa's national and provincial government. The Ten Year Review undertaken by the Presidency analyses the country's progress through the use of seven indices. Each of these indices measures progress between 1994 and 2004. The indices are: infrastructure (measuring water, sanitation, communication, housing and electricity), quality of life (health, education and the environment); political participation (trust in the State and quality of civil society institutions); economic participation (quality of work and poverty alleviation projects); economic preparedness (the ability of the population to be employed); safety and security (the ability of the criminal justice system to protect its citizens) and social inclusion (stability of households, communities and inclusion).

(Ten Year Review, 2004: 6).

Of the many indicators used in the Ten Year Review, the one most relevant to the HDS – that used to measure the performance of government between 1994 and 2004 – is represented in the table below. The infrastructure index chose specific indicators to ascertain the impact of services on people's lives. This index sought to balance infrastructural services with social services and issues pertaining to quality of life. In Joburg, indicators similar to this are relevant, since they target not only poverty but also inequality and social exclusion. This table below provides a template as to how a broad range of development issues can be measured concurrently.

Infrastructure index

- Infrastructural services, access to housing, water and sanitation, electricity and telephones
- Quality of life, access to basic services, access to health, adult functional literacy, environmental quality
- Political participation, political and union participation and social trust of government
- Social inclusion, household stability, inclusion in society, participation in cultural organisations

Based on the Ten Year Review, the national government's 2014 vision for a better quality of life for all South Africans for the next five years includes:

- Fighting poverty
 - Reducing poverty through economic development
 - Social security
 - Land reform and improved household and community assets
 - Providing skills
 - Assisting those at risk including women, children, people with disabilities, the aged and youth
 - Fighting HIV/AIDS
 - Reducing crime
- (ANC Today, 19-25 March 2004).

Provincial context

Similar issues are found in Gauteng province's vision where the strategic priorities include:

- Enabling faster economic growth and job creation
- Fighting poverty and building safe, secure and sustainable communities
- Developing healthy, skilled and productive people
- Deepening democracy and nation building and realising the constitutional rights of our people
- Building an effective and caring government

Metropolitan context

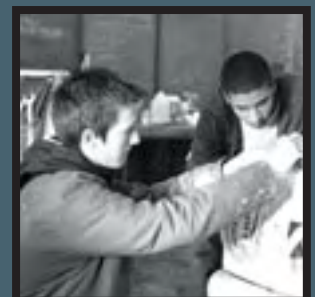
Joburg's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) strongly pursues sustainable development (CoJ, 2003c). However, the social, economic and environmental components of the plan have not been given equal weight to date. At present, the strategic direction being taken by the City is primarily an economic one. *Joburg 2030* is the City's blueprint for achieving its goal to be a world-class African city by the year 2030. The key tenet of this strategy is that economic growth is a pre-condition to Johannesburg reaching this goal of becoming a world-class African city.



The 2030 strategy posits that in the medium to long term, it is through this growth that poverty will be tackled. *Joburg 2030* also states that 'the world is agreed on a common "vision" for a world-class African city, all citizens should have an increased standard of living and improved quality of life' (CoJ, 2002a: 7).

Joburg 2030 as a poverty-reduction strategy is not going to yield success on its own. A specific agenda is presented here to optimise the City's human development interventions. It is in recognition of the importance of the human development angle that the City embarked on an HDS, which takes up the challenge of setting out Joburg's plan for dealing with poverty, inequality and social exclusion.

Specifically, the intention of this strategy is to provide a framework to assist the poor and vulnerable in Joburg to realise their potential. This framework will steer the City in the same direction as that being pursued at a national and provincial level in the quest to fight poverty and reduce inequality in the next ten years.



The plan ahead

The international, national and provincial programmes all provide a mandate for developing an HDS at a city-scale.

Furthermore, international development agencies, national and provincial government similarly highlight the importance of:

- Fighting poverty
- Focusing on vulnerable groups such as women, children, youth, people with disabilities and the aged
- Focusing on building literacy
- Providing good quality infrastructure
- Fighting HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases
- Achieving political and social inclusion

The capacity to deliver on these objectives differs depending on the sphere of government. The City, however, is in a position to make a considerable contribution towards realising the objectives stated above and realising its own City-driven vision of human development.

The next three chapters of this HDS document outline the specific approach developed by the City. Chapter 2 presents a detailed analysis of the difficulties facing Joburg's poor residents. The chapter is structured around an analysis of poverty, inequality and social exclusion in Joburg. Specific conclusions are drawn from this chapter as to the role that the City can play in confronting these challenges.

Chapters 3 and 4 are closely linked. Chapter 3 speaks to the roles and functions of local government relative to human development, briefly but directly, because ultimately the City's response is governed by its mandate. On the basis of these conclusions as well as on the analysis in Chapter 2, Chapter 4 presents in full detail the strategic directions embodied in the Joburg Triangle and associated programmes. Chapter 5 addresses the way ahead.

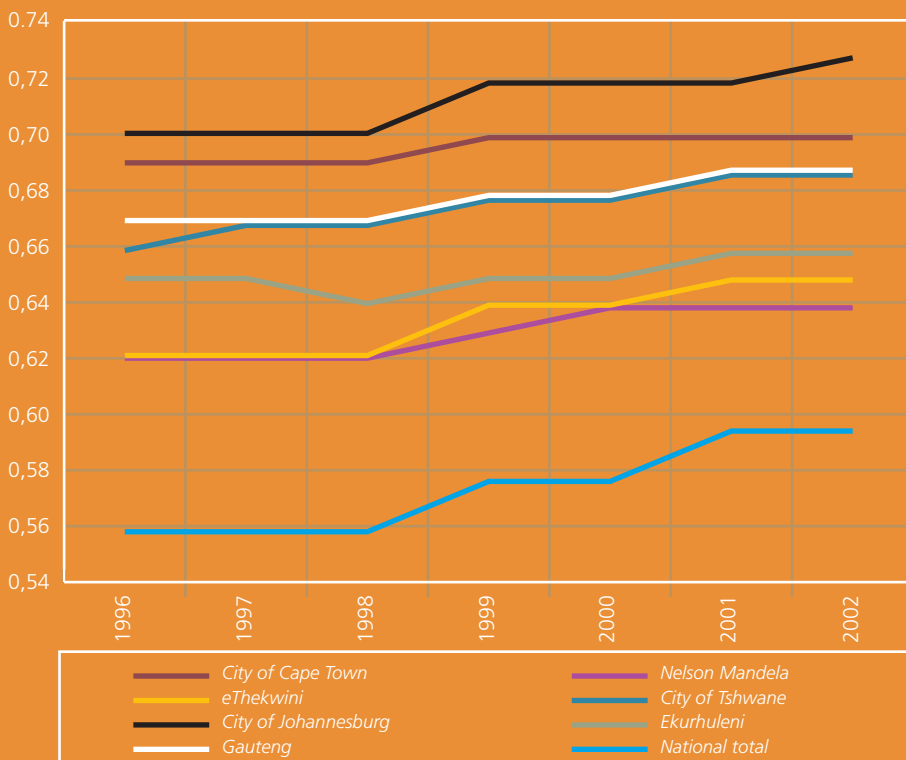
The City of Johannesburg: an analysis¹

Making appropriate interventions to deal with the causes and consequences of poverty, inequality and social exclusion is critical for Johannesburg given the magnitude of the challenges confronting the city.

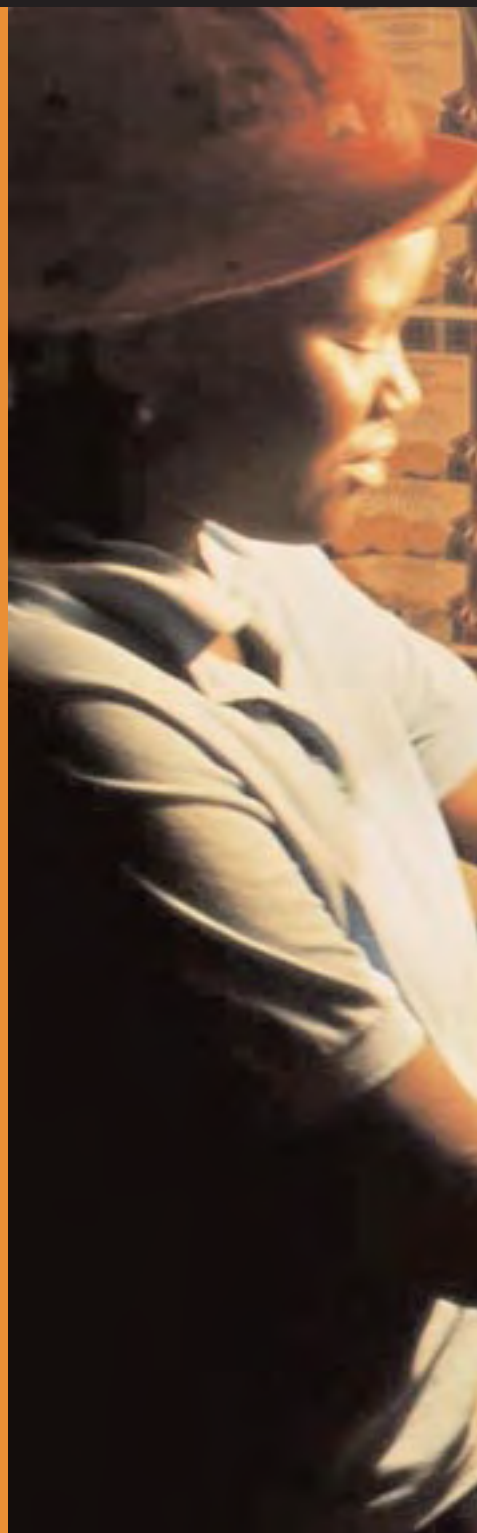
This chapter presents the human development *status quo* in Johannesburg – analysing in detail the profile of poverty, inequality and social exclusion in the city. The form and location of these factors are shown through an examination of the social, economic and spatial realities of the city’s residents.

A starting point is the establishment of Joburg’s Human Development Index (HDI) status relative to other South African cities. The HDI is a composite measure of people’s health, education and purchasing power, their ability to communicate, to participate in the life of the community and to have sufficient resources to obtain a decent living. The measure is based on life expectancy at birth, adult literacy, gross primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment, and GDP per capita.

As Graph 1 indicates, residents of the City of Johannesburg score highest on the HDI index when compared with six other South African cities. Joburg’s HDI is also higher than the Gauteng provincial and national average.



Graph 1- HDI, CoJ (Global Insights)



¹ The statistics used in this report are drawn from those of Statistics South Africa’s Census 2001. A preliminary independent demographic analysis of Census 2001 suggested that the final figures show:

- An underestimate of children under the age of five
- An overestimate of children aged between 10 and 19
- An underestimate of men relative to women
- An underestimate of the white population

For a detailed review of Joburg according to Census 2001 consult ‘Joburg According to the Census 1996-2001’ compiled by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2004d).



A quick glance at the graph gives the impression that Joburg is performing well on average. It is. But this graph does not reflect the reality of many Joburg residents. The relative wealth of wealthy residents is such that it pushes the HDI up to levels which are on a par with cities in developed countries.

In truth this HDI masks the inequalities in this city and it is these realities that are of the greatest concern for the HDS.

This *status quo* report gives a systematic analysis of the lacks related to development in the city. A detailed analysis of the Joburg context is provided with its three key objectives:

- To analyse trends in the current and future Joburg
- To evaluate some of the existing human development processes in place in the city
- To provide the basis for strategic interventions

The City of Johannesburg: The *status quo*

In 2001, Joburg was home to more than 3,2 million residents. By now, 2005, the population figure is, arguably, higher. Between 1996 and 2001 the population of the city grew at 4,1 per cent per annum – a total of 22,2% (Census 2001). This real growth far outweighs the projections made in *Joburg 2030*. The growth is significant for the city not only in terms of the impact on service delivery demand but also relative to the levels of poverty and inequality already evident in the city.

Joburg will continue to be a city of growth. While it is a place of great opportunity it is equally a city of difference, diversity and inequality. The causes of these high levels of inequality and poverty are multifaceted but are inextricably tied to the city's apartheid history with its controlled urbanisation and historical spatial, social, economic and political exclusion. Should these levels of poverty and inequality continue unabated, the likelihood is that more and more city residents will experience exclusion in various forms.

Despite the fact that Johannesburg has always been a city of opportunity, the social and economic evils of apartheid are still entrenched. These inequities are visible in many parts of the city, even allowing for the attempts to address them in the past ten years. In addition to the historical legacies, over the past ten years the City has had to confront a new range of difficulties and concerns – the reality of HIV/AIDS for one. Thus, there is clear evidence which points to the fact that poor and vulnerable residents of the city require assistance – reason enough to justify the pursuit of an HDS. And unless this support is forthcoming, the conditions under which these people live will deteriorate with severe consequences to the City.

The city's poor and marginalised residents are most vulnerable to social, economic and physical challenges, but, at the same time, have the least access to support for dealing with them. Each of the challenges discussed below works

against human development and in opposition to the objective of building a world-class African city for all. If large numbers of the population fail to realise their full promise, the City will struggle to optimise its growth potential.

Reviewing the human development challenges in the city provides an opportunity for understanding this poverty better and for beginning to tackle the problems directly. Despite the vastness of the challenges, there are cross-cutting points at which strategic interventions can be programmatically made.

Household poverty

Two of the most commanding constraints on human development are poverty and inequality. In a city such as Johannesburg, they are inextricably interlinked. Internationally, urban poverty and inequality are viewed as complex phenomena with multiple dimensions and this is also the case in Johannesburg. Because this HDS is located at a city level, the definition of poverty used here will be guided by an adapted definition from the South African Cities Network (SACN):

'Poverty is more than a lack of income. Poverty exists when an individual or a household's access to income, infrastructure and social and political resources is inadequate or sufficiently unequal to prohibit full access to opportunities in society. The condition of poverty is caused by a combination of social, economic, spatial, environmental and political factors' (adapted from SA Cities Network, www.sacities.co.za/downloads/urbanpoverty-definition.doc).

While this definition does not directly make reference to factors such as illiteracy, gender inequality and health, these dimensions are implicitly consistent with the holistic definition adopted here. Each of the components of poverty has an impact on city residents in different ways and the varied dimensions of poverty are mutually reinforcing. Thus, when asking the question about who are the poor in Johannesburg, the response is not determined on the basis of an income figure but is considered in a much more comprehensive way.

Measuring poverty through a multi-dimensional lens requires analysis from a range of pertinent indicators. For the purposes of the HDS, household poverty in particular will be analysed relative to:

- Household income
- Household size
- Basic services
- Housing

These indicators are by no means comprehensive but they have been selected because of the contribution they make to the analysis of household poverty in particular. Households are the key unit through which the City interacts with residents.

Household income²

One of the key indicators for tracking the state of human development is that of poverty measured through income and employment figures. Used in isolation income-based measures are limited in their usefulness. However, it is nonetheless important to determine the extent of income poverty especially since it has such an impact on the ability of the poor to secure services³. Income remains a key indicator of poverty for the urban poor (Amis, 2002: 99; Aliber, 2001: ii) and generating income is the most effective way of moving out of poverty, confronting vulnerabilities and responding to unexpected shocks to the household. The lack of income most probably leads to the inability of poor households to accumulate assets. This is problematic because these households are then unable to move out of poverty. In combination these factors create a vicious cycle with poor households unable to accumulate assets and the lack of assets limiting, in turn, the likelihood of these households securing their basic services. Chronically poor households are unable to secure basic services like water or access to food. This presents an individual threat to life as well as undermining general public well-being.

Income poverty can be analysed at the level of the individual or at that of the household. For the purposes of this section the household will be reviewed because it is at a household level that the City currently engages most directly with its residents through the provision of services and housing.

According to Census 2001, just about one in five households (185 340) in the city reported they did not have an income and another one in three households reported annual earnings of between R1 and R19 200 (i.e. a maximum of R1 600 per month). In total, 51% of households in the city have a monthly income of between R0 and R1 600. This figure most probably does not include social grants such as pensions or disability payments.

Social grants definitely make a huge contribution to the ability of poor households to survive in the city. But coverage issues can undermine the usefulness of these mechanisms as part of a poverty reduction strategy. This is especially the case amongst new arrivals to the city. Figures reported by the Department of Social Development to the Human Rights Commission in the years 2000 and 2002 indicated that '91% of eligible pensioners received their pensions, though only 44% of eligible recipients got child grants and 59% got disability grants' (Gelb, 2003: 55). Gelb states further of the national social assistance system that 'many households are excluded from access, with those least assisted being female-headed households, discouraged workseekers and (until 2003) households with children between 7 and 14 years' (Gelb, 2003: 16).

This is significant because amongst these poor households, female-headed households are disproportionately poorer than male-headed households. This is important because there is growth in the numbers of women of childbearing age (van Donk, 2004). Female heads of households are likely to earn less than their male counterparts and are most likely to be employed in less skilled jobs. Thus, the fact that 40% of female-headed households earn between R1 and



² The official definition of household, as used by Statistics South Africa for Census 2001, is as follows: 'A household is a group of persons who live together, and provide themselves jointly with food and/or essentials for living, or a single person who lives alone' (Statistics South Africa, 2004: 2).

³ But this must be undertaken concurrently with other indicators such as health, literacy, employment and access to basic amenities (Moser et al, 1995 cited in Rakodi, 2002).

R1 600 per month is a significant indication of where household income poverty and other forms of economic and social exclusion might be concentrated. 91% of these female-headed households are headed by African women (van Donk, 2004).

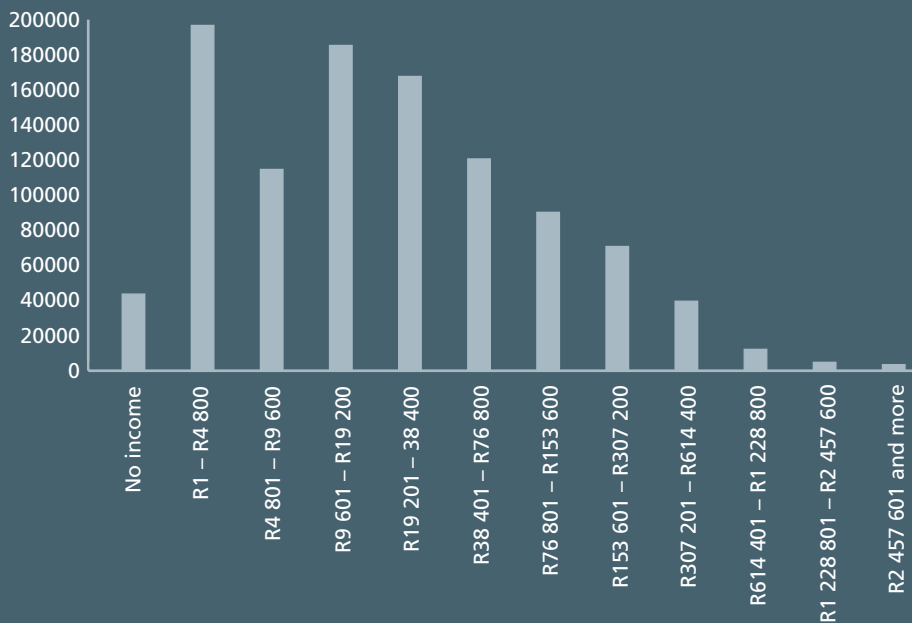


Figure 3 – Joburg’s Monthly Household Income Distribution, Census 2001

Therefore, if 51% of households in Joburg reported that they have a monthly income of between R0 and R1 600, then the majority of households in the city could be considered poor. What we do not know yet is which of these households are vulnerable to poverty, which are poor and which are chronically poor. This data needs to be collated in the near future.

In addition to income poverty we have other indicators of a large and growing poor population in Joburg. What we know is the following:

- There is a growing number of households in the city
- There is a growing number of households housed in informal housing
- African women-headed households are over-represented in the poorest households

The implications of population growth and the increase in the number of households have a direct impact on the City in significant ways:

- This increases the demand for service delivery in the city
- This increases the demand for housing, health care and basic services
- The non-provision of services such as health care, education and housing all affect human development
- Household vulnerability is further exacerbated by HIV/AIDS which causes a severe drop in health, exacerbates gender inequalities, intensifies poverty and can take school-going children out of school to care for sick adults

If the City is unable to meet these burgeoning needs now, improving the prospects for the state of human development is reduced.

Changing household size⁴

The dynamics within the household unit are of great significance for the City and are important indicators of social change, population stability and poverty. The increase or decrease in household size suggests a change in household formation representing social change (Moser et al, 1995: 10). Most government policy does not consider variations in household size and composition in the provision of services and in the analyses of poverty. But, it is exactly these trends that should be tracked.

Between 1996 and 2001, population growth coupled with smaller household size led to an increase in the total number of households in the city. The number of households in Joburg grew by 38,2% between 1996 and 2001. In 2001, there were 1 006 932 recorded households. According to Census 2001, household size was measured on average at 2,9 persons per household indicating that households in the city are smaller than the figure for 1996 which indicated that it was 3,8 persons per household (Peberdy et al, 2004). This, compared to the growth in the number of residents, indicates that there is a greater number of smaller households in the city than before.

But why has the increase occurred? The increase is probably attributable to the provision of new housing units which have allowed overcrowded households to establish new units. The implications for the City, however, are clear: the total number of poor households needing support has risen. More housing and more services are required to meet the needs. With a greater number of smaller households it is possible that an even bigger burden is put on those households where some income is generated (SACN, 2004). Household size is important not only relative to the expenditure potential of households but also from a delivery perspective. The bulk of City delivery uses the household as the basic unit of living and consumption. It is assumed that one account holder unit equals one household and policy formulation and planning is undertaken on that basis. This is in fact often not the case and there can be as many as three households living on one account holder unit. This growing number of households with fewer people indicates a growing dependency burden shift within particularly poor households. (SACN, 2004)

⁴ Setting a poverty datum line for the city has not been officially done. In fact, South Africa itself does not have a poverty line.

A scan of seven case study sites in the city and the number of households (hhs) residing in them reveals the following results:

Sub Place	Total number of hhs (Census 2001)	Average hh size (Census 2001)	% of hhs earning less than R1 600/m (Census 2001)	Average number of people per consumer unit (survey)	Ration hhs to consumer unit
Diepsloot	909	2,5	80%	7,6	3,1
Ivory Park	2 962	3,1	75%	7,6	2,5
Malvern	2 761	3,0	46%	6,8	2,3
Stretford Ext 4	1 443	3,7	78%	7,4	2,0
Orlando East	21 781	3,0	68%	8,8	2,9
Phiri	3 934	4,2	71%	7,2	1,7
Riverlea	4 147	3,6	46%	4,4	1,2

Table 2 – Household size in Joburg (PDGc, 2004)

These case study sites provide a rough indication of the numbers of people living in a household. In some areas, there are large numbers of people living in a single household. A detailed analysis of the dynamics that underpin these large households has not yet been undertaken. Properly understanding the dynamics in poor households provides powerful information around which targeted assistance to households can be structured.

Household poverty and services

The most important transactional relationship between the City and Joburg households is through the provision of basic services. Service delivery is also the mechanism through which the City can most easily assist households in poverty. The delivery of basic services is the core business of the City of Johannesburg and the contribution of basic services to human development is enormous. The benefits are most keenly felt by vulnerable residents such as women, children, people with disabilities and the aged. Furthermore, basic services are a public good and have positive spin-offs for all residents. This is evident in the example of water and sanitation services which, although they are provided to each household on an individual-user-pays basis, have huge public health benefits for the whole community. Finally, access to affordable basic services frees up household resources for other necessities such as food and health care.

The City of Johannesburg has made good progress in meeting the basic service needs of its communities. For example between 1996 and 2001:

- 203 924 additional households received electricity in the city
- 284 021 households received access to weekly solid waste removal services
- 193 931 additional households received flush toilets
- 220 830 more households now have access to piped water on site, either in their house or dwelling (Census 2001)

Despite this progress, the City still faces huge challenges in ensuring that all households have access to an appropriate level of basic services.

There are at least two aspects to the relationship between household poverty and service delivery:

- The first deals with those households that are not in formal housing and therefore do not have automatic access to basic services
- The second deals with those households that have services but are not able to afford them

In the case of the first set of households, these are most likely to be chronically poor households found in informal settlements, backyard shacks and in the inner city. Because of high population growth and growth in household numbers, Joburg, like other cities around the country, has not been able to keep pace with the demand for formal housing. The number and density of informal settlements in particular continues to grow. Residents of these settlements may not have any access to basic services. For households in some informal settlements there is a basic level of service available. Those households accessing a communal standpipe and with a basic level of sanitation do not currently pay for municipal services.

The challenge of providing adequate accommodation to residents currently living in informal circumstances is one that Joburg is tackling head-on. Together with the national and provincial Departments of Housing and various actors in the private sector, the City will continue to work towards providing households with housing opportunities. However, once households begin to access more formal accommodation another challenge will present itself: they will be put into a position where services payment is required.

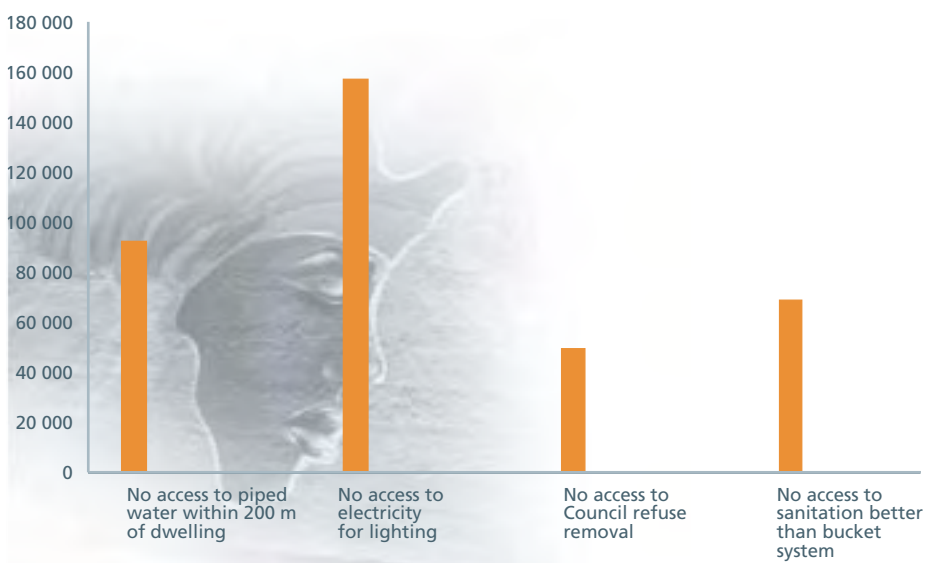


Figure 4 – Lack of access to basic services, Joburg, Census 2001

There is also a relationship between households that do have access to services, and poverty. This relationship is connected through the ability to pay for services

and the affordability of services. It is equally problematic if chronically poor households are provided with basic services that they are then unable to afford.

These households are currently being assisted through the City of Johannesburg's social package – a direct financial transfer by the City to poor households. The City's social package is in fact a composite one and it subsidises poor households to the effect of almost R500 per month (PDGc, 2004). This R500 is calculated on the basis of the City's expenditure on these services and specifically considers a range of services.

The four most pressing service delivery imperatives of local government to the poor are:

- To provide access to services
- To provide affordable services
- To subsidise services to the poorest
- To improve environmental health

The social package is therefore defined to include the following mechanisms to assist poor residents:

- Water
- Electricity
- Sanitation
- Solid waste services
- Health
- Housing
- Community services
- Municipal police
- Emergency services
- Roads
- Bus service

A broad review of the social package defines it as including at least the following mechanisms for assistance to poor residents:

- Free basic services
- Sanitation and refuse rebate
- Assessment rate rebate
- Housing
- Health care
- Bus transport
- Emergency services
- Firefighting services
- Social funding policy

Each of these services makes an important contribution towards alleviating the financial burden on poor households.

Free basic services

The City provides universal access to free basic water and electricity. Each account holder receives 6 kl of free basic water and 50 kWh of free basic electricity each month. A rising block tariff is applied for consumption above 6 kl of water.

Property rates

All properties valued at less than R20 000 are exempt from assessment rates. The City offers another redistributive mechanism targeted specifically at poor households. This policy is based on the assumption that it is poorer households that reside in low valued properties.

Special cases

Account holders in poor households also have the opportunity to be recipients of an additional means-tested subsidy for sanitation and refuse rebates. This is termed the City's Special Cases Policy. In financial terms, the provision of these services is a direct transfer to all households in the City.

Here is a comparison between two households – one receiving the social package and the other not.⁵

Service type	LOS	Consumption	Bill
Water	Unmetered	<6 kl	R57,36 ⁶
Electricity	One phase	200 kWh	R113,61 ⁷
Refuse	Normal pick up	N/A	R21,60 ⁸
Sewerage	Waterborne	N/A	R40,70
Rates		N/A	R70,22 ⁹
VAT			R32,66
			R336,15

Table 3 – Basic dwelling (a) <300m, value R20 002 in Joburg (PDGa, 2004)

Service type	LOS	Consumption	Bill
Water	Metered	<6 kl	R–
Electricity	Lifeline	200kWh	R50,91
Refuse	Normal pick up	N/A	R21,60
Sewerage	Waterborne	N/A	R40,70
Receives special cases subsidy			R62,30
Rates		N/A	–
VAT			R7,13
			R58,04

Table 4 – Basic dwelling (b) <300 m, value R20 000, Joburg (PDGa, 2004)

⁵ Please note these figures are based on indicative consumption and are helpful as a means of illustration.

⁶ The figure R57,36 is the amount charged for an unmetered water connection.

⁷ The figure R113,61 is based on the Joburg tariff for the usage of 200kWh of electricity.

⁸ The R21,60 and R40,70 are flat rates for refuse and sewerage provision.

⁹ The figure R70,22 is the rates charge for a property valued over R20 000.

Households accessing the social package are receiving significant assistance compared to those poor households not accessing the package. The latter are likely to pay a municipal bill six times greater than the former. As tables 3 and 4 illustrate, those households accessing the social package pay considerably less on their electricity bill and receive rebates on their water, sanitation, refuse and rates account. A saving of R180 per month on municipal services can alleviate a huge financial burden. This cash transfer frees up resources for health care, food and, possibly, asset accumulation.

Is the social package hitting the mark?

The main concern with the social package is not the nature of the package per se. It is clear that the subsidies making the package significantly lower the costs of living in the city and/or provide various forms of social protection. The challenge is targeting the package appropriately.

First, there are many qualifying households that are not accessing the social package; in many cases it is not reaching the poorest and most vulnerable households because it first and foremost benefits those households that already have access to some form of formal housing. Given the extreme vulnerability amongst poor households in informal settlements, backyard shacks and some inner city accommodation, this needs to be urgently addressed.

Second, even for poor households in formal housing that are benefiting, the issue of affordability remains important. Paying an average of R336¹⁰ per month for services puts an enormous burden on household budgets. Reducing this through a social package helps greatly but the package will need to be fine-tuned to take account of the affordability levels in different income categories and communities. Joburg is committed to being continuously alert to new ways to assist and protect its poorer residents, especially when it comes to helping them access the services the City can provide.

HIV, AIDS and affordability

The importance of considering the affordability of household services is exacerbated in the context of large households or households affected by HIV, AIDS or other diseases. Tomlinson, in 'HIV/AIDS and Housing and Services Needs in the City' (2004), argues that services are critical for HIV/AIDS-affected households. This is the case both relative to service provision and to service levels. Access to adequate water and sanitation is important not only in terms of service levels but also relative to consumption. In settlements where water is secured from a standpipe connection, difficulties arise in terms of accessing services. Sick mothers with young children may not be able to access the required amount of water from a communal standpipe. In the case of inadequate sanitation, household members suffering from HIV-related illnesses such as diarrhoea are badly afflicted by the lack of this service. Those who are, in addition, without access to electricity find it difficult to meet the hygiene and nutritional requirements of an HIV-infected household member (Tomlinson, 2004).

¹⁰ These figures were calculated on indicative cost of the full range of municipal services for an average Joburg household. They are meant to be illustrative

Affordability is equally a concern for those households affected by HIV/AIDS or other diseases. The impact of HIV/AIDS on household income is dramatic. Tomlinson (2004) cites and paraphrases the work of Gow and Desmond who identify the impact of HIV/AIDS on household and community incomes relative to impact phases (Tomlinson, 2004: 40). They argue in the first phase, illness is such that individuals are required to work less and in lower paid jobs. Other household members might also be required to stay at home to provide care for the sick member thus removing individuals from the work place or from school. The second phase is death. With death there are medical expenses and funeral costs. Large funerals with many people and much food, and high priced coffins, 'can drive families into debt and financial devastation' (Foster (1996); cited in Gow and Desmond (2002: 114)). Further, the need to meet the expenses of death amongst poor families often requires families to sell existing assets thereby putting these families at greater risk of poverty if there are any other crises. Accompanying illness and death is a reorganisation of household expenditure to afford medical expenses. This can mean that there is a drop in the intake of food (Tomlinson, 2004) and often a redistribution of members of the household into other households as part of a survival strategy.

Housing

Housing is the critical building block required for securing access to basic services. While this is already a priority within the City, the numbers of housing units built is not keeping pace with household growth.

The City's Housing Master Plan was developed as a means of combating the growing housing backlogs. As the housing implementation plan for between 2004 and 2009, it has a range of action areas:

- Water and sanitation (informal settlement upgrades)
 - People's housing process
 - Hostel redevelopment
 - Sales and transfers
 - Continual land and building identification for housing opportunities
 - Flat refurbishment programme
 - Refurbishment of old age homes
- (CoJ, 2004b)

Despite the housing plan and projections for new houses, the issue of informal housing remains problematic. The Census 2001 figures for informal housing (excluding hostel accommodation) indicate that the number of families living in informal shacks increased by 57 000 between 1996 and 2001 (Census 2001).

There are two main categories of informal housing:

- Backyard dwellings
- Informal housing located in informal settlements

The following table illustrates that roughly 63% of informal dwellings are located in informal settlements with the balance being located in backyard shacks:

House type	Total	%
House/brick structure on separate stand	511 414	50,79
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure	11 710	1,16
Flat in block of flats	101 269	10
Town/cluster/semi-detached house	62 141	6,1
House/flat/room in back yard	83 220	8,2
Informal dwelling/shack in back yard	78 716	7,8
Informal dwelling/shack in an informal settlement	133 691	13,2
Room/flatlet not in backyard but on a shared property	21 974	2,2
Caravan or tent	2 537	0,25
Private ship/boat	260	0,025
Total	1 006 932	100

Table 5 – Housing types, Joburg, Census 2001

Both forms of informal housing present their challenges to the City. In the instance of informal settlements, there is a growing populace of un-housed urban poor in a mostly unmanaged urban context. While these settlements have been prioritised both provincially and by the City, informal settlements continue to grow as a consequence of the lack of access to land, lack of access to formal housing and population growth. Their living in informal housing is not conducive to optimising the lives and opportunities of Johannesburg’s residents. A City of Joburg (2004) study done amongst residents of informal housing in Diepsloot indicated that overcrowding, fear of eviction and inadequate shelter were key concerns (Community Agency for Social Enquiry, CASE, 2004).

Backyard shacks as a housing form also remain extremely important for the urban poor (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001). But aside from the health and lifestyle burden of inadequate shelter, what distinguishes informal from formal housing is the status attributed to it by the City. Residents of formal housing have a relationship with the City; they appear as accountholders, are billed and their services are maintained. They are eligible for the social package. By contrast, residents of informal housing, who reside in areas with unregulated service charges, are not entitled to the social package of the city.

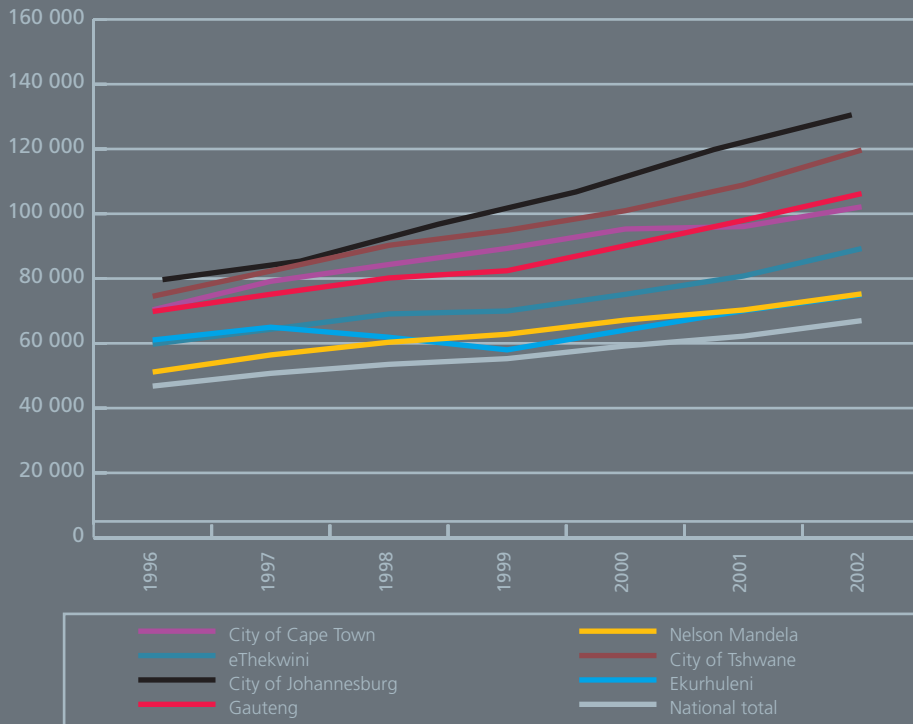
It is not only residents in informal housing who are not able to access the social package; many households in rented properties are faced with the same dilemma. There are 332 471 households residing in rented accommodation (Census 2001). Many residents in rental flats in the inner city and elsewhere do not have security of tenure because they are not the legal tenants. Rental agreements are often informal and tenants have no access to legal services should they be evicted. Tied to these contexts of vulnerability is a lack of access to basic services – tenants in rental agreements are vulnerable to exploitative landlords who do not pay for municipal services. Again, tenants have no recourse to action.

Status quo conclusions

- There are worrying trends in household poverty
- Trends in Joburg indicate there are smaller household sizes and a larger number of households
- Service backlogs remain in some settlements
- There are still households without access to houses, services and who do not have legal status as consumers
- Affordability issues affect a range of poor households, but this is exacerbated amongst those households affected by HIV and/or AIDS
- Housing backlogs remain, undermining access to services

Inequality

Joburg, like most South African cities, demonstrates inequality socially, spatially and economically. The magnitude of this inequality is often disguised through measures such as plotting average household income where a trends analysis shows an increase in the average household income in the city. Whilst this is the case overall, it masks the fact that many households in the city are struggling to cope and, even in some cases, to survive.



Graph 2: Average annual household income, Joburg (Global Insights, 2004)

The graph above indicates the average annual household income in the city as compared to six other cities, and the national and provincial average. It can be seen that in Joburg, average annual income is more than R140 000 per annum (measured in 2002) and is by far the highest in the country (CoJ, 2004d). A similar calculation based on the Census 2001 figures provides a slightly lower annual income figure of R99 320. Despite the large difference in the figures, both indicate growth.

The growth in annual income is more pronounced in some regions of Joburg than in others; this is indicative again of the spatial inequalities for which the city is infamous. Notwithstanding the R99 320 average, 19% of households claimed that they had no income. Furthermore, 2% of households hold the income share of the highest quintile whilst 33,82% of households hold the income share of the lowest quintile (State of the Cities Report, 2004: 186)¹¹. These figures suggest high levels of inequality in the city.

The nature of inequality in Johannesburg

'Inequality has two effects on poverty levels: it slows economic growth and it makes a given rate of economic growth less effective in reducing poverty. While equity and economic growth are mutually reinforcing, inequality is socially destabilising, bad for growth, and of its nature restricts the capabilities of marginalised groups. Conversely, equitable access to markets, political power and social provision, on the basis of needs, is the fastest and most effective route to poverty eradication' (Watts quoted in Rakodi, 2002: 92).

Inequality can, by definition, refer to all groups of residents who do not have equal access to resources. The identity of those groups depends on various criteria ranging from locality to gender, from race to generation. Those groups of residents who are particularly affected by access to resources are termed 'vulnerable' or excluded. The term 'vulnerability' is complex but for the purposes of the HDS, it is understood as follows:

'Using various definitions from the vulnerability perspective, they can all be interpreted as differential access to resources on distinct levels from lack of entitlement, political and economic power on the national level, to lack of social and cultural capital (empowerment) of communities to individual inability to mobilise family and personal resources' (Moatti and Souteyard cited in Gilbert and Walker, 2002: 1098).

Inequality is reflected in various different forms in the city but in this context will be discussed relative to:

- Economic inequalities
- Gender and generational inequalities
- Spatial inequalities

Each of these points will be discussed below and will serve as part of the organising framework for the HDS.

Economic inequalities

Nearly 38% of economically active individuals in the city reported they were unemployed. Census 2001 data shows that 38% of the adult population in the city indicated that they had no access to income whilst 16% earned less than R800 per month. Thus, even if one takes a fairly low-income poverty band, 54% of monthly **individual** incomes fall below the R800 mark.

¹¹ These percentages most likely do not include social grants.

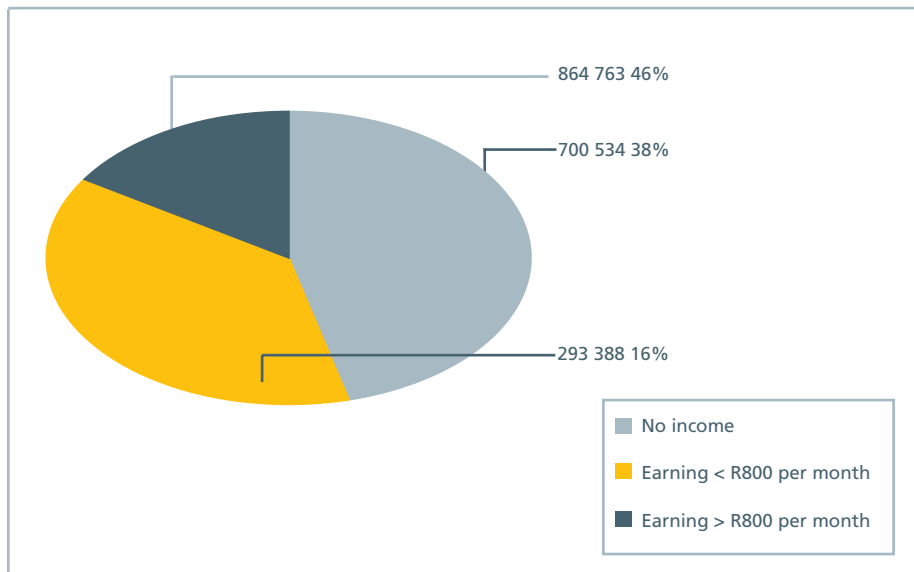


Figure 5 – Joburg’s individual monthly income levels, Census 2001

Census figures could lead one to conclude that as many as 700 000 adults are dependent on income from others and 300 000 earn less than R800 per month. These figures in and of themselves present an alarming picture of poverty in the city. In reality, however, there is a high likelihood that adults without access to income might be receiving state grants, working in the informal sector or receiving income from relatives. The figures are simply not detailed enough to determine patterns. Even so, the numbers are of concern.

Indicator	Definition	Number 000s
Labour force	The population between 16 and 64 years of age	2 361
Economically active	That part of the labour force that is employed or actively seeking employment	1 730
Employed	Economically active individuals in employment	1 083
Unemployed	Economically active individuals currently unemployed	647

Table 6 – Joburg’s employment profile, Census 2001¹³

These unemployment figures hide the racial, social, gender and spatial components to income poverty in the city. If a multidimensional picture of poverty is to be painted then these factors must be considered equally. The gender breakdown for economic inequality reveals that:

- Forty two percent of men in the city earn less than R800 per month
- Fifty eight percent of women earn less than R800 per month

¹³ The definitions used in the table are drawn directly from those applied by Statistics South Africa. Census 2001 figures are given for unemployment according to the official definition. ‘Economically active: All those who are either employed or unemployed. The rest of the working age population is classified as not economically active, which includes students, homemakers, those too ill to work and anyone not seeking work’ (2). ‘Unemployed: According to the official or strict definition, the unemployed are those people within the economically active population who (a) did not work in the seven days prior to census night, (b) wanted to work and were available to start work within a week of census night, and (c) had taken active steps to look for work or to start some form of self-employment in the four weeks prior to census night. People who fulfil the first two criteria but not the third are classified as unemployed according to the expanded definition.’ (2) (Statistics South Africa, 2004b: 2).

These figures include those with no access to income. African women, in particular, are located in a much lower income band than are all men. This specifically highlights the degree to which women are low earners in the city. Women, and in particular African women, make up a greater percentage of poor adults than do men (van Donk, 2004). This is consistent with national trends where women's participation in the labour force is much lower than that of men (Gelb, 2003).

Census 2001 data indicates that the percentage of women in the workforce has remained stable at 43% since 1996. This has happened despite an absolute increase in the total number of employed persons in the city of almost 131 000 and despite the growth of economic sectors traditionally associated with female employment.

For example, the financial/insurance/real estate (FIRE) and business sector and wholesale/retail sector have both seen a growth in employment of over 50 000 jobs, whereas the services sector has grown by just over 34 000 jobs. During the same period (1996-2001), certain industries traditionally dominated by male employment have seen a reduction in the number of jobs, like mining (5 564 fewer jobs) and utilities (6 988 fewer jobs). Yet, the largest reduction has occurred in private households (15 802 fewer jobs), which suggests that domestic workers have been disproportionately affected. This trend could serve to explain the levelling off of the economic participation rate of women in the city (van Donk, 2004).

Economic inequalities are also related to the employment sector. If individuals are stuck in employment with low income potential, this has long-term implications for perpetual poverty and inequality amongst some segments of the city population. An analysis of the gender and racial divisions of labour relative to industry type and to the occupations that gender and racial groups engage in shows that women are clearly concentrated in lower earning employment sectors such as administrative and secretarial positions. Further disaggregated, 45% of African women work in elementary occupations and more than 30% of African men work in elementary occupations. This is significant because correlating job growth with industry type can provide a picture of where jobs are being shed and gained and which sectors of the population are likely to suffer as a result of job losses, and which will gain as a result of employment increases (van Donk, 2004).

These low income sectors do not apply only in the formal economy. This is equally of concern in the informal sector. According to iGoli 2010¹⁴, one in ten economically active persons worked in the informal sector in 1996; by 1999, this figure had increased to almost one in six (i.e. 161 000 jobs).

A large proportion of those working in the informal urban economy are women. Gender inequality in the informal sector is quite pronounced, with women being concentrated in the least financially rewarding and most survivalist enterprises.

Given that women are over-represented in low income and low skills occupations, yet simultaneously head a significant proportion of households,

¹⁴ iGoli 2010 was the key process to determine the future strategic direction for the management and development of Greater Johannesburg. Where iGoli 2002 aimed 'to get the basics right', the iGoli 2010 approach will deliver the longer-term focus to address both basic needs and exploit economic opportunities to the benefit of the city's citizens and investors (CoJ, 1999).

interventions amongst women entrepreneurs is a helpful way of assisting households to survive, as well as a way of beginning to address the intergenerational nature of poverty in the city.

Status quo conclusions

- Joburg has high unemployment figures
- There are low monthly income figures amongst the unemployed
- Women are particularly low income earners in low skills employment
- Economic inequalities are related to employment sector
- There is a high percentage of employment in the informal economy
- Women are over-represented in the survivalist informal economy

Gender and generational inequality

The significance of using gender and generational lenses for analysis in the HDS is twofold:

- It highlights where vulnerability in the city is located
- It allows the HDS to intervene in generational and gender issues

Vulnerability to poverty, inequality and social exclusion is more pronounced amongst particular groups in the city. Reasons for this vulnerability can be attributed to the underlying structural inequalities embedded within the city – the result of historic racial, social and spatial inequalities. Moser states that ‘[a]lthough poor people are usually amongst the most vulnerable, not all vulnerable people are poor, a distinction which facilitates differentiation among lower income populations’ (Moser, 1998: 3). This does not suggest, however, that all residents in these categories are vulnerable or that they experience vulnerability equally. Beall contends that many livelihood analysts ignore the role of gender and generation in access to resources (Beall, 2002). Intra-household relations play an enormous role in determining who in the household is able to claim their rights and opportunities. These claims are in respect of rights to basic services, to employment, and education, amongst other things.

The overall vulnerability confronting poor households and poor residents in the city has been discussed in the preceding section that discusses household poverty, access to services and housing. Bearing in mind these trends, this section reviews how these vulnerabilities and others can be even more pronounced amongst specific groups. In addition to the racial, gender and spatial dimensions to exclusion that are outlined above, specific groups of women, youth, children, the aged and people with disabilities experience vulnerability more severely.

Women

Women and children are discussed concurrently in this section because the welfare of women and children are inextricably linked. Most often, interventions targeted at assisting women also benefit children and vice versa.

Women experience the city differently to men and are often more vulnerable to urban challenges than men are. Issues of safety, of health, employment and access all profoundly affect urban women.

These factors are of concern because a disproportionate number of new entrants into the city (not taking mortality and out-migration into account), are women (van Donk, 2004). The city also has a growing population of women. According to population figures, the highest increase in the number of women recorded between 1996 and 2001 is in the age groups of:

- 15 – 34 with a 27% growth rate
- 35 – 64 with a 31% growth rate

These trends interact with, and exacerbate, an already challenging set of urban circumstances. The suggestion of a growing feminisation of poverty in the city intensifies other difficulties already experienced by women. Women carry the bulk of domestic chores in the city. Women, for example, carry a much heavier burden in the case of inadequate housing conditions and the lack of basic services. In general, the impact of the inadequate provision of basic services is felt particularly by poor women, children, the aged and people with disabilities.

Accessing basic services often falls to women in the household. In the case of households that do not have access to electricity, women are required to cook by other means. The number of households in the city depending on candles for lighting was reflected as 124 686 in 2001. Even in many houses with electricity, candles are a preferred energy source because of affordability issues. This is further illustrated through statistics on energy source. Census 2001 reports that for every 100 households in the city, 79 used electricity, 18 used paraffin and two used gas. A much smaller proportion of households used coal, wood, solar energy, animal dung or other sources of energy for cooking.

Women, security and basic services

Lack of access to basic services does not refer only literally to not being able to secure a basic level of service, but also to the form that these services take, and this is particularly significant for women. The side effects of inadequate service provision for women affects their feelings of security. Environmental design can play an enormous role in compounding the insecurity of women. The lack of adequate lighting, a lack of policing, unregulated shebeens and communal ablution facilities, for example, put women and children at risk of abuse (Institute for Security Studies, 1999).

In informal settlements or settlements with communal ablution facilities, women can be vulnerable to rape because of poorly planned and badly lit facilities. A study conducted in Riverlea (2004) indicated that some of the parks in the area were sites of crime and therefore unsafe for children. In inner city buildings without sufficient lighting, women are often fearful of entering and leaving their flats (CASE, 2004).

Overcrowding also contributes to a range of health, social and environmental risks for the youth and children in particular. In informal settlements, degraded inner city areas, shack farms and degraded Council-owned housing, pockets of poverty may reach extreme proportions (Goldstone, 2004).

Children in Joburg

As with other groups in the city there is a paucity of available information regarding children (and especially poor children) who are often invisible. What we do know is that Joburg has a population of almost a million children falling into the age group of 0 – 19 years if this figure is calculated using census 2001 data. Also, this population increased by 15% between 1996 and 2001 compared to the 22% increase in the total population.

The increase in children in the city's population is significant for poverty and human development studies and interventions because children are usually over-represented in poor households. African children are the most likely to live in poor households. Further to that, African children in female-headed households are the poorest. These children are faced with more obstacles and fewer resources and they therefore require special attention. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) study *The State of Children in Gauteng* states that:

'It is well established that more than any other factor, the conditions associated with poverty have the most powerful and pervasive impact on the broadest range of negative child development outcomes. Other influences aside, as poverty conditions increase, the risks to prenatal development, neonatal and child health, child care, exposure to accidents and violence, poor educational preparation and attainment all increase' (Aber, Gephart, Brooks-Ginn & Connel, 1997; McLoyd, 1999 cited in Dawes, 2003:10).

Poor children also have the least access to resources. One such lack is institutional support. Although there are no specific figures on Early Childhood Development (ECD) facilities in the city, according to provincial figures, in Gauteng 24% of children attend preschool facilities, i.e. 76% of Gauteng's children do not have access to ECD (Dawes, 2003). If this percentage is also taken for the city, proxy calculations show that there are 201 824 children between 0 and 4 years who are not in any facility. These children are most probably being cared for by older siblings, grandmothers or not at all. These are staggeringly high numbers and an immediate intervention is required. Not acting on this heightens the likelihood of ongoing intergenerational poverty in the city. These children begin life without full access to opportunities. It is the intergenerational lack of opportunity that helps to perpetuate inequality.

HIV/AIDS

Women, and especially young women, are the most susceptible to HIV infection. Women are also the primary care givers for the HIV/AIDS infected (van Donk, 2004; Tomlinson, 2004). The disproportionate burden of HIV/AIDS on women is worsened by the fact that life expectancy amongst them will decline from 60 to

45 years (CoJ, 2003b). Women do not only carry the burden of infection but also that of care. In a study undertaken by the Health Systems Trust on the impact of AIDS at a household level in Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga, results indicated that the main caregiver is usually a woman and 73% of these women are over 60 years of age. Furthermore, 7% of the households used caregivers under 18 (Health Systems Trust, 2002). This use of young caregivers suggests that these children will not be in educational institutions. The implication of these trends is that it is the very young and the elderly among women who are bearing the caregiving burden and that this caregiving responsibility of these women and girls is exacerbated by the absence of supporting institutions.

Albertyn and Hassim, cited in Tomlinson (2004: 59), argue that:

'In general, women's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS emerges from, and thus emphasises, the interaction between social, economic and political relations shaping women's relative lack of agency and choice. This gendered vulnerability is also evident in the impact of HIV/AIDS on the individual, family and community, as HIV/AIDS deepens gender inequalities in a material and a social sense. Women not only slip further down the socio-economic ladder when infected and affected by HIV/AIDS, but also become subject to greater stigmatisation and control. HIV/AIDS thus reinforces old inequalities, as well as introducing a new set of direct costs for women as a result of these inequalities' (Albertyn and Hassim, 2004 cited in Tomlinson, 2004: 59).

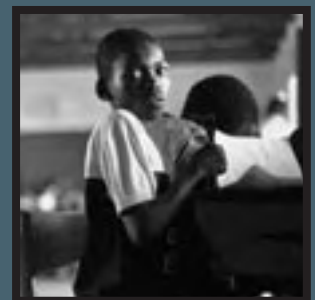
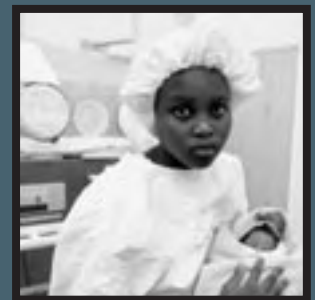
The impact of HIV/AIDS on women is closely tied to that exerted on children. Dunn (2004) points out that very young children of HIV-infected adults spend their early childhoods with tired and stressed adults who are unable to meet their physical, nutritional and psychosocial needs. A lack of attention at this age has severe long-term implications and it highlights the importance of ECD facilities as a means of assisting these children (Dunn, 2004).

The death or illness of a household member as a result of AIDS can result in fragmentation and instability for those households. Whilst the reasons for the instability differ, the repercussions are felt amongst household members. The growth in numbers of child-headed households in Joburg and the growth in numbers of orphans are associated worrying trends.

Although the exact number of child-headed households in the city is unknown, what work has been done indicates that the number of child-headed households is on the increase (van Donk, 2004). This is most probably the consequence of HIV/AIDS. Within these households, it is most likely that young girls assume adult and maternal roles.

Health care for women and children

Strategies to improve the access of health services to the poor include the provision of free primary health care and the decentralisation of health services.



Two main components of the package of health services currently provided as part of these strategies are facility-based services and community-based services. The services constituting the core of facility-based health services according to the national Department of Health should be 100% accessible to all of the population. Some of the services that are provided at lower than required levels include maternity and antenatal care, rehabilitation, mental health and termination of pregnancy. Many of these sub-level services directly affect women.

Inequalities in health are present 'across a range of social dimensions such as social class and or occupational groups, gender, race and geographical location' (Gilbert and Walker, 2002: 1094). This is significant in a city such as Johannesburg because these health inequalities often overlap with inequalities evident in other domains such as employment and access. This is definitely the case with some women.

Children bear the brunt of inadequate service delivery in terms of their health. Diarrhoeal diseases, associated with inadequate access to services, remain one of the top five killers of young South African children (Bradshaw et al, 2003, cited in Goldstone, 2004). The third biggest cause of child mortality in South Africa and in the city is diarrhoeal disease. Low birth weight, diarrhoea, lower respiratory infections and protein-energy malnutrition/kwashiokor (PEM) account for 30 per cent of the childhood deaths (Goldstone, 2004).

The deaths of these children are preventable through a standard package of primary health services (Bradshaw et al cited in Goldstone, 2004). A combination of primary health care and access to a basic level of service is a critical means for combating infant mortality and for providing children with a good start.

In addition to those children represented in poor households, there are groups who are omitted from this service consumption by virtue of their lack of association with a household. These include street children, child-headed households, waste scavengers, child beggars and children living in prison (Save the Children Report, 2000, cited in Goldstone, 2004).

Status quo conclusions

- Women and children are most directly affected by poor services
- Women experience health and security burdens as a result of inadequate services
- Women, and especially young women, are the most susceptible to HIV infection
- Women are primary care-givers of the HIV infected

HIV/AIDS epidemic

HIV/AIDS does not usually fall into the standard categorisation of ‘inequalities’. For the purposes of the HDS, we view HIV/AIDS as a potential catalyst that exacerbates all types of inequalities as well as a contributor to household poverty. The impact of HIV/AIDS on urban areas has not as yet been fully realised but we know that it will affect the city relative to at least:

- Its demographic profile
- The local government workforce and the City’s ability to deliver services
- Household income and expenditure priorities

Furthermore, given the age structure of Joburg’s population, HIV/AIDS will be strongly felt by the City’s workforce. The Nelson Mandela Human Science Research Council HIV/AIDS Survey (2002) provides useful information as to where the impact will be most strongly felt. This study disaggregates prevalence on the basis of settlement types and posts the following percentages:

Settlement type	HIV positive (%)	Confidence interval (%)
HIV prevalence in SA urban formal settlements	12,1	10,3 – 14,0
HIV prevalence in SA urban informal settlements	21,3	16,2 – 26,5

Table 7 – HIV prevalence by settlement type, HSRC/Nelson Mandela (2002)

People living in urban informal environments emerged as those at greatest risk of HIV infection, with a prevalence of infection of 17,4% in Gauteng for the youth surveyed by the Reproductive Health Research Unit (RHRU). The Nelson Mandela/HSRC study found the prevalence rates among persons aged 15 to 49 also to be highest in informal urban settlements at 28,4%, compared with those in formal urban settings (15,8%), farms (11,3%) and tribal areas (12,4%), with a national prevalence for this age group of 15,6%. The HSRC researchers’ impression is that the mobility and transience of life in informal settlements rather than socio-economic status per se predisposes residents to infection. The men in these areas are significantly likely to have more than one sexual partner, and the youth show far higher levels of sexual experience than their peers in other types of environments (HSRC, 2002).

The impact of HIV/AIDS on the City and Joburg's residents is manifold. Dimensions to be considered include:

1. The effects on household income and expenditure and its impact on the relationship to poverty
2. The effects on household composition and family structure
3. The psycho-social impact on communities within the city

In the case of factor 1, empirical data demonstrates that the impact of the disease dramatically affects the household income and expenditure of HIV/AIDS-affected households. Naidu (2003) undertook a pilot study of the impact of HIV/AIDS on income-earning urban household economies in South Africa. She selected nine sites in Soweto during the period July to December 2002. The study compared two cohorts, one household with an affected household member and another non-affected household. The study investigated the following:

- The cost of morbidity and mortality on the household
- Income shifts (amount and type of income) for income-earning households where at least one person is infected
- Expenditure shifts to accommodate increased HIV/AIDS-related costs
- Household survival strategies
- The role of inter-household obligations of AIDS survivors
(Naidu, 2003)

The key findings of the study were:

- 'The direct costs of funerals were R9 500 but this constituted only 37% of the costs of death. There were additional costs associated with pre-funeral expenses and with others a year after the funeral.
- The cost of morbidity and mortality were felt in terms of telephone, food, clothing and domestic help for the sick member.
- The affected household earned less of a monthly income than did non-affected households.
- Affected households spent much more on telephone, food, personal care, medical expenses and funerals.
- Over time, affected households spent less on housing and municipal services.
- The kinds of survival strategies adopted included saving less, borrowing more and selling off assets'.
(Naidu, 2003).

The implications of these findings speak to issues of poverty and vulnerability. Firstly, those households already in poverty are unlikely to financially survive the death of a breadwinner. Poor families who lose an income-generating household member are likely to have to liquidate assets in order to survive, thereby making them vulnerable to chronic poverty. Secondly, this study highlights how households cut back on the payment for housing and municipal services. This could have dramatic implications for the City in the future.

The effects on the City will be felt relative to:

- Those households that under usual circumstances pay for their services but are crashed into poverty as a result of HIV and/or AIDS
- Those households that shift expenditure patterns away from paying for housing and services in favour of other requirements such as health care

In the case of liquidating assets, households may sell assets or access savings and each of these has fundamental implications for the ability of a household to survive (Tomlinson, 2004). Households might also seek assistance from neighbours and family members but these resources will eventually run out for family structures.

Alternatively, the impact might be felt on the composition of the household whereby the death of adults will lead to the dissolution of the family unit. In these cases, children are often sent to grandparents for care. The psycho-social impact on communities is also great.

All of these effects have important results for Joburg – and not only in terms of health care. Unless some attention is given to changing household dynamics and to the implications of HIV/AIDS on City residents, there is the danger of inadequate or inappropriate response by the City. City-based interventions are crucial. However, rather than having only particular programmatic interventions directed towards HIV/AIDS, a far greater impact will be achieved if HIV/AIDS interventions are also worked into other policies.

Status quo conclusions

- HIV/AIDS affect household income and expenditure and its impact on the relationship to poverty is great
- HIV/AIDS affect household composition and family structure
- HIV/AIDS have a psycho-social impact on communities within the City
- Growing numbers of AIDS orphans are living in the City

Spatial inequalities

Geographical location in the city continues to be a key driver of inequality. The spatial distortions of the apartheid city remain in place today with pockets of poverty concentrated in certain settlements in the city, and emerging in post-apartheid settlements such as Diepsloot, Orange Farm and some inner city areas.

Spatial inequality is important because of:

- The spatial patterns to unemployment and income in Joburg
- The correlation between areas of poverty and locational disadvantage

Each will be discussed separately but they are inextricably interlinked. If spatial inequality is ultimately to be combated, both components will need to be addressed. The Spatial Development Framework and Integrated Transport Plan of the City confront these challenges directly already but the importance of the issue cannot be overstated.

The spatial patterns to inequality

The spatial patterns to inequality in the city are stark. These inequalities will be represented briefly through a comparative analysis of trends in the City's 11 regions relative to:

- Population growth
- Growth in unemployment

These are two of a range of indicators that demonstrate the spatial concentrations of poverty and inequality. What these two indicators reveal is the correlation between areas of population growth and areas where there is growth in unemployment.

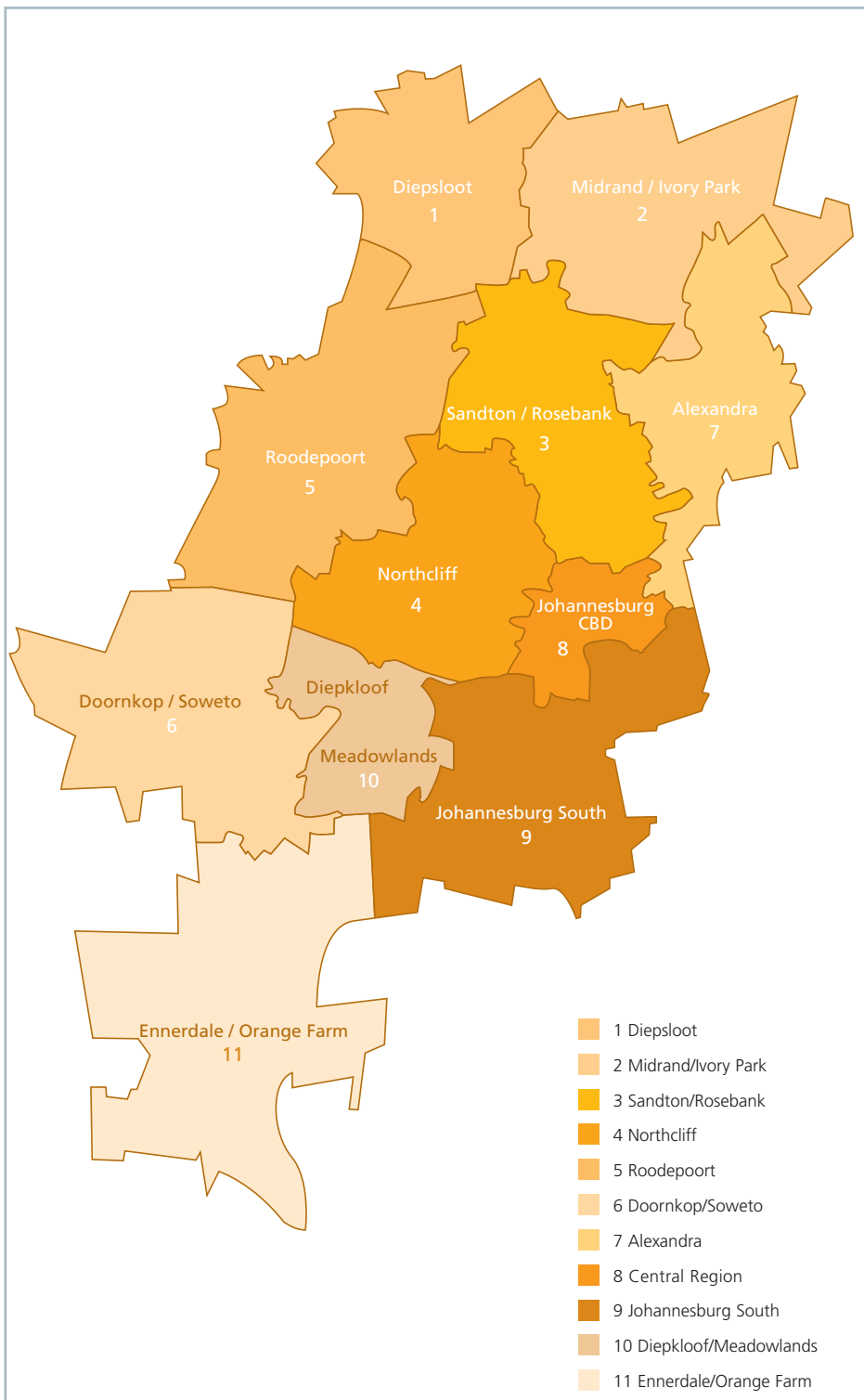
Census 2001 data, represented in Table 8, verifies that the highest percentages in population growth are evident in Regions 1, 2 and 11 in localities such as Diepsloot and Orange Farm. These regions are located on the boundaries of the city and there is evidence to suggest that new arrivals to the city settle in informal settlements in these regions. The implication of settling in peripheral areas of the city is that residents can have difficulty accessing employment opportunities, basic services and other social and communal facilities.

Region	1996	2001	% change
1	29 492	82 341	179
2	129 176	218 510	69
3	154 917	178 549	15
4	198 069	237 588	20
5	167 984	199 758	19
6	595 452	679 675	14
7	188 032	243 184	29
8	203 765	257 180	26
9	145 082	179 651	24
10	563 996	570 635	1
11	263 145	378 537	44
Total	2 639 110	3 225 608	22

Table 8 – Regional population growth in Joburg between 1996 and 2001, Census 2001

The significance of the above table is that it suggests that Regions 1, 2 and 11 are growth points for poverty. Correlate this population growth with percentage growth in the number of unemployed persons and there is overlap. Table 8 and 9 illustrates two things:

- Where the largest numbers of unemployed adults reside in the city
- Where the highest growth in unemployment is concentrated



Map 1 – City of Johannesburg: Regions 1 to 11

Region	1996	2001	% change
1	4 850	20 436	321
2	21 060	46 020	119
3	4 444	6 294	42
4	11 790	21 042	78
5	7 195	16 935	135
6	118 632	176 700	49
7	30 219	51 843	72
8	26 193	57 933	121
9	13 619	19 032	40
10	110 143	148 256	35
11	44 673	82 563	85

Table 9 – Growth in the number of unemployed individuals in Joburg between 1996 and 2001, Census 2001

Regions 6, 10 and 11 have the largest number of unemployed adults in number terms, but Regions 1, 2, 5 and 8 show the highest percentage increase in unemployed persons. In Region 1, for example, there was a huge increase – 321% – in unemployed individuals.

These unemployment trends may be an indication of where in-migrants to the city are settling upon arrival. These, when cross-tabulated with informal housing figures, show that numbers of informal dwellings have increased dramatically in Regions 1, 5 and 8. Areas such as Diepsloot are growing dramatically in Region 1. In Region 5 informal settlements such as Matholesville and Tshepisoong are burgeoning, Region 8, the Central Business District (CBD), reveals a combination of trends: the growth of informal settlements within it and increased densification of existing accommodation.

These dynamics suggest that Regions 1, 2, 5, 8 and 11 are growth points for poverty given the combined increase in population, unemployment and informal housing. Regions 6 and 10 have high numbers of unemployed adults but are not showing a dramatic population increase nor an increase in informal housing. These figures also suggest that the majority of households in these two regions are not experiencing income mobility. Regions 6 and 10 show high levels of overcrowding and evidence of being the largest households in the city.

These sites of inequality have massive implications for the City – particularly the new “hot spots”. These settlements most probably already have a transitional and unstable population and in combination with informal housing and no obvious employment prospects, the conditions for social exclusion are ripe.

Location in Joburg

Experiences of poverty are often characteristic of the settlements within which they occur and are further exacerbated by the location of the settlement. Rakodi states:

'The location within which poor households live is influenced by their poverty, but also provides or excludes them from opportunities, thus influencing their chances of becoming trapped in poverty, further impoverished, or better off' (Rakodi cited in Romaya and Rakodi, 2002: 94).

There are distinctly spatial characteristics to poverty in the city. But in addition to the spatial patterns to economic and service inequality, these areas are concurrently under-resourced relative to social infrastructure.

Global literature contends that poor urban households face considerable risks and the urban poor, in particular, are most likely to experience¹⁵:

- A lack of security of tenure
 - Health problems resulting from both inadequate access to urban services and due to HIV/AIDS
 - A lack of employment and low income employment
 - A lack of access to public services
 - A lack of access to transportation
 - A lack of access to sports and recreation facilities
- (Rao and Woolcock, 2001)

These lacks have a knock-on effect in terms of employment opportunities, educational facilities and even social networks. The extent of the deficiencies in available resources in these areas can make them vulnerable to social conflict and upheaval.

Given the far-flung location of many of the poor settlements, transport service is a particularly good way of illustrating locational disadvantage. Poor households spend a disproportionate amount on transportation costs. Transport for the poor comes at a huge cost – either monetary or in terms of time. Poor or inadequate transport can also put women, children and the elderly at a security risk (SACN, 2002).

For most of the individuals in the city, walking is the primary means of transport. In the SACN study entitled 'Transport and Poverty' it was ascertained that in metropolitan Cape Town:

- Households living on the periphery of the city spent larger amounts of time commuting
- Households on the periphery undertook fewer multi-purpose trips
- In areas where there was a conducive pedestrian environment, commuters adapted their behaviour accordingly
- Household expenditure on transport differed depending on household structure
- Children in the household meant more income was expended on transport, but the opposite was true in the case of the aged (SACN, 2002: 9)

¹⁵ Rao and Woolcock provide the framework for these risk factors in their article 'Risk Management Strategies in Poor Urban Communities: Evidence from Developing Countries' (2001)

These trends are probably similar in the case of Joburg. This was reflected in the focus groups done by the City for the HDS. In the case of peripheral areas, the lack of transport was considered a negative externality of living on the periphery. In the inner city neighbourhoods the availability of transport was one of the drawcards for living in the area.

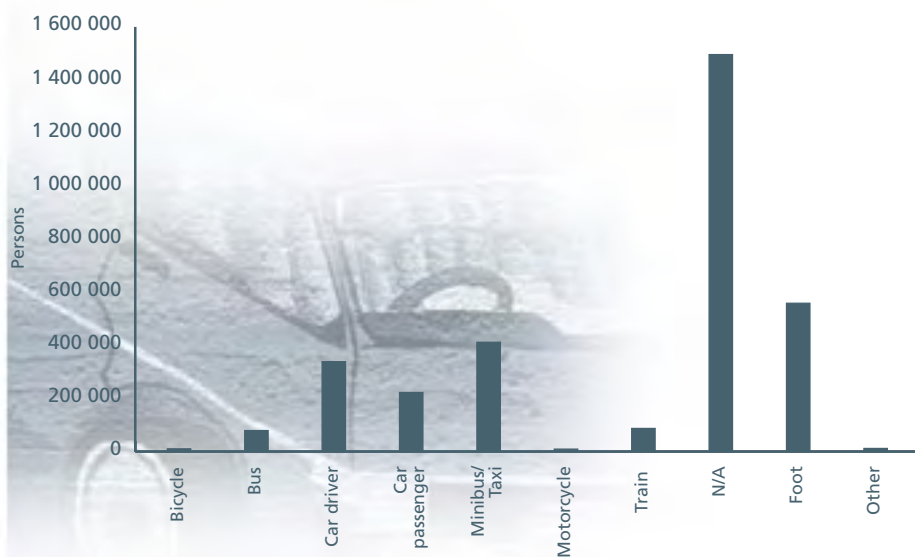


Figure 6 – Mode of commuter transport (work and school), Joburg, Census 2001

Subsidising the transport costs of the end-user is a major pro-poor policy. This is not under way in Joburg at the present time. The City owns and operates a bus service within the city which is provided through the Johannesburg Metropolitan Bus Transportation Company (Metrobus), an entity that is wholly-owned by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2004b: 190). Metrobus provides subsidised services to the following groups of people:

- Learners (primary, secondary and tertiary)
- Pensioners
- People with disabilities

While the intention is admirable, the effects are minimised given that Metro bus routes do not include many disadvantaged areas of the city and therefore the benefit to the end-user is somewhat dispersed.

Status quo conclusions

- Population growth is concentrated on the periphery and in particular regions
- There is a strong correlation between population growth and growth in unemployment
- Certain regions of the city are growing sites of poverty
- Lack of facilities is particularly onerous for the poor
- Transport is an important indicator of locational disadvantage and existing subsidised rates do not assist poor households

Social exclusion

Social exclusion refers to 'the impoverishment or exclusion from adequate income and resources; labour market exclusion; service exclusion and exclusion from social relations' (Gordon, 2000: 5). The socially excluded are those who cannot 'participate fully in social, economic and political life in a particular context for particular reasons' (Parnell and Wooldridge, 2001: 3). Exclusion may be a function of the areas in which people live and/or their religious, national, racial or ethnic identity.

Social exclusion is not a necessary condition of poverty, but it affects the poor most blatantly when it occurs in a combination of social and economic marginalisation. Exclusion is often intensified in conditions of poverty, joblessness and homelessness since these conditions lead to specific groups of residents being cut off from institutions.

The effects of social exclusion are experienced in many ways but for the purposes of the HDS, they will be discussed relative to:

- Social fragmentation
- Excluded groups

This combination covers the impact of social exclusion at a community level but also relative to particular groups of residents who are at risk of marginalisation.

Social fragmentation amongst Joburg communities

Social fragmentation is a product of social exclusion. Stresses put on households and communities are intensified by poverty, inequality and exclusion. The lack of access to employment, the impact of HIV/AIDS, spatial exclusion and inadequate basic services often aggravate social problems in the present and set up the necessary conditions for them in the future.

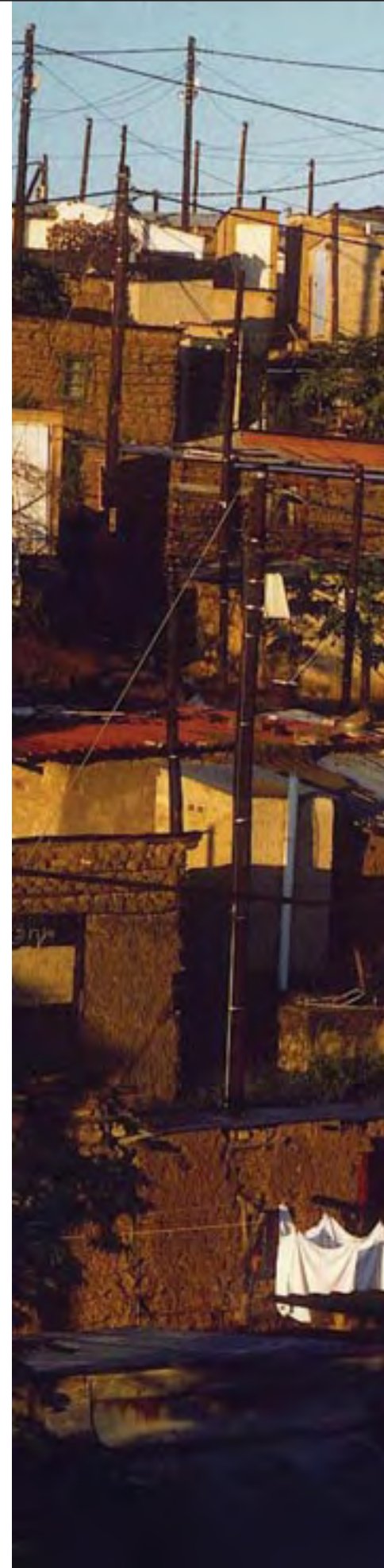
Social fragmentation can be intensified by:

- Poverty and inequality;
- Low levels of social capital within communities; and
- High levels of crime and violence.

Poverty and inequality have already been discussed in great detail, so the focus will move here to social capital and to crime and violence.

Low levels of social capital

Social capital has become one of the key explanatory tools used to understand social relationships at the urban scale. Social capital, in its most simple form, has been defined as 'the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations' (Coleman, 1988: 95). Thus, low levels of social capital can be associated with social fragmentation and the lack of social cohesion.



Social capital is understood to be, as mentioned above, a resource that facilitates the working together of communities. But, as Evans notes, the lack of homogeneity that characterises urban communities can undermine the possibility of building a community with a shared vision (Evans, 2002). Therefore, proactively building social capital is critical because the necessary conditions may not exist for it to generate itself. In complex urban settings, such as Johannesburg, social capital is not necessarily evident in all settlements. In fact, social capital is more likely to exist in areas with a shared history. Soweto, for example, has large stocks of social capital as is apparent in civil society organisations, church groups, etc. It is through shared norms, networks and levels of trust that poor households survive and social exclusion is combated (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2003).

In settlements with less of a shared history and context, social capital is less likely to be present. Inner city areas with diverse and transitional populations may lack social capital or have a form of social capital that can act to further intensify social exclusion (Harrison, 2003). For example, in neighbourhoods where particular communities feel under threat, there is a greater likelihood that these groups will turn inwards and exclude themselves from the public domain. Many new informal settlements experience the same low levels of social capital. With severe stress put on residents because of the urban challenges they confront, relationships of trust and support may be more difficult to cultivate. There are, however, processes that can be set up to start engaging these residents in public life. These processes can be an extremely powerful resource within communities.

Crime and violence

Within these contexts of low levels of trust, and social strain, social fragmentation can be a trigger for crime and violence. Fanaroff et al found that poor areas in Johannesburg have a larger proportion of crime linked to the social fabric, especially interpersonal violence, than do other areas (2004). Social fabric crime or household-based crime is an indicator of deeper structural problems within society. These crimes are understood to be those that occur within the family or household or between acquaintances. They are, by their very nature, difficult to police. They are defined as those crimes that are related to interpersonal violence, domestic violence, rape, assault, child abuse and homicide. These crimes can be easily associated with the excessive use of alcohol and drugs (Fanaroff, 2004).

The most vulnerable areas of Johannesburg for interpersonal violence are those where there is very high unemployment, social and economic deprivation and exclusion, poor facilities (such as recreation venues and sports fields, parks, shops, systems of transport, libraries, etc.), lower levels of municipal, social and economic services and opportunities, a transient population, low levels of home ownership and little civic pride. The HSRC found something similar regarding social conditions for children; in areas with low levels of social cohesion and high levels of poverty and transience, children are extremely vulnerable to neglect (Dawes, 2003).

Interventions aimed at preventing crimes of this nature are very dependent on social cohesion.

Excluded groups

For the City's purposes there are three particularly significant groups to consider in relation to exclusion. These are:

- Youth
- Migrants
- People with disabilities

These groups are all significant to the objective of building prospects for social inclusion in the city.

Youth and social exclusion

Joburg is a young city and a city of young and talented residents. The city's youth are in fact one of its most powerful interest groups. However, the challenges confronting Joburg's youth can be enormous if they experience unemployment and marginalisation.

Youth make up 70% of the unemployed, aged and young women are particularly vulnerable to unemployment. This unemployment seems to be largely a consequence of lack of access to employment opportunities rather than a lack of skills. 97% of our youth are functionally literate.

Unemployment and unemployability amongst the city's youth is only one factor which puts them at risk. Joburg's youth are also over-represented as the offenders and victims of crime and they are at risk of substance abuse, high-risk sexual behaviour and HIV infection (Patel, Nyoo and Loefell, 2004). Disempowerment and poverty have profound effects on youth behaviours. These conditions have a serious impact on self-esteem and are related to self-destructive behaviours such as high-risk sexual behaviour, drug use and crime (McNamara cited in Patel et al, 2004: 13).

For instance poverty and disempowerment can lead to fatalism and feelings of inferiority, which weaken initiative and cause young people to lose sight of the opportunities that might lift them out of poverty. Self-destructive behaviours – drug use, unsafe sex, gang violence – fill the void created by this despair, with consequences that only perpetuate and deepen youth poverty (McNamara cited in Patel et al, 2004: 13).

Each of these factors feeds into the social exclusion of youth, especially youth at risk. Given that the city's youth forms the basis of the next generation of city citizens and its rates base, strategic interventions to militate against endemic exclusion is crucial.

Migrants and social exclusion

Social exclusion experienced by migrants is a global phenomenon. Migrants may find themselves living in particular areas of the city which are stigmatised (and may even become stigmatised by their presence, e.g. Hillbrow and Yeoville),

¹⁶ Cross border migrants are those migrants who come to South Africa from other countries.

¹⁷ Internal migrants are those migrants who originate from within South Africa and move to Johannesburg from other provinces or cities.

which can lead to social and economic exclusion as well as contribute to poverty. Migrants, both internal and cross-border, may also find themselves excluded on the basis of identity (Peberdy et al, 2004).

Both cross-border¹⁶ and internal¹⁷ migrants to the city are vulnerable to social exclusion. According to the Census 2001 data, the greatest numbers of migrants to Johannesburg are internal migrants from other provinces in South Africa. There are limited numbers of cross-border migrants entering Johannesburg, many of whom are also vulnerable to social and economic exclusion. Whilst not all migrants are vulnerable, there is growing evidence to suggest that many of these internal migrants reside in informal settlements or inner city areas upon arriving in the city. By virtue of their spatial locality, these migrants are immediately vulnerable to the consequence of limited access to economic, social and physical opportunities. Migrants share many of the service problems of Johannesburg's legally poor population (Peberdy et al, 2004).

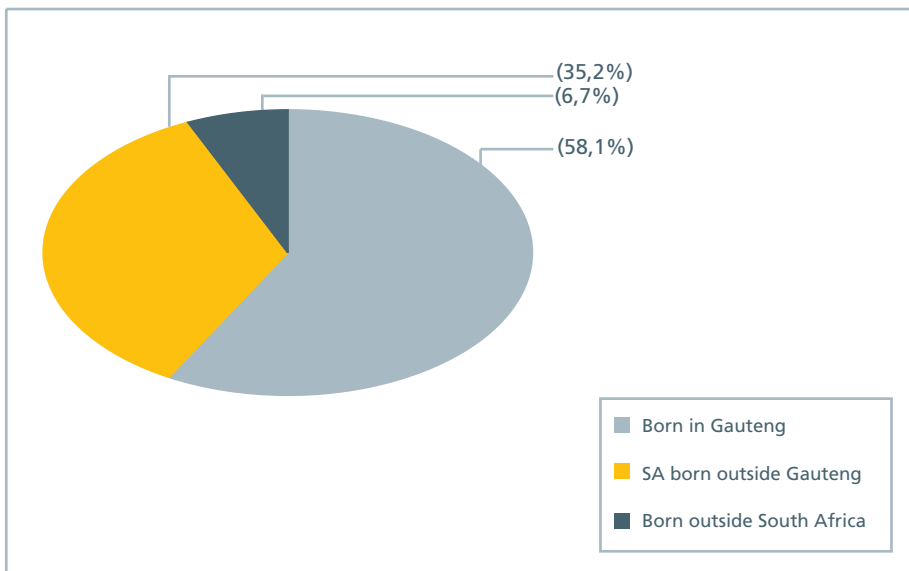


Figure 7 – Population of Joburg by place of birth (%), Census 2001

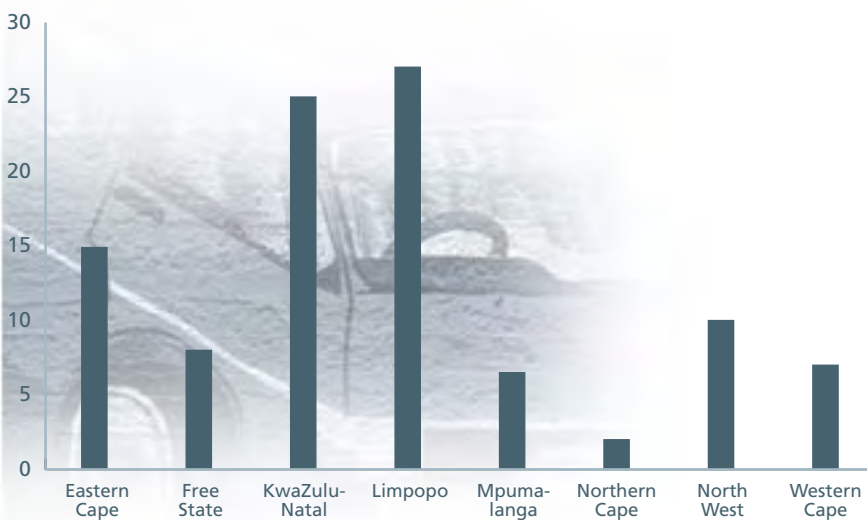


Figure 8 – Internal migrants by province of birth (% of internal migrants), Joburg, Census 2001 (Peberdy et al, 2004)

Understanding the dynamics of migration is important not only because of the impact of population growth but also because of the link between in-migration, employment and poverty and, furthermore, because service exclusion can challenge public health and welfare. Migration patterns can worsen existing inequalities if some migrants into Joburg are immediately absorbed into high-tech employment sectors, whilst the majority are unable to access employment opportunities upon arrival. It is the latter whom the City needs to assist. New migrants into the city are amongst the most vulnerable groups in it.

Migrants are likely to suffer the following vulnerabilities:

- They are likely to live in stigmatised areas of the city, which can lead to social and economic exclusion
- They may be supporting two households on low incomes
- They may lack the social networks of the Gauteng-born to enable them to survive times of hardship
- They are more likely to live in small households, which means that they have fewer supplementary resources to support them
- They are most likely to lack access to television and radio, which leads to exclusion from some public education campaigns, and also to social isolation (Peberdy et al, 2004).

People with disabilities and social exclusion

Johannesburg has a population of people with disability who face both physical and social exclusion. These barriers of exclusion are evident in access to education, employment and physical access to transport. Along with prejudice against those with a disability in general, there are also negative attitudes associated with such people. People with disability are often invisible to City governments and most especially if they are poor.

Statistics South Africa uses the following categories for Census collection:

- Sight (blind/severe visual limitation)
- Hearing (deaf, profoundly hard of hearing)
- Communication (speech impediment)
- Physical (needs wheelchair, crutches; prosthesis; limb or hand usage limitations)
- Intellectual (serious difficulties in learning)
- Emotional (behavioural, psychological)

In Johannesburg, more than 70% of registered disabilities relate to sight impairment. The results from Census 2001 are presented below but indicate that poor regions of the city show greater numbers of disabilities.

Type of disability	R1 ¹⁸	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10	R11	Total
Sight	909	2 334	1 563	1 635	1 272	6 972	2 625	1 578	1 122	5 124	6 993	32 127
Hearing	354	1 092	1 026	1 122	969	2 085	1 197	780	702	1 584	1 845	12 756
Comm	63	180	162	297	144	756	261	249	198	597	402	3 309
Physical	594	1 347	1 521	2 532	1 773	6 837	1 992	1 590	1 590	5 757	4 212	29 745
Intellec	222	606	606	975	762	2 748	768	825	552	2 220	1 116	11 400
Emotional	228	867	525	792	612	3 657	930	729	420	2 736	1 716	13 212
Multiple	198	801	723	930	480	2 190	930	882	669	2 022	1 896	11 721
Census 2001: Total = 114 270												

Table 10 – Persons with disabilities by region, percentage of total population Joburg, Census 2001

People with disabilities who are also poor experience the same challenges of poverty and inequality as do all city residents. However, in addition, people with disabilities are extremely vulnerable to social and economic exclusion. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1998) makes the point that:

‘In many developing countries, the chances of disabled persons finding salaried employment or work in the informal sector are far smaller than for their non-disabled peers and if they also lack skills, are often negligible ... Employment prospects of disabled workers are limited by initial barriers that they may have faced as children and young adults in acquiring good basic education vocational skills training or higher education’ (ILO, 1998).

The White Paper on an Integrated National Disability Strategy (INDS) in 1997 was developed to ensure that disabled South Africans enjoy rights to equality and dignity through full participation in a barrier-free society for all. However, there is, quite clearly, dissonance between legislative frameworks and reality for people with disabilities.

Status quo conclusions

- Social fragmentation is a product of social exclusion
- Excluded youth are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, violence and high risk behaviour
- Many migrants experience social exclusion on arrival in the city
- People with disabilities are vulnerable to social exclusion given their often marginalised status

¹⁸ R1 indicates Region 1, R2 Region 2 and so on.

The overall *status quo* conclusions

The overall analysis of the state of human development in Joburg has been captured in this section. The analysis was undertaken as a means to illustrate what kinds of challenges the City is faced with. It has therefore focused primarily on the difficulties associated with many large urban centres. These same challenges are used as a basis to present options for how the City can confront the challenges within the scope of its mandate.

Each of the *status quo* conclusion boxes encapsulates the *status quo* relative to three key factors:

- Poverty
- Inequality
- Social exclusion

Analysing the gaps and challenges is the first component of the HDS. Ultimately, the interventions made to address these difficulties need to be streamlined and focused relative to what the institution can deliver.

Therefore, the next section deals with the role that Joburg should play in human development in order to meet its goal of being a developmentally oriented local government.

What can local government do?

The inequalities in the state of human development and the challenges facing the City invites a response to the question of what role the City can play in improving the *status quo*. The simple answer is that this role is determined not only by Joburg's constitutional and legal obligations but also by its vision of developmental local government.

While local government has viewed its social function, historically, in a rather limited way, in truth the City has an important responsibility towards human development. This is mandated by:

- South Africa's rights-based Constitution
- Developmental local government
- Legislation

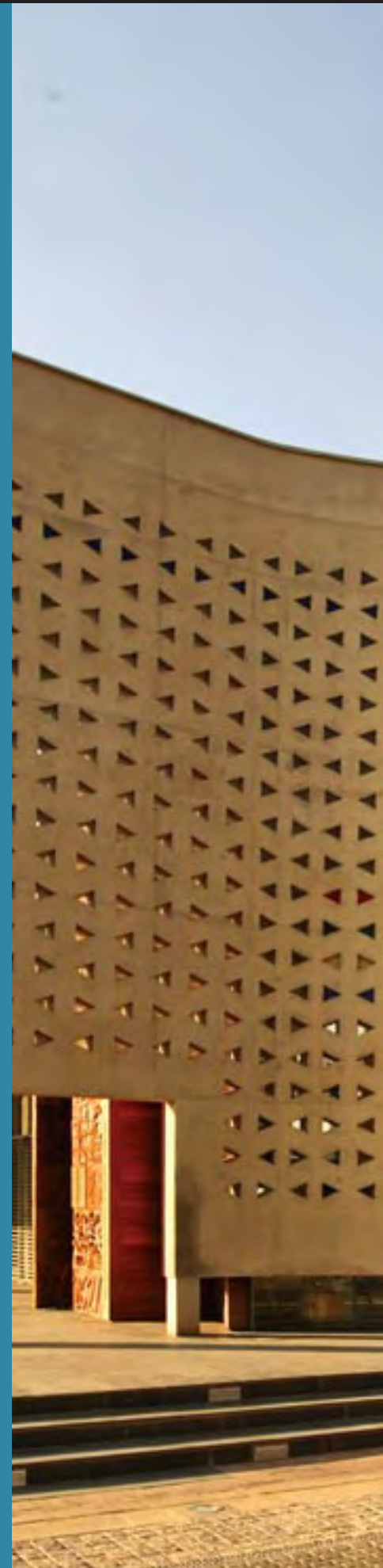
There is a suite of five laws that underpin the work local government does. These are:

- The Constitution
- The Municipal Structures Act
- The Municipal Systems Act
- The Municipal Finance Management Act
- The Property Rates Bill

The combined reading of the Constitution and local government's statutory requirements necessitates that the City meets the following obligations:

1. To fight poverty directly through municipal service provision
2. To facilitate the conditions required for local social and economic development
3. To serve local communities through participation and non-discrimination
4. To promote a safe and healthy environment

Meeting these obligations requires a fundamental paradigm shift for municipalities. It compels them to think beyond infrastructure to their rights-based and developmental duties.



The Constitution

South Africa's Constitution contains a Bill of Rights which includes civil, political and social, economic and cultural rights. The Bill of Rights applies to all law, and binds all levels of government – the executive, the judiciary, the legislature and all organs of state (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996: Section 8(1)). Thus local government is also bound to respect, protect, promote and fulfil the rights enshrined therein.

The second chapter of the Bill of Rights includes justiciable social and economic rights; this means that they can be enforced in a court of law. These rights, enshrined in sections 26 and 27, provide for everyone to have the right of access to housing, to health care services, including reproductive health care, to sufficient food and water as well as to social security and social assistance when they cannot support themselves and their dependants. Furthermore, section 28 incorporates the unqualified rights of children to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care and social services. The Bill of Rights states that:

26. (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing
27. (1) Everyone has the right to have access to . . .
- (b) sufficient food and water
28. (1) Every **child** has the right . . .
- (c) to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care and social services

The socio-economic obligations articulated in the Constitution oblige us to provide services to meet these rights. The obligations of the state under sections 26 and 27 require it to take 'reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights'. The state therefore does not have to provide access to these rights for everyone immediately, but must provide them incrementally to those who need such access.

This means that the state is required to put programmes into place that aspire to realise the socio-economic rights outlined in the Constitution for everyone. The Constitutional Court Case of *Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v Grootboom and Others* 2001 (1) SA: 46 Constitutional Court (CC) further outlined the state's obligations in its defining of what would be regarded as a 'reasonable programme' for the purposes of meeting its obligations. In determining whether a set of measures is reasonable, the court took into account the following factors:

- Access for persons to social assistance programmes in their social, economic and historical context
- The capacity of institutions responsible for implementing a programme that must be balanced and flexible
- A programme that excludes a significant segment of society cannot be said to be reasonable
- Measures cannot leave out of account the degree and extent of the denial of the right they endeavour to realise

- Those whose needs are the most urgent and whose ability to enjoy all rights therefore is most in peril and must not be ignored by the measures aimed at achieving realisation of the right
 - It may not be sufficient to show that the measures are capable of achieving a statistical advance in the realisation of the right
 - If the measures, though statistically successful, fail to respond to the needs of those most desperate, they may not pass the test
- (See Grootboom...: paragraphs 43 and 44).

Within this framework and according to chapter 7, section 152 (1) of the Constitution, the objects of Local Government are outlined as follows:

- (a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities
- (b) to ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner
- (c) to promote social and economic development
- (d) to promote a safe and healthy environment
- (e) to encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government

The Constitution also provides for developmental duties of municipalities. These are captured in section 153:

- A municipality must:
- (a) structure and manage its administration and budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community; and
 - (b) participate in national and provincial development programmes.

Section 156 (1) states, also, that:

- A municipality has executive authority in respect of, and has the right to administer
- (a) the local government matters listed in Part B of Schedule 4 and Part B of Schedule 5; and (see Appendix C/3)
 - (b) any other matters assigned to it by national or provincial legislation¹.

Given that the City is responsible for the provision of municipal services, it falls to the City directly to use municipal services as a poverty reduction mechanism. Furthermore, it requires local government to use its resources to promote social and economic development to the benefit of local communities.

White Paper on Local Government

In broad terms, the White Paper on Local Government casts local government in a developmental role in certain areas of operation:

‘Developmental local government is local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives’ (1997: 17).

¹ No records could be found of any assignments made by the National Department of Social Development and the Gauteng Provincial Departments of Social Services.

The White Paper argues further that:

'The provision of basic household infrastructure is the central contribution made by local government to social and economic development' (1997: 19).

Furthermore, the White Paper contends that:

'Local government can also promote social development through functions such as arts and culture, the provision of community and recreational facilities, and the delivery of aspects of social welfare services' (1997: 19).

The White Paper has a very strong developmental thrust to it. While it refers specifically to basic household infrastructure as the crucial contribution to development, it also launches the concept of economic and social development into the domain of local government.

Municipal Systems Act

The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 gives expression to the provisions of the Constitution with regard to providing services to the poor. The requirements of the Municipal Systems Act and service provision possibilities are tabulated below. Alongside the legislative requirements are possible interventions that the City can make.

For instance, chapter 2, section 6 of the Act states that the administration of the municipality must:-

- (a) be responsive to the needs of the local community
- (b) establish clear relationships and facilitate co-operation and communication between it and the local community (2000: 22).

This section also gives the administration of local government the right to design programmes that will achieve these outcomes.

This section can provide the scope for a wide variety of service provision interventions including:

- Provision of child care facilities
- The facilitation of primary interventions such as referrals and crisis interventions
- Playing a role in local economic development
- Creating an enabling environment for employment and income opportunities
- Setting up leadership development programmes
- Establishing inter-sectoral and multi-disciplinary forums and action committees

Chapter 4 of the Act outlines the role of local administrations in the development of a culture of community participation. In particular, section 16 (1) states that a municipality must develop a culture of municipal governance that complements formal representative government with a system of participatory governance and must for this purpose:-

- (a) encourage and create conditions for the local community to participate in the affairs of the municipality

- (b) contribute to building the capacity of
- i. the local community to enable it to participate in the affairs of the community (2000: 30).

Section 16(1) allows municipalities to do the following:

- Validate empowerment and capacity building to maximise community participation
- Provide forums and other channels whereby communities can give feedback and express needs
- Focus on employment and income generating opportunities, as the locus of economic participation in the community

Finally, section 73(1) obliges local government to give effect to the provisions of the Constitution by giving priority to the basic needs of the community and ensuring that all members of the community have access to a minimum level of basic services. Section 73(2) obliges local government to provide municipal services that are equitable and accessible.

Section 74(2) provides for tariff policy for poor households with the following guidelines:

- i. tariffs that cover only operating and maintenance costs;
- ii. special tariffs or lifeline tariffs for low levels of use or consumption of services or for basic levels of service; or
- iii. any other direct or indirect method of subsidisation of tariffs for poor households (2000: 70).

This allows municipalities to:

- Cross-subsidise poor households through raising block tariffs
- Establish an indigence policy
- Offer property rates rebates
- Maintain a free basic service policy

The Municipal Systems Act reinforces the developmental role of municipalities by providing scope for activities such as training, local economic and social development and capacity building.

The Municipal Structures Act

The Municipal Planning and Performance Management Regulations of 2001 give effect and detail to various sections of the Municipal Systems Act. Chapter 3 of the Regulations speaks to performance management in municipalities including setting key performance indicators. Two of the seven general key performance indicators relate to the access to basic services. They establish the following:

- The percentage of households with access to basic level of water, sanitation, electricity and solid waste removal
- The percentage of households earning less than R1 100 per month with access to free basic services

When collected, this information provides baseline data on the rate of success of the City with regard to the number of poor households accessing basic

services. The intention is that all households should have access to basic services; these indicators show how many poor households are still not accessing these services and therefore indicate what must be done accordingly to address backlogs. These indicators reinforce government's commitment to address poverty at a municipal level.

Property Rates Bill

In addition to levying fees on services, municipalities rely on property tax as a source of revenue. Metropolitan and local municipalities can levy this tax on property in their areas of jurisdiction. Even though municipalities, in the past, almost always had the power to levy this tax, different valuation systems were used by different municipalities. This Bill seeks to introduce a new rating system as well as to allow municipalities to include property formerly excluded from the property tax net. Overall, the objective of the Bill is to regulate the power of municipalities to impose rates on property. When this Bill is enacted into legislation, all rateable property will be levied. However, a municipality may exempt owners of certain properties in accordance with criteria set out in its rates policy. It is in this policy that a municipality can exempt poor households as part of its strategy to reduce poverty.

Chapter 2, part 1, subsection 3 of this Bill provides for the development and adoption of a rates policy by a municipality which, among other things, must 'take into account the effect of rates on the poor and include appropriate measures to alleviate the rates burden on them' (2003: 10).

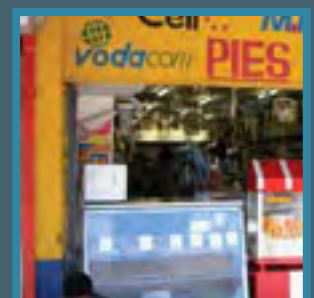
Chapter 2, part 1, subsection 15 allows a municipality to exempt the owner of a specific property from payment of a rate levied on his or her property or grant him or her a rebate or reduction on the rates payable on the property. In such a case, the municipal manager needs to report annually on all the exemptions, rebates and reductions as well as on the income foregone by the municipality as a result. Should the municipality decide to exempt or reduce the rate on certain properties, such exemption or rebates have to be reflected in its budget as income on the revenue side and expenditure on the expenditure side. This Bill gives municipalities a cross-subsidisation option for poor households.

Broadening out the City's core business

In combination, the Constitution and statutory obligations of local government require the City to recast its business to consider the rights of its residents and its developmental obligations.

Historically, local government has not assumed a direct developmental role. Part of the explanation for this is the understanding at a local level that the responsibility of local government is simply to deliver basic services. This approach can in part be attributed to the confusion regarding the role of local authorities in social development.

In post-apartheid South African cities, the roll-out of extension infrastructure has been a key objective. Delivery targets have been set according to the provision of services such as housing, water, electricity, sanitation and refuse. The



provision of basic services and infrastructure has been viewed as a sufficient pro-poor policy by many local authorities.

But, with the growing understanding that basic service provision alone will not address growing poverty and inequality in cities, a more holistic response is sought – one that deals also with the realities of the economy and of society.

Whilst the evidence of physical infrastructure is a key way of measuring delivery, it is a limited indicator if used in isolation. If the multi-dimensional characteristics of inequality and poverty in the city are to be tackled in the long term, direct interventions are required in the domain of social development. This means investing resources in areas (such as social development and planning functions) where the returns might be “undetectable” in the short term or where the returns are not in the form of a physical deliverable.

Given the direct linkages between the social dimensions of poverty and inequality and the infrastructural and economic dimensions it is difficult to separate them. This complexity is captured in the White Paper for Social Welfare in the following way:

‘The ultimate objective of social development is to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual, family, community and society at large. The reduction or eradication of mass poverty, inequality and conditions of underdevelopment are widely accepted indicators of social progress. The dimensions of social development are: social welfare; health, education, housing; urban and rural development and land reforms’ (1997: 164).

Unless these interconnections of development are understood within the City, the potential for social development as a long-term investment opportunity will remain unacknowledged. If the cross-cutting nature of human development is not understood within the institution and if departmental programmes remain uncoordinated, the full impact of social development programmes will not be felt by the poor and the vulnerable.

Municipalities can be agents of social change. The long-term economic success of the City depends on it. If the objective of the world-class African city is to be attained, prospects for human development in the City need to be attended to proactively.

The human development work of local government needs to happen concurrently with the providing of infrastructure. In some instances, human development requirements should shape infrastructure provision. A human development mandate is incumbent upon all City departments, utilities and agencies. It is also the responsibility of other spheres of government, the private sector, community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations. In many instances the City will seek to facilitate partnerships with other parties to build human capacity.

The multidimensionality of the challenge that faces the City suggests that achieving human development cannot be located strictly within one organisation. It requires key strategic partnerships given that the success of

many programmes will rely heavily on the involvement of multiple partners. At the same time, it is the role of the City itself to provide direction and guidance regarding its approach to human development.

Organisational implications

Joburg’s response to these human development obligations is in part addressed through the HDS. The HDS presents three specific commitments that the City makes to its residents. These commitments are:

1. Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households
2. Championing rights and opportunities for poor residents
3. Building prospects for social inclusion in the city

The meaning given to these commitments and the accompanying programmes outlined in Chapter 4 were chosen because of their ability to have a positive impact on the poor, and on Joburg as a place of further future investment.

The connections between the regulatory framework, the statutory requirements and strategic direction of the HDS are clear; they are tabulated below.

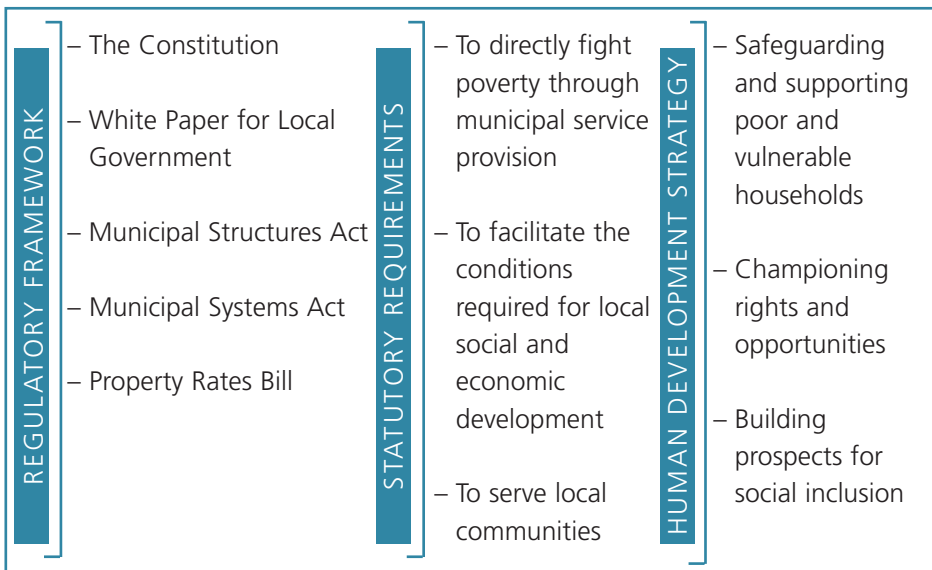


Figure 9 – The Statutory and Regulatory Framework and Joburg’s Commitment Triangle

The specific implications of this table and the overlaps for the City are at least two-pronged:

- At the infrastructure and basic services level
- At the level of social development more generally.

Infrastructure and basic services

Already the City makes an enormous and generous contribution to poor households. These programmes need refinement to ensure greater impact. But because social development and basic services are inextricably interlinked, all operations in the City need to reflect a human development focus.

According to the White Paper 'the provision of basic household infrastructure is the central contribution made by local government to social and economic development' (1997:19).

There is a human development component to basic service delivery because these services are a public good. Thus they have an impact on the lives of poor and vulnerable city residents with respect to concerns of health, affordability, access and equity. In addition, the provision of services is also an opportunity to assist poor households directly through redistributive mechanisms.

So while much work has gone into the provision of basic household infrastructure at a local level, this is not necessarily done with a pro-poor agenda. This is probably a consequence of the reality that the provision of infrastructure and the supply of basic services is itself a staggered process and is made more complex by existing spatial, social and economic exclusion patterns.

The social development perspective on infrastructure provision is not an automatic and well-considered outcome for service providers. Given the institutional arrangements in the City with utilities and agencies, pro-poor planning is further complicated by split responsibilities.

The institutional arrangements for service delivery through utilities and agencies compel utilities to pursue commercial interests first and foremost. Therefore, a proactive pro-poor service delivery component should be incorporated into the work done by utilities and agencies. This can be practically achieved through the City's service delivery agreements and key performance indicators where explicit reference must be made to ways in which the poor should benefit by proposed programmes. The policies, financial arrangements and targets of all utilities and agencies should reflect the pro-poor agenda. Furthermore, all residents of the city are entitled to be included in the services offered by the City.

Social development

The White Paper states that 'local government can also promote social development through functions such as arts and culture, the provision of community and recreational facilities, and the delivery of aspects of social welfare services' (1997: 19).

The City has a contested role to play in the promotion of social development. At this time, the Department of Social Development is responsible primarily for coordinating this role. Whilst this role might not necessarily relate to direct service provision, the City certainly has a facilitation and coordination function.

The overarching social development function of the City is critical. It incorporates a wide range of departments including health, social development, arts and culture and development planning. It is possible for the City to intervene in a broad range of human development issues including poverty-reduction, HIV/AIDS, gender inequality issues, youth empowerment and education.

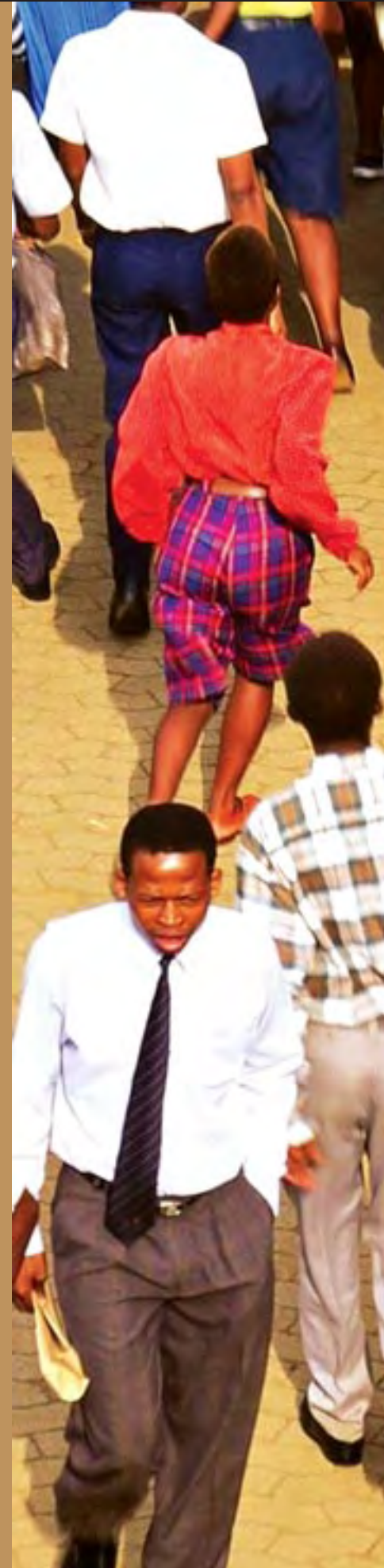
The statutory frameworks governing the social development function of municipalities provide the scope for the City to play a significant role in human development. This role is often underplayed.

In view of these possibilities, Chapter 4 presents again the HDS's strategic direction along with a range of programmes that reflect both an infrastructure and social development perspective on human development.

The strategic interventions

So how does a city such as Johannesburg realise its vision of being a world-class African city for all? It does this through a financial and political pledge to pursue an agenda that puts the poor at the forefront of City policies. In line with this suggestion, the HDS puts forward the Joburg Triangle as the means for doing this. The HDS structures the commitment to this vision through three strategic directions:

- Safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households
- Championing rights and opportunities
- Building prospects for social inclusion in the city



These three strategic directions are grounded in the following imperatives:

- To provide assistance to poor and vulnerable households through social protection mechanisms
- To facilitate and enable improved opportunities for poor residents by recognising the importance of the equality of opportunity and rights
- To set up the conditions required for bolstering social inclusion in the city in the future



Figure 10 – Joburg Triangle

Giving meaning to these three directions is achieved by attaching do-able and effective programmes. The forthcoming sections propose the kinds of programmatic interventions that are required to meet the human development challenges in Joburg. The programmes have been specifically selected to combat:

- Household poverty
- Inequality
- Social exclusion

Indicative programmes have been selected and posted in the three trisectors of the triangle. Given the interconnections between and amongst these three challenges it is important to note that some of the programmes may seem to fit more appropriately in other trisectors, but the programmes have been positioned here into trisectors that are considered to be the best fit. However, many of the programmes relate to each other as part of a multi-pronged approach.

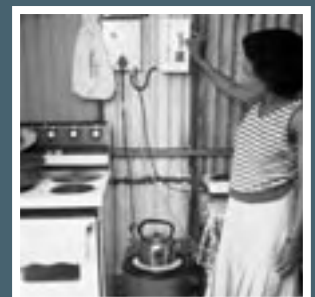
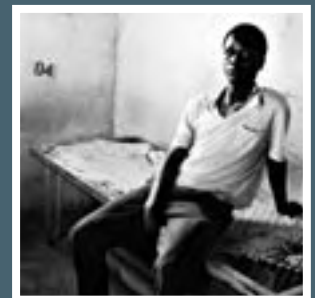




Figure 11 – Joburg Triangle Trisector 1

Strategic direction: Safeguarding and supporting poor households in the City

South Africa, although not a welfare state, offers a range of grants or safety nets to its poor and vulnerable residents. These safety nets are provided at a national, provincial and local government level and take different forms but are, in essence, income supplements to poor households.

Those households that need safeguarding and support most often feel poverty and vulnerability in its most extreme form. It is these very households that require the kinds of income supplements which government can offer. These income supplements are termed ‘safety nets’ and they play a critical role in assisting poor households to survive in a resource-scarce environment. The objectives of government safety nets, such as those mentioned above, are twofold: ‘to play a redistributive role transferring resources towards the poorer members of society to bring them out of poverty and to provide greater opportunities for individuals to mitigate risk from unforeseen contingencies’ (Besley, Burgess and Rasul, 2003: 4).

Thus, a distinction needs to be made between those households that are chronically poor and therefore in need of social protection measures to survive, and those households that require asset building in order to move out of poverty.

In the case of chronic poverty, it is more effective to assist households with direct cash transfers. These cash transfers, such as social grants, allow households to attend to their most critical needs such as food, housing, etc. The positive impact of safety nets on these households is not felt only by the direct recipient. It also has a multiplier effect for other household members. Haddad and Zeller argue that the Old Age Pensions, for example, benefit all household members and not only pensioners (cited in May, 2004: 10).

Devereaux's work on social safety nets suggests that:

- Small transfers can have a huge impact on productivity and incomes
- Transfers can also have a multiplier effect and they can assist secondary beneficiaries (Devereaux, 2000).

Thus, safety nets are a mechanism that have a positive impact on chronically poor households. Given that Joburg is confronted with some of the following challenges:

- Worrying trends in household poverty
- Households without access to services
- Affordability issues

The contribution the City can make to these households is through facilitating access to all the safety nets that are offered at local and provincial government level.

The most strategic response mechanism, at this stage, to household poverty is through direct transfers in the form of:

- The City's social package
- Facilitating access to provincial social grants

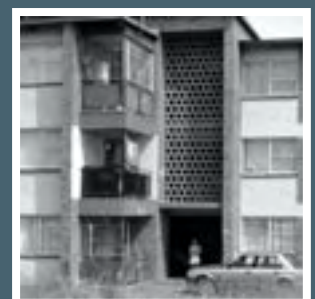
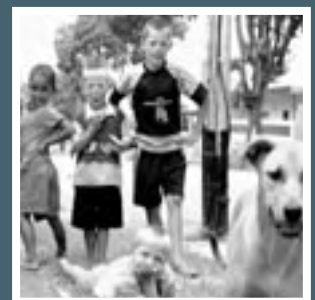
Poor and vulnerable residents in Joburg are assisted greatly by social grants not only from government but also from other non-governmental sources. Within its boundaries, Joburg residents are entitled to numerous grants, the most notable being provincial social grants and the City-generated social package. Each of these grants diminishes some part of the financial burden being experienced by poor urban households. Therefore, providing full access to provincial and metropolitan safety nets should offer poor and vulnerable households considerable financial relief.

Currently, full access to these forms of social protection is not a reality and there are flaws at the level of delivery that act to prevent those residents who should be benefiting from social assistance from doing so. These difficulties are evident at both a provincial and at a local level. Therefore, addressing current inefficiencies is central and the commitment the City therefore needs to make to poor households is:

- Full provision of its social package to them
- Access to provincial social grants

The programmatic elements of both are discussed below.

The Social Package is considered to be the most fundamental intervention the City can make to poor households and thus is discussed in greater detail than is the programme on social grants.



Full provision of the social package

One of the best ways local government can safeguard and support poor and vulnerable households in the city is through ensuring effective service delivery. In addition to this, local government is also able to offer subsidies to poor households through a basic services grant mechanism.

Unlike some other developing cities where the hope of full service provision has been forsaken and an informal service market flourishes (Graham and Marvin, 2001: 2), the City has committed itself to at least the free provision of a basic supply of water and electricity to all households in the city.

The ultimate goal of the City is to provide equal access to a full social package for all its residents. However, within a situation of rapid growth of the population residing in the city, it is recognised that this goal can be achieved only progressively and that it will take time to provide adequate services to new arrivals in the city and to those who have been displaced from places where they have formerly resided within the city.

Taking this progressive access to services into consideration, three stages of access to the social package are provided for:

- *Arrivals and newly displaced people*: will be provided with urgent and interim household services.
- *Basic household services*: also referred to as an essential household services package, will be provided to those who are established in the city but not yet fully integrated. This package, together with the public services package, is referred to as the social safety net.
- *Consolidated position*: with time all poor residents will have access to a full social package.

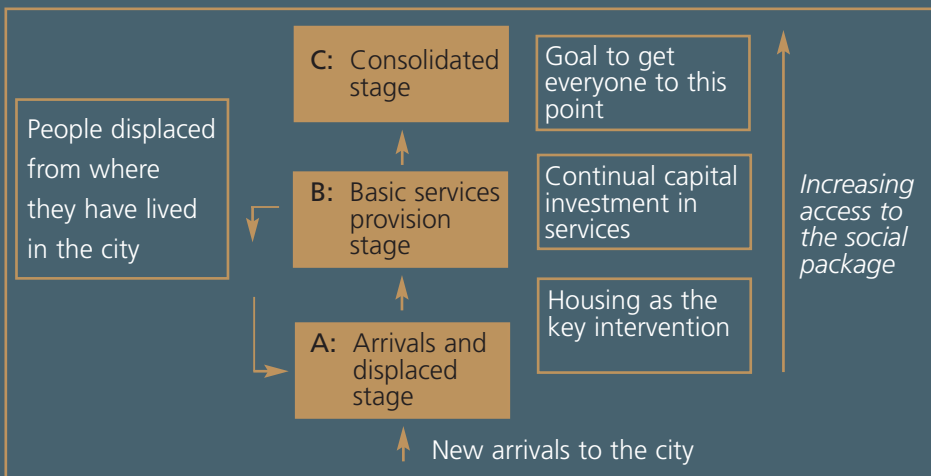


Figure 12 – Representation of access to services

The individual services provided by the City are grouped into three categories, depending on the extent to which they are provided to specifically identified individuals or are available to anyone who chooses to use them:

- Household services which are provided to specifically identified groups of people living on particular plots or attached dwelling units (e.g. water supply).
- Public services which are accessible to everyone should they choose to use the service, without the feasibility of excluding anyone (e.g. primary health care services provided at clinics).
- Special services which are provided to specific groups of people.

The full social services package will be comprised of:

Name of service	Level of service
<i>The plot package</i>	
Water supply	Metered water supply with free 6 kl per month per consumer unit, with a figure of free 10 kl per month being investigated
Sanitation	An 'on site' sanitation system such as a VIP or sewered, waterborne sanitation in denser areas of the City
Electricity	Metered electricity supply with free 50 kWh per month per consumer unit
Solid waste (refuse) removal service	Weekly collection of refuse from the plot boundary
<i>Special services</i>	
Housing	Support to the social housing process. Interim assistance with rentals for those in City-owned properties
Public transport	Access to the bus service provided by the City at subsidised fares (primarily for school learners)
<i>The public services package</i>	
Roads	All-weather access roads to each plot and a road network allowing the movement of vehicles throughout the City
Health	Access to a clinic on five days a week within a 5 km distance. Access to advice on health issues
<i>Community services</i>	
Libraries	Access to libraries five days a week with books loaned at a nominal charge along with unrestricted access to research sections
Sports and recreation facilities	Access to sports and recreation facilities for a reasonable fee
Social services	Assistance provided to vulnerable groups in the city
Parks	Free access to the City's parks
Emergency services	Emergency assistance with fires and other disasters; ambulance service provided on behalf of the province
Municipal police	Traffic policing function plus additional crime prevention duties to assist SAPS

Table 11 – Joburg's full social package



In addition to this essential household services package people can access the public services identified as part of the full social package. The combination of these two parts makes up the social safety net.

City actions to provide the social package

In order to ensure access by all residents to the social package the City has grouped its actions into three parts:

- Gaining access: capital investment needed to build the infrastructure required as part of the social package
- Maintaining access: the continual management of services aimed at keeping services to the poor functioning effectively. This part requires adequate budgets to be allocated, and to be reflected on the expenditure side of the operation account
- Targeting the poor: actions associated with rates and tariff setting in order to ensure that the services are accessible to the poor, either free or at a charge which is affordable to them. This relates to the revenue side of the City's operating account

Gaining access

In relation to the starting position of new arrivals to the city, or those who are displaced, access to a household services package is directly associated with the housing process. Water supply, sanitation and roads are constructed as part of the land development process which, in turn, is an essential component of housing. In the case of inner city housing locations, once an individual has access to a dwelling unit he or she obtains access to a household services package.

Since new arrivals and displaced people are amongst the most vulnerable groups in the city, the City will direct a large-scale effort at improving the housing delivery process in order to ensure that these people get access to at least the essential household services package. As part of this action, people will get access to the 'peoples housing process' or to other forms of housing.

As an interim measure, those who are waiting for housing will be provided with urgent and interim services which do not require major capital investment.

'Gaining access' also applies to the public services package. As the population of the city grows, additional investment will be made in the infrastructure (including buildings) required for clinics, community facilities, public transport facilities, and so on.

Maintaining access

In the annual budgeting process the City allocates resources to each department to allow it to operate and to maintain the services which make up the social package. In the coming years emphasis will be placed once again on the allocation of resources to ensure that the services used by the poor function effectively. Specific attention will be given to the social development budget since this has a direct impact on assisting vulnerable groups in the city.

The City also recognises the importance of coordinating its activities with those of the Gauteng province. Health, housing, public transport, libraries, sports and recreation facilities, and social development are all provincial functions which the City shares, often voluntarily, with the province. There is considerable overlap in the way these services are provided, and continual efforts will be made to streamline the relationship with the province to ensure efficient services delivery.

Targeting the poor

Joburg's social package policy is to provide the poor with the social package free of charge, with the exception of minimum charges to be applied for library books and hire of community facilities. However, in order for the City to remain financially viable, it is necessary that all who are not poor pay for services, either through tariffs or property rates (in the case of the public services package). It is through tariff policy, which includes policy for allocating subsidies, that targeting occurs.

Targeting requires that the poor can be identified and there are several ways of doing this, including:

- Means testing to assess whether the people forming part of a consumer unit are poor
- Consumption-based targeting, on the assumption that the poor in need should require only a small amount of the service to provide for their basic needs
- Targeting based on property value, based on the assumption that the poor live on low value properties
- Other methods including service level targeting and property size as a basis for targeting

The City has investigated these methods and has concluded that there are two options for targeting, which are summarised in the table below:

Service	Option 1 (including means testing)	Option 2 (excluding means testing)
Electricity	Consumption-based targeting with 50 kWh provided free	Consumption-based targeting with 50 kWh provided free
Water supply	Consumption-based targeting with 6 to 10 kl per month provided free (amount still to be investigated)	Consumption-based targeting with 6 to 10 kl per month provided free (amount still to be investigated)
Sanitation	Means testing to determine who is poor with those earning below a cut-off limit getting the service free	Targeting based on property value, once the new valuation has been completed, using property size in the interim; alternatively, using targeting based on consumption Selection of best alternative still to be made
Solid waste service	Means testing to determine who is poor with those earning below a cut-off limit getting the service free	Targeting based on property value, once the new valuation has been completed and using property size in the interim
Public services package	Targeting based on property value with zero property rates paid by those below a certain property value	Targeting based on property value with zero property rates paid by those below a certain property value

Table 11 – Joburg’s Social Package Targeting Options

The role of the City regarding the provision of the social package is clear. It is the City’s responsibility to ensure that the package is generous and that it reaches its intended beneficiaries.

Non-account holders

The current social package is directly linked to account holder status. The full social package is available only for poor households with account holder status. Out of 1 million households in the city (recorded by Census 2001), roughly half are registered domestic account holders. All other households remain unregistered on the City database. This, therefore, casts all poor households in informal settlements, hostels, backyard shacks and flats into the domain of the 'invisible' because they do not appear on the database.

Some of these poor households will receive their social package through the 'gaining access' phase. Others, however, are in a much more tenuous situation and are simply not getting access. It is these poor households that need to make their way on to the City's database until they access housing. Key to the successful provision of the social package is access to housing. Full housing access will not be realised in the short term. Therefore in summary, the additional concerns are:

- There are poor households who do not have access to a basic level of service
- There are poor households who are not receiving the City's social package by virtue of their housing status

If constant population growth to the City is anticipated and if poor households continue multiplying, then the number of 'invisible' households will continue to grow.

Unless these poor households begin accessing basic levels of service, their poverty and inequality will not be confronted and will in fact be exacerbated. It is crucial, then, that the City begins to track these poor households and their vulnerability. At the level of flats, the City can begin to register those poor households on the City database as account holders. This initiative should be linked to the housing process.

Informal settlements are more complex and this problem will need to be tackled through a separate initiative. However, the City needs to initiate a process whereby poor households in informal settlements are brought onto City records. This is not only for the benefits of the poor in relation to the social package, but is to assist as well with policing (numbering of shacks) and other social development work.

Target groups

- All poor households in the city
- All poor households in informal settlements, backyard shacks, hostels and flats

Outcomes of indicative programme

- All households will have a basic level of service
- Improved living standards because of a basic level of service
- Full access to safety nets for all who qualify
- Affordable municipal services
- Reduced financial burden on urban residents
- Diminished vulnerability among women and children

Facilitating access to provincial social grants

Complementing the cash transfer through the City's social package are provincial social grants. These grants can ensure the survival of many poor households. The role the City can play with regard to social grants is a facilitative one since it has no legal authority for the function.

The range of current provincial grants includes:

- Old age grant
- Disability grant
- Child grant
- Foster child grant
- Care dependency grant
- Child support grant

Provincial social grants play a powerful role in helping poor households to survive. Each of the provincial grants is allocated on the basis of means testing and is distributed monthly at pay-out points. The recipients are identified by province and according to legislation can be processed only by the province.

In recognition of the important role played by social grants, the Gauteng Provincial Government is setting up a 'single window of opportunity' that will ensure that the provincial package of safety nets is available to all residents through one process. The City must link up with the process and provide assistance where it is considered to be the most prudent.

In the short term there are two functions the City can perform relative to social grants:

1. An information campaign
2. Assisting with identity documents

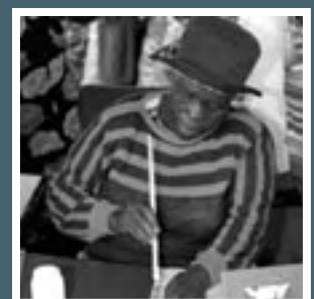
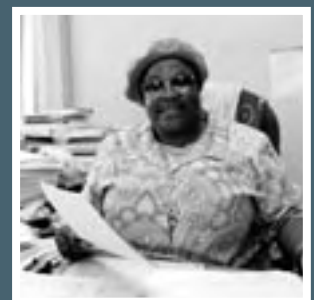
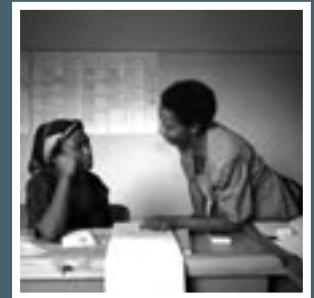
An information campaign

While the City cannot be responsible for the payment and administration of these grants, there are facilities and resources that can be utilised to assist in the procedure such as libraries, clinics, sports and recreation facilities, People Centres and other public amenities. Already some City-owned facilities, such as the Hillbrow Recreation Centre, are used as pay-points.

One potential role for the City is an awareness campaign and pay-point support. Staff members working in City-run facilities are well placed to carry information on social grants. This could include the specifics of:

- The types of grants available
- Who qualifies for these grants
- Details of registration
- Key contact numbers for government social welfare agencies

This intervention requires limited financial resources. Instead, training for existing staff members on the exact details of the grants is necessary. An initiative such as this can be strengthened by a joint marketing campaign for social grants using ward committees, councillors and the City's regional offices.



Identity documents

One of the major blockages in accessing social grants is the lack of identity documents. The City could begin to explore developing mechanisms to assist residents to obtain their relevant documentation.

There are creative examples of how this is being done in other cities. In Cato Manor, Durban, there are two sisters at the local clinic who help people to fill in the forms for obtaining an ID document. A volunteer collects these forms and takes them to the Home Affairs Office. An official at Home Affairs receives the forms and returns whatever other forms are completed (Ovens and Kitchin, 2004).

This process cuts out the transport costs for potential grant recipients and also does not cost the City money. However, such an intervention would be limited in its application because the City, for example, would not be able to follow up and establish if the proposed recipients did in fact receive any grants for which they applied in this way.

Target groups

- All residents who qualify for any provincial social grants

Outcome of indicative programme

- Household survival
- Financial assistance to households so that children are enabled to attend school
- Provision of resources to allow households to access health care and adequate nutrition

Strategic direction: Championing rights and opportunities



Figure 13 – Joburg Triangle Trisector 2

South Africa has a rights-based Constitution and a Bill of Rights which entitles everyone to progressive access to housing, health care services, including reproductive health care, sufficient food and water, as well as social security and social assistance when they cannot support themselves and their dependants. South Africa's rights-based legislation and policy creates a framework within which the City is able to pursue a rights-based approach to inequality. It recognises that not all groups of residents have equal claim to their rights.

Social protection mechanisms, such as safety nets, are especially helpful to the chronically poor as a means of survival. But inasmuch as safety nets are required, so too are developmental opportunities. These opportunities create the space for residents to begin the process of building and accumulating assets. Obvious associations with asset accumulation are housing or education. Both categories of assets equip individuals and households with some of the necessary resources to begin moving out of poverty. The City recognises that many poor residents are unable to lay claim to these opportunities.

The commitment by the City to champion rights and opportunities is a direct response to the inequalities faced by residents. Definitions of what inequality means and how it can be addressed are manifold, but this strategic direction is structured around the belief that overcoming inequality requires multiple interventions. It acknowledges the racial, spatial, generational and gender differentials that exacerbate inequality in the city. Therefore, the strategy seeks to structure interventions that will enable residents to claim their rights and opportunities and be able to access them equally.

Equality of opportunity is not possible if there are:

- Economic inequalities
- Gender and generational inequalities
- Spatial inequalities

Therefore, the proposed indicative¹ programmes seek to tackle some of the underlying causes of inequality. A combination of indicative programmes is suggested here – some deal with the structural dimensions of inequality while others undertake to alleviate existing inequalities.

Vulnerable groups in the city, such as some women, children, the youth, people with disabilities, HIV-positive residents and migrants, can be excluded from opportunities denying them the prospect of realising their potential and claiming their rights. It is necessary therefore for the City to realise the complexity of inequality within the city and, in recognition of this, to tackle the causes and effects of inequality appropriately.

Economic equality

The following *status quo* conclusions were highlighted in Chapter 2 of the document after an analysis of economic inequalities. These conclusions are used to frame the proposed programmatic interventions.

¹ Given that the exact programmes for the HDS have not as yet been developed, indicative programmes refer to the possible types of programmes that could be implemented.

Status quo conclusions

- Joburg has high unemployment figures
- Women are particularly low income earners in low-skills employment
- Economic inequalities are related to the employment sector
- There is a high percentage of employment in the informal economy
- Women are over-represented in the survivalist informal economy

Capturing the potential of residents by facilitating access to economic development opportunities is crucial to combating economic inequalities. On the economic front, a focus on the high levels of unemployment is most far-sighted, not only because of the obvious economic growth benefit, but also because without some form of intervention, growing unemployment will undermine victories won elsewhere.

Sen argues that ‘unemployment contributes to the “social exclusion” of some groups, and it leads to losses of self-reliance, self-confidence and psychological and physical health’ (1999: 21). *Joburg 2030* makes powerful statements on the importance of economic growth for Joburg in the coming decades. This strategy supports these statements. However, while *Joburg 2030* focuses predominantly on established formal business sectors, this component of the HDS deals with job seekers at the bottom end of the labour market. Economic growth in this city will not happen without a concerted move to bring as many residents into the employment sector as possible. The obvious reason is that accessing employment in either the formal or informal economy is key to generating household income (Aliber, 2001) and to assisting poor households out of poverty.

Based on the experience of other cities in developing countries, Satterthwaite argues that:

‘Raising incomes and supporting new employment opportunities should be the most direct form of poverty-reduction in most urban areas since higher incomes should allow low-income households to meet their consumption needs, increase their assets and afford better quality houses and services. But these often present the most difficulties, both to low-income households and external agencies because they lack the means to increase the prosperity of a city and/or improve employment opportunities or income levels for low-income households’ (2002: 266).

There are three key indicative programmes proposed for combating economic inequalities. The first indicative programme is about tapping into potential that already exists and linking it to the formal business sector. The second programme is a short- to medium-term labour absorption initiative. The third programme pertains to supporting a particular group within the survivalist economy – women entrepreneurs. The first two programmes fall into the realm of the formal economy and the third into that of the informal economy. In view of the need to provide economic development opportunities, both economies must be considered.

Job creation 1: Labour market intelligence database

The City can provide access to economic and skills opportunities in the formal economy by adopting an enabling role. Facilitating the flow of information for job seekers through a labour market intelligence database is one such facilitating role. This resource would assist job seekers, particularly those entering the job market for the first time, to access information about real jobs placement.

The age group that is most pertinent for discussions of labour market intelligence in the city is the 18 to 35 year age group. This age cohort is, potentially, the most economically active segment of the population. It is also extremely vulnerable to long-term unemployment. In the 25 to 34 year-old age group alone, the city has 30 629 adults with primary education, 46 783 with some primary education and 34 689 with no schooling at all (Census 2001). But these residents still have the potential for a long employment history.

This labour market intelligence database could be housed, potentially, in public amenities and facilities such as sports and recreation centres, libraries, health care facilities, community halls and Peoples Centres. These facilities can be used as a source of information for both economic and skills development opportunities. The significance of creating a resource such as this is that it should be accessible to jobseekers regardless of spatial location.

This programme would need to be located specifically in areas that are excluded from easy access to information. These would include many informal settlements and formal township areas without these types of facilities.

The labour market intelligence initiative must link up with the existing City skills programme. It is possible, through the dissemination of information, that those city residents currently without access to basic information could be assisted through the re-orientation of existing City resources. In view of the fact that many of the city's youth are highly educated, accessing economic opportunities might be about linking job seekers to the job market. For those youth, however, without the necessary skills, a more targeted skills development project would be necessary. In line with the directives of *Joburg 2030*, a component of labour market intelligence is about filtering growth sectors to job seekers.

Job creation 2: Expanded Public Works Programme

The City can play both an active and a facilitative role in job creation and in skills development through national government programmes such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). With a head start from *Joburg 2030* and programmes already in place to match skills to business requirements, the emphasis in the HDS falls on how best to assist poor residents in accessing economic development opportunities.

The EPWP is an initiative of the National Department of Public Works. The programme intends to reduce unemployment by:

- Increasing the labour intensity of government-funded infrastructure projects
- Creating work opportunities in public environmental programmes
- Creating work opportunities in public social programmes
- Utilising general government expenditure on goods and services to provide the work experience for small enterprises (i.e. through procurement) (CoJ, 2004a)

Creating opportunities for large-scale labour absorption is being done through the Joburg Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). Because the employment need in Joburg is great, the programme is focused on women, youth and people with disabilities. The Joburg-based Public Works Programme will soak up the economically active in the short to medium term, but for sustained long-term job creation, skills development and economic growth remain essential. Already, the new and innovative Joburg EPWP requires that the infrastructure sector use the following quotas in its job creation component:

- 60% women
- 20% youth (between 18 and 35)
- 2% people with disabilities

However, in order to maximise the impact of the Joburg EPWP it is imperative that residents who participate in the public works programme are able to access improved skills. While provision is made in the EPWP, there is scope to intensify this skills training component to optimise the benefits of the programme. This would ensure that beneficiaries exit with additional skills such as basic financial skills. Furthermore, one of the exit strategies of the EPWP is to identify possible longer-term opportunities for employment or further training. This is an essential component to sustainable employment.

The EPWP has a component that deals with social, environmental and cultural and economic programmes. While the exact details of the programme are not as yet clear, the social programme has a clear focus on the following employment categories:

- Home-based care workers, community health workers, and community-based care and support workers
- Early childhood development workers

As is already the case in the City, the programme sees Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) as the main delivery agents of the social sector programmes, funded by government and, possibly, by business. Furthermore, most of the social sector programmes will contain learnerships along with the recruitment of unemployed resident and volunteers giving them access to on-the-job experience, a stipend and training with the possibility of National Qualifications Framework (NQF) qualification.

The social programme component of the EPWP exhibits long-term potential through its skills-based focus – specifically, the opportunity the social programmes provide for intensive skills development. With an emphasis on the much needed skills of home-based care workers, community health workers and early childhood development workers and the possibility of ongoing skills development, there is real potential for the City to link its EPWP with its existing ECD function for example.

It is crucial that the social, economic, environmental and cultural programmes of the EPWP are pursued with equal commitment as is the infrastructure programme.

Economic opportunities for women in the informal economy

A different order of response is required in the informal economy. The State of the Cities Report indicates that in South Africa's major cities, the informal sector is growing (Chandra et al cited in SACN, 2004: 59). Similar results were evident in focus groups undertaken by the City for the purposes of informing the strategy. Chandra et al argue. 'The slow labour absorption of the formal economy, associated high unemployment levels and pressures for basic survival mean that the bulk of informal entrepreneurs operate out of necessity rather than choice' (Chandra et al cited in SACN, 2004: 60).

The informal economy is becoming an increasingly important source of livelihoods for city residents. With the moderate job-creation pace, this sector is playing a progressively more significant role. The informal sector, or second economy, as it is called, plays a key role in absorbing a workforce that is unable to access the formal economy (Ten Year Review, 2004). The concern, however, is that those adults with low skills are effectively cut off from the formal economy, thereby making them vulnerable to a continuous cycle of poverty.

While there are existing programmes in place to support these enterprises, the assistance offered needs to be boosted, specifically in deprived areas and amongst residents who are excluded from economic opportunities. Since women are over-represented in the informal economy, they should be, necessarily, the focus of this programme.

In a study of women clothing manufacturers in the inner city of Johannesburg, it was established that 29% of women earned less than R500 per month, 29% earned between R500 and R1 000, 34% earned between R1 000 and R2 000 per month and 5% between R2 000 and R5 000. These women entrepreneurs claimed that the most significant way in which they were assisted in their business endeavours was through financial support, either skills-related programmes or access to credit. Most of the women, however, were not aware of government programmes that support small businesses (Rogerson 2004 and Cachalia, Jocum and Rogerson, 2004).

The City is certainly in a position to run information workshops regarding the opportunities for financial support for entrepreneurs.



These initiatives could be augmented by partnerships between business and the City focusing on issues of access to credit. In addition, there is scope to pursue partnerships with major banks in the area of structuring a surety fund for these women.

Also, there are more direct assistance mechanisms for women entrepreneurs. The obvious interventions include business-skills training. But further to that, the City could commit itself to assisting women entrepreneurs with child-care which would link to the proposed ECD programme. In San Salvador, for example, the Mayor's office provides childcare for women who work as market and street vendors (Ovens and Kitchin, 2004).

Target groups:

- Unemployed city residents
- Residents "surviving" in the informal economy
- The city's youth
- Women entrepreneurs

Outcomes of indicative programmes:

- A supportive environment for unemployed city residents
- A supportive environment for persons employed in the informal sector to allow their businesses to flourish
- Mobility for successful businesses in the informal sector to access the formal sector
- Skills to assist those employed in the informal sector to move beyond a survivalist income
- Support for women entrepreneurs
- Security for informal sector enterprises

Gender and generational equality

The *status quo* report on gender and generational inequalities highlights the plight of some women and children in urban environments and in particular relative to health care requirements. It also emphasises how the lack of access to services – both economic and socially-focused – perpetuates existing inequalities. The conclusions drawn in Chapter 2 were as follows:

Status quo conclusions

- Women and children are most directly affected by poor services
- Women experience health and security burdens as a result of inadequate services
- Women, and especially young women, are the most susceptible to HIV infection
- Women are primary care givers of the HIV infected
- Poor children lack access to basic facilities

The programmatic response to these challenges is twofold² :

- Early childhood development
- Women's health and security

ECD is prioritised in the HDS and therefore the indicative programme is fairly well developed. The success of this programme hinges upon the City's re-orienting its approach to ECD and it therefore has big budget implications.

Early childhood development

Investing in Joburg's children is a major intervention required for the prevention of intergenerational poverty and also those directed at militating against creating a generation of dependent adults. Furthermore, the Constitutional Court judgements on the socio-economic rights of children in the Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others v Grootboom and Others 2001 (1) SA: 46 (CC) case puts the onus on local government, along with other spheres of government, to provide assistance to those children most in need, and is necessarily relative to social services and basic health care.

The overall strategic agenda of the City is structured around the year 2030. Investments in children made today will be reflected in the city of 2030. The City needs to begin building the conditions for all children to prosper now and in the future.

City interventions focused on children in specific households are difficult to define. The lives and livelihoods of children in the city are inextricably linked to the households in which they reside. City interventions at a household level currently focus on issues of access to the social package and social grants provided by provincial government. While the child support grant is a direct financial transfer to assist poor children, it is not a sufficient means to ensure that children are given access to all opportunities.

But the City can play a specific role in facilitating the creation of 'safe spaces' for children living in conditions of hardship. Providing a stable environment for children, be it at home, at school or in the community in which they reside, has manifold positive outcomes. Because the HDS seeks to create the circumstances for residents to realise their full potential in the long term, it is considered important to focus on ECD as a City priority.

Ensuring that effective ECD programmes are delivered is one way in which the City can assist vulnerable children. Early interventions with children are considered the most prudent and can provide a safety net for children at a formative stage in their lives. Danziger and Waldfogel argue that investments in early childhood are the most cost effective and that they have long-lasting results (2000). According to the Education White Paper 5 (2001), the notion of Early Childhood Education applies broadly to managing the processes by which children between the ages of birth and nine grow physically, mentally, emotionally, spiritually, morally and socially (Goldstone, 2004). Within this cohort, it is children in the birth to 5 year age group who are extremely

² The Social Package is a critical intervention for women and children.

vulnerable because they are not in the school system. This vulnerability is particularly acute in poor children and children residing in under-resourced areas of the city.

Justifying ECD as a key priority intervention is easily motivated.

- Children are heavily influenced and affected by their immediate surroundings through their families, schools and the communities in which they reside. With growing numbers of working mothers, it is necessary that children at a young age are placed in environments in which they will be best cared for. The impact of good care in early childhood extends into adolescence and adulthood.
- Interventions in early childhood are critical for 'the development of cognitive skills, social skills and motivation, and early interventions can foster the development of these competencies' (Heckman and Lochner cited in Waldfogel et al, 2000: 6).
- In the work done by the City on social crime, it is established that one means of preventing youth from becoming offenders is through investment in ECD. Some of the key risk factors for offending include growing up in a dysfunctional household with little stability. Again, if investment in ECD were made by the City there is a high likelihood that children would be in at least one sufficiently stable environment (Fanaroff, 2004).
- Investment in ECD fits with the general growth objectives outlined in *Joburg 2030*.

Childcare facilities are a direct function of local government. The HDS recommends that such a programme should be fervently prioritised with an attached budget. Traditionally, the City's role in ECD has been limited to a regulatory function. In reality, however, at a regional level much work is being done with the City's childcare officers overseeing important ECD functions. Additional support is required for these activities if there is to be sufficient impact. However, in order to do this, the scope of the interventions needs to be broadened from being merely regulatory to including a developmental function. The approach the City takes to ECD needs to be framed as a means of confronting the intergenerational cycle of poverty and deprivation.

Regulation

The City currently plays a role in regulating ECD facilities. Whilst the Provincial Department of Education claims responsibility for the monitoring of ECD activities, it is the role of the City to register and monitor ECD facilities. This issue points to the need for a constructive partnership between province and the City.

The City's Health Department is required to ensure that the health by-laws for ECD institutions are met. On receipt of a health certificate from the City, ECD facilities are able to access a provincial subsidy. Many of the existing ECD facilities are unable to access these subsidies because they do not meet the regulations. This can inadvertently work against developmental ECD.

Thus, the City's role in ECD needs to be expanded and driven by developmental principles. The first step in doing this is the rethinking of ECD as a City function and the development of a City-wide policy for dealing with ECD for all regions. There is also a serious need to review and rewrite the relevant health by-laws.

Developmental ECD

Historically, ECD has not been a priority area of intervention for government. As a result, ECD facilities have mushroomed in a range of different structures and settings. Goldstone (2004) comments that many ECD sites are located in multipurpose buildings or based in homes, hostels or backyard structures. In inner city neighbourhoods, ECD facilities are found in unconverted residential rooms in buildings where there are no safety facilities or play areas for children. Furthermore, these children do not have access to water, electricity and sanitation facilities. The implications of this are that children in illegal facilities are not receiving optimum ECD and the facilities are not receiving provincial subsidies. It is these children housed in illegal crèches that experience the most pressing need for assistance. Recognising that the majority of ECD facilities are informal, unfunded and that they lack resources is the first step towards planning a new City process.

There is a distinct tension between ECD as a comprehensive package for assisting children and as an income-generating activity. Therefore, the emphasis should be placed on assisting children in poorer communities to access adequate ECD facilities while not undermining existing service providers.

Some ways in which the City can do this is by:

- Instigating information and education campaigns regarding the importance of ECD in various City centres such as libraries, clinics and recreation centres. In addition, campaigns to raise the awareness of parents of the value of ECD and the need to access child care grants could be mounted
- Piloting of ECD "one stop shops" where parents and children would receive a holistic service based on such elements as arts and culture, health, education, nutrition and emotional support
- Expanding the function of libraries to include toy-lending facilities and assessment centres
- Expanding a mobile crèche programme
- Running communal or clustered community-run crèches
- Establishing a project link to ECD facilities with local schools. A guarantee of a place in a partner school would encourage parents to send their children to ECD services
- Creating outreach programmes which make use of volunteers so as to educate community members in the value of ECD and the opportunities and processes available to them in that area. These volunteers could undertake door-to-door campaigns or address parents at ward forums
- Mapping and tracking of crèche programmes

Particular attention should be paid to children in:

- Informal settlements
- The inner City
- Poor communities in formal housing
- Hostels

Target groups:

- Poor children not in any ECD facilities, specifically poor children in the inner city, informal settlements and formal townships
- Refugee children, AIDS orphans and children affected by HIV

Outcomes of indicative programme

- A stable environment for children at school, home and in communities
- Reduced behavioural problems among youth
- Increased levels of work productivity and a more efficient labour force in the long term
- Increased numbers of women entrepreneurs as women are released from their childcare responsibilities
- Fewer social crimes in the long term

Women's health and security

The ability of women to respond to the demands of poverty and vulnerability hinges upon access to land and tenure security, education and skills, credit facilities and assets. It is in the absence of these factors that women fail to optimise their potential. As with their counterparts elsewhere in the world, women in Joburg experience urban life differently depending upon their race and class. Many women are burdened by financial and physical factors that undermine their health and security.

An asset-building approach for women is recommended through assistance to women entrepreneurs. It is believed that this can create the necessary conditions for poor women to begin the asset-building process which is essential to combating persistent poverty.

Therefore, in addition, the recommendation is for programmes that focus on a combination of women's health and on their security issues. If successful, these programmes have the potential to fundamentally improve the quality of life of Joburg's women, and, by extension, in all likelihood, their children.

Women's health

Women's health and nutritional status is linked to the well-being of the family: an increase in women's health and nutritional status correlates with a decrease in infant mortality (Kabear, 2003). The ratio of maternal deaths, the infant mortality rate and the under-five mortality rate in Gauteng have increased since 1998. Because diarrhoeal incidence as a cause of death among young children has declined significantly, the most obvious cause for these increases relates to

HIV/AIDS. AIDS-linked maternal death figures highlight further the decline in women's health.

The most obvious intervention regarding improved health care is that which focuses on access to basic services in unserved areas. This is already part of the City's strategic agenda, and the HDS supports the importance of this intervention.

Already, the City, particularly the health department, plays an enormous role in providing primary health care that is of great assistance to poor women. However, in addition, a number of programmatic interventions can be undertaken to improve women's health and the health of their children.

Simple measures that can be put in place by the City include user-friendly clinics. The experience of Esselen Street Clinic in Hillbrow is a positive one where an unthreateningly conducive environment has been created for women seeking support. Other user-friendly initiatives include reviewing clinic opening times to ensure that they meet the needs of poor women in particular.

Part of this initiative being regarded as user-friendly is ensuring that young women have access to contraception and guidance regarding their sexual rights and choices. With the high HIV infection rates in women, a supportive health care environment is crucial.

The City can play a powerful role in promoting the rights of women. This entails targeted awareness campaigns regarding primary health care, access to antiretrovirals and voluntary HIV testing and counselling. In particular, this work should be focused on transitional populations such as domestic workers and new arrivals to the city.

Emergency management services (EMS) are also important to women's health care. This is particularly the case in under-resourced areas. Special attention needs to be paid as to how the City ensures that EMS are able to assist residents living in informal settlements or settlements with limited road access. In the case of women, this type of assistance is often required in childbirth.

Women's security

The built environment plays a critical role in the safety, or lack thereof, of women. Vulnerability is increased if proper infrastructure, such as streetlights, roads or reliable public transport, is lacking (van Donk, 2004). A particular concern raised by women relates to their safety on public transport facilities and at bus, train and taxi ranks, with one in three women feeling unsafe (Institute for Security Studies, 2001). Women in urban settings, in particular, are susceptible to rape, sexual violence and domestic abuse. Palmary, Rauch and Simpson (2003) argue that these incidences of violence in the city are underreported. This is often the case because women who have been abused express discontent with the services provided by the police services, health services and court officials. This needs to be remedied.

Gender-based and sex-based violence is a reality in the city. There are spatial and temporal patterns to rape, for example, in the city. Research undertaken in 1996 ascertained that the majority of rapes took place between 6 and 10 pm on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. Although the research established that sexual violence is to be found amongst all groups of women, women in townships and inner city areas were most at risk (Palmary; Rauch and Simpson 2003). Vetten and Dladla's study on women and their safety in the inner city concludes that women fear sexual intimidation and sexual violence. This fear is particularly intense amongst specific groups of women such as municipal waste management workers, homeless women and sex workers (Vetten and Dladla, 2000).

Safety for women is a quality of life issue. In support of the programmes of the City Safety Strategy, it is recommended that the City should begin to play a role not only in assisting those women who have experienced gender- or sex-based violence but also in reconstituting the physical environment that can facilitate such violence.

One internationally recognised best practice for dealing with the built environment component is the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). According to the Institute for Security Studies, the focus of this programme is on tackling the architecture, lighting, marking of spaces and visibility relative to public safety (Robert-Shaw, Louw, Shaw, Mashiyane and Brettell, 1999). A programme such as this could become an integrated part of the work that is done by the City in terms of settlement planning, building codes, transport planning and infrastructure provision. City Parks is in an excellent position to ensure the safety of public spaces under their control.

Another type of intervention is one of support. In Region 1 and 2 of the city, a victim empowerment programme has been established to begin dealing with issues of family violence and abuse. Facilities include a Trauma Centre, Abuse Task Teams consisting of social workers, health officials, South African Police Services (SAPS), Community Police Forum members and schools. Counselling and support is also provided for victims. The project is a partnership between the Region, South African Police Services, provincial government and other concerned stakeholders. This is the type of model that could be successfully replicated in all the other regions.

Target groups:

- All city residents
- All women in the city

Outcomes of indicative programmes

- A supportive environment for women in the city
- Improved maternal health
- Improved security for all women in the city

Spatial equality

Apartheid-based spatial planning served to compromise urban opportunities for black city residents by locating townships on the periphery of the city. These opportunities were further reduced by the lack of provision of the necessary social and economic infrastructure in these settlements.

The conclusions drawn on spatial inequalities are reflected below. What is illustrated through the analysis is the striking overlap between spatial inequality relative to unemployment and income, on the one hand and that of locational disadvantage and associated resource lack on the other.

Status quo conclusions

- Population growth is concentrated on the periphery and in particular regions
- There is a strong correlation between population growth and increases in unemployment
- Certain regions of the city are growing sites of poverty
- Lack of facilities is a particularly onerous burden on the poor
- The lack of transport is an important indicator of locational disadvantage

Recognising that there is a danger of these patterns being replicated is the first step in beginning to plan new ways of challenging these historic precedents. Two programmes are proposed to address spatial inequalities. These are:

- A sustainable settlements programme
- An urban management programme

Sustainable human settlements

The largest and most far-reaching intervention for providing access to development opportunities is through ensuring that all settlements in the city are sustainable. The concept of sustainable settlements is frequently reflected in the international development discourse. It means, essentially, creating living environments within which residents have access to a full range of resources.

The scope of interventions that fall under sustainable settlements is enormous and should underpin all the work done by the City. In order to begin moving in this direction there must be a shift in paradigms from a 'housing only' approach to one that is holistic. Collective planning for new settlements and management of existing settlements is crucial. Attention needs to be paid to planning in a settlement framework.

Sustainable settlements should be the end goal for City planning. A scan of existing City-wide policies indicates that the Integrated Transport Plan, for example, focuses on high need and isolated areas such as Orange Farm and Diepsloot (CoJ, 2003d). The Plan specifically speaks of the importance of providing affordable transport as a method of assistance to the poor and very poor to support access to income opportunities. The emphasis is important because the inaccessibility of many of these settlements does impact on the livelihoods of their residents (Shisaka Development Management Services, 2004).

Similarly, the Spatial Development Framework specifically emphasises and prioritises services to the poor. However, it does not address the needs of poor residents who live in settlements beyond the urban development boundary. There is a danger of further exclusion for those peripheral settlements.

Therefore, the notion of sustainable human settlements should be incorporated into the planning and operations of the City.

Urban management

The end goal of sustainable settlements is a medium-term intervention. In the short term, and in addition to pursuing a settlements-focused agenda, there are interventions that can be made to improve the quality of life of residents living in poor settlements. Currently, city regulations and by-laws can create additional difficulties for residents working in the informal economy. They can also prejudice poor residents indirectly due to a lack of enforcement. A useful example here is the occupation of abandoned buildings in the Inner City or waste scavenging at municipal waste sites.

Inasmuch as the City is required to deal with these difficult situations, so too are affected residents who attempt to move forward so as to improve their lives by using the resources at their disposal (Bayat, 1997). Therefore solutions should seek not to harm further the most excluded residents or to undermine their livelihoods. Groups of residents surviving in the informal economy often have the least access to formal institutions. Combining the need for regulation with a pro-poor approach can be difficult. A first step to begin rectifying this is twofold:

1. Establishing a City-driven investigation and review of which by-laws have a negative impact on the lives of city residents
2. Investigating where the lack of regulation is prejudicing the poor

Once there is a better sense within the institution of how to overcome some of the very real problems facing the City, measures can be put in place to reduce this difficulty.

Some suggested points of investigation include:

- Scrapyards
- Waste pickers
- Backyard shacks
- Illegal structures and additions
- Planning schemes
- Illegal occupation
- Street children
- Illegal shebeens
- Tenure

Target groups:

- Residents of poor settlements

Outcomes of indicative programmes

- An environment wherein all city residents can reside in a 'sustainable human settlement'
- A supportive environment for all city residents through regulation

Strategic direction: Building prospects for social inclusion in the city



Figure 14 – Joburg Triangle Trisector 3

Cities, such as Johannesburg, in pursuit of world-class status need to strike a fine balance between their conflicting imperatives. The sometimes uneasy relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction is reflected in social discord. While many city residents reap the benefits of economic growth, many residents are stuck in conditions of poverty. Social, economic and spatial exclusion erodes social cohesion and this is counterproductive to the City's goal of being a world-class African city for all.

Fundamental to managing these social relationships is building prospects for social inclusion. Unless residents feel a connection to their communities and to the City, combating social exclusion will be difficult.

Social inclusion is understood to mean:

'The process by which efforts are made to ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their potential in life. To achieve inclusion income and employment is necessary but not sufficient. An inclusive society is also characterised by a striving for reduced inequality, a balance between individuals' rights and duties and increased social cohesion' (Centre for Economic & Social Inclusion, 2002 www.cesi.org.uk).

Building prospects for social inclusion is a long-term objective. It speaks to the central concerns of the HDS. Fighting poverty and inequality are two significant steps in the direction of building social inclusion. But, in addition, a focus on building social relationships is equally important.

Internationally, the response to social exclusion has meant a shift in emphasis from narrowly considered economic issues to those of social relationships. Greater attention is being paid now to the relationship between City government and communities. These relationships are structured in different ways: this can be through the democratic process (i.e. councillors and ward committees), through the City adopting a proactively 'inclusive' paradigm (running social inclusion programmes) or through participation in well-structured and positive partnerships.

The following *status quo* conclusions were identified during the social exclusion analysis and have been used to inform the indicative programmes:

***Status quo* conclusions**

- Social fragmentation is a product of social exclusion
- Excluded youth are particularly vulnerable to unemployment, violence and high risk behaviour
- Many migrants experience social exclusion on arrival in the city
- People with disabilities are vulnerable to social exclusion given their often marginalised status

In response to the above *status quo* conclusions, the HDS advocates that a social inclusion agenda be pursued in two key ways:

- Building social cohesion among all city residents
- Creating positive partnerships for social inclusion in the city

Each of these objectives will play a role in working towards social inclusion. The responsibility for this challenge, however, falls to both city residents and City government and therefore this part of the Joburg Triangle requires commitment to partnerships.

Building social cohesion

Joburg is a city of fortune seekers, of migrants and of diverse people seeking opportunity. Our population is heterogeneous and in many cases fragmented, especially in communities with high levels of movement. One of the

consequences of living in a city where there is social fragmentation is that residents can feel excluded and come to lack a sense of belonging in the city. The implications of believing that one does not belong is its translation into a reluctance to commit to investing in the city, in its communities and in its future. This poses a real challenge to political and financial stability.

The effects of social fragmentation are very real at a community level and at an institutional level. Feelings of alienation are further intensified if the perception of an unresponsive City government is held. Residents feel less inclined to pay for their municipal services or they might lack the sense of belonging that can be so powerful in confronting social problems such as child abuse and social crime.

In order for the city to thrive in the long term, residents need to invest in their own homes and in communities and in their City government. Fortunately, there is already much of this investment in various communities in the city that can be tapped into. Many of Joburg's communities are already organised and play a powerful role in assisting the City in the work that it does. For example, there are the investments made by Community Policing Forums and other civil society organisations in safeguarding their neighbourhoods. It is this investment and solidarity that allows households and residents to survive and to cope in circumstances of great difficulty.

But broadening this investment to the City scale is important for political and social stability.

Already the idea of building social cohesion is being pursued at a national and at a provincial government level. This should be supported at the local level too. For the City's purposes, the idea of building social cohesion is manifold. It can be pursued at a programmatic level, but equally as a political imperative through the governance process. In line with this thinking, the proposed indicative programmes are twofold:

- Actively pursuing social cohesion programmes
- Building community trust in the City

Each will be discussed below.

Social cohesion programmes

As City government, we should take a leading role in fighting social exclusion in its different manifestations, and in actively promoting social inclusion. While the City cannot single-handedly create a socially inclusive city, it can pursue this in the work it does and it can publicly support these principles.

Youth action

Breaking the cycle of social exclusion amongst the youth can be channelled through participation. Experiences elsewhere advocate that democratising access to resources that work to minimise the risk of exclusion is key. For example, 'one such way to do this is through engaging youth in proactive participation since research indicates that youth demonstrate enormous self-reliance if they are in a supportive environment' (du Toit 2003; Moller 1992, cited in Patel et al, 2004: 20).

Providing a supportive environment and a sense of belonging for the youth is critical and this can be most easily achieved through carving out a space for them in sports and recreation, as well as in arts and culture. Already the City has functioning sports and recreation facilities and libraries. A number of programmes encouraging sports development is already being offered at the City's community centres, including indigenous games, dancing and gymnastics. Community recreation is aimed at 'providing improved access to all citizens to the wide variety of sport activities available in the City' (CoJ 2003a: 64). Upon payment of the fee, residents get access to children's play facilities, various special courses, social clubs for senior citizens and various activities for teenagers and adults.

Library services offer an equally invaluable opportunity for all youth. The City is already operating a total of 76 libraries. There are libraries in all the 11 regions of the City and the City operates a bibliobus service – a mobile library – for areas, including informal settlements that do not have libraries. Furthermore, the Department of Social Development is undertaking a drive for youth volunteers, which helps to build social cohesion.

Given the existing facilities, there is scope to provide a secure environment for the City's youth through creating 'spaces' such as Youth Action Zones (YAZs). These could take the form of multi-purpose instruments designed to address risk factors amongst the Youth. These zones will be selected according to the geographical concentration of youth at risk. The YAZs will serve a number of purposes. They will be specifically targeted for youth-based interventions and will provide:

- Skills development
- Centres of safety and belonging for youth
- Prevention programmes for drug and alcohol abuse
- HIV/AIDS support programmes
- IT centres
- Sports and recreation hubs
- Arts and culture hubs

(Patel et al, 2004: 34)

These YAZs will be centred around existing public amenities in selected areas. A similar initiative is under way in Sao Paulo, Brazil. It is based on the fact that the only space available to marginalised youth outside of school hours was the street. In response, the Sao Paulo government has opened schools over weekends for community activities. University students are enrolled as volunteers. This encourages communities and families to spend more quality time with each other. The outcome of the programme includes a drop in violence in schools, and a drop in drug use and sexual aggression (Cities Alliance, 2004).

It is essential to tie arts and culture initiatives into these centres. These could be focused on community-based art initiatives. The benefit of adopting a community-based approach is the impact it has on building community

identification. This is particularly necessary in socially excluded parts of the city. In similar projects undertaken in other cities, arts and culture projects are viewed as an extremely successful way to fight social exclusion. In Great Britain, it is used as a technique for urban regeneration, and in the United States of America it is used as a method of building self-esteem amongst out-of-school youth. In Argentina, the practice of Tango was introduced as a mechanism for fighting social exclusion and building self-expression amongst the youth. According to the organisers, ‘tango as a practice can help fill the gap between different generations of people, teach people respect for tradition and gender equality, and open up their minds. Therefore it is a rewarding starting point to work with young people, since it both constitutes a form of expression which offers a reference point for the development of social and cultural identity to young people and preserves cultural heritage’ (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), August 2004: 5).

Diversity campaigns

The aged, people with disabilities, those who are HIV positive and cross-border migrants experience social and economic exclusion. The City must support the positive effects of diversity publicly and it must ensure that it does not inadvertently discriminate against specific groups in the course of fulfilling its obligations. The racial and social dynamics of poverty and inequality in the city are complex. Although the structural causes of poverty and inequality will take decades to overcome, the City should continue to actively pursue non-racism and non-sexism at all levels of operation.

Xenophobia and homophobia are also a diversity issue. Encouraging tolerance can be located firmly under the banner of building social cohesion. Issues of xenophobia have been closely associated with Joburg in recent years. Given the high levels of in-migration into the city, negative attitudes towards migrants exacerbate already trying conditions for many of the newcomers. The City should take an active role in discouraging xenophobia. This can be done easily enough through the re-orientation and training of frontline staff members regarding the rights and entitlement of different migrant groups. Council staff members could be given the opportunity to participate in anti-xenophobia workshops and encouraged to support anti-xenophobia campaigns.

Xenophobia can be fought by having the City make public statements on Joburg’s aspirations to maintain its status as a cosmopolitan city. The City is also in a position to highlight the contribution migrants make to its rich diversity.

Area-based campaigns

Poor and vulnerable residents, households and neighbourhoods are often not seen by public agencies. They remain out of the formal economy, do not appear on the City’s financial records and are located on the physical periphery of the city. It is these same communities that often experience high levels of violence and poverty.

If social problems are aggravated by poverty and inequality, it seems prudent to mobilise social resources in these localities with some urgency. It is in these

neighbourhoods that social cohesion is an important resource. In informal settlements and areas with high levels of mobility, for example, creating the means for building social cohesion is crucial. The overall growth in the city's population also has a great impact on issues of social cohesion. There are growing numbers of migrants in the city. These migrants are vulnerable to both social and economic exclusion, and this exclusion necessarily means that in-migrants are unlikely to be connected to social networks in the city. In recognition of the potential exclusion of these residents, the City is in a position to intervene directly.

Public space

A means through which to begin building social solidarity is through the optimal use of public space. As argued below:

'Public space has social and economic importance as a place for trade and communal activities, or as a channel for movement ... For the urban poor, public space is a crucial resource as their private space is more restricted and fragmented than that of higher income groups' (Brown and Lloyd Jones, 2002: 192).

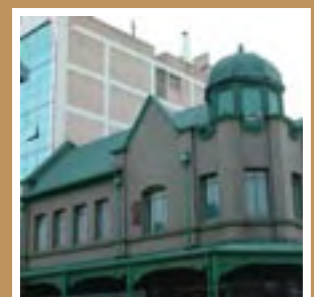
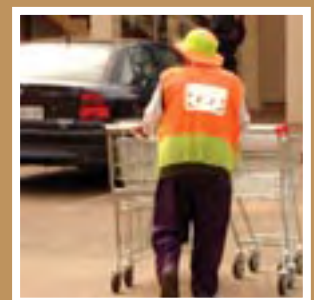
The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) has already introduced extremely innovative methods to optimise the use of public space. In addition, many other City departments have a role to play in optimising the use of public space and each should be obliged to pursue this objective. Particular focus should be placed on informal settlements and on inner city areas where 'safe' public spaces are in short supply. Other public amenities should also be marketed as places of meeting for residents and organisations. The role of the Department of Art, Culture and Heritage is particularly important in democratising public spaces in the city.

Building community trust in the City

Positive social dynamics within cities can play an important role in negating some of the effects of social exclusion. Joburg has long had a vibrant civil society and it is this civil society that contributes so fundamentally to social development already. There is also a powerful case to be made that there are large stocks of social capital embodied within these organisations.

The importance of social capital is its ability to act as a resource at a community level. Social relations are a powerful force in the lives of the poor and excluded. These resources, in combination with the resources on offer from the City, should create a potent mechanism for building social cohesion at the community level.

In order to do this, there is a role for the City in tapping into the productive social relations that exist in various settlements. Lessons from poverty-reduction in other developing country cities contend that 'in the long term, much poverty reduction in urban areas depends on the quality of the relationship between inhabitants of low-income settlements and all the public agencies that influence their pursuit of livelihoods and access to infrastructure, services, land, justice and so on' (Rakodi, 2002: 260).



Good relationships between the state and society provide the framework for beginning to use the resources that exist within communities to participate in partnership projects. The City already has democratic processes under way through its ward councillors, ward committees and other community-based partnerships.

These committees can be used even more effectively to represent the needs of residents. In addition, some of the social cohesion programmes outlined in the preceding section can be pursued at the local level, as a means of building trust at a local level. The capacity for social capital exists in all neighbourhoods, but the fruitful interaction between local government and community members is key to using the stocks of social capital that exist within communities.

Target groups:

- Particularly excluded people
- All city residents

Outcomes of indicative programmes

- A supportive environment for all excluded residents in the city
- An environment of tolerance
- Social cohesion in the city
- Higher levels of social capital

Positive partnerships programmes

Building the prospects for social inclusion requires multiple stakeholder involvement. The City cannot single-handedly improve the state of human development in Joburg. It must take a multi-pronged approach in which it can:

- Actively provide, as in the case of the social package
- Facilitate and enable, as in the case of economic growth

In order to effect as much change as possible, the City requires assistance from other interest groups. Success in this domain requires the active establishment of a partnership framework to advance the objectives of the HDS. Plummer utters the following caution:

‘In order to formulate positive partnerships that are beneficial to the poor, municipalities must see that benefits are maximised and problems mitigated – all in relation to well-considered and prioritised municipal objectives’ (2002: 31).

Currently, much of the work in the social sector is being driven and undertaken by community-based organisations (CBOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The role these partners play is crucial given the extent of the problems. Joburg is also the site of a vibrant NGO and CBO sector and of committed individuals and groups who work to empower and assist each other. The city is

fortunate to have all of these resources available to it. It is these organisations which provide assistance to street children when the City is unable to do so. It is also these organisations that give much needed support to HIV affected and infected households when the reach of the City is not big enough.

The role of the business sector, however, in confronting the challenges of human development can be strengthened. Despite the fact that Johannesburg is an economic hub, controlling a large percentage of the national GDP and that, relative to the rest of South Africa, it has the most highly skilled workforce in the country, the business sector can play a bigger role in Johannesburg through its corporate social responsibility function.

The role for the City is to construct key partnerships with NGOs, CBOs, business and other spheres of government.

Social funding policy

In recognition of the excellent work done by NGOs and CBOs the City has a fund to assist NGOs and CBOs. As part of social services, the City has approved a Social Funding Policy which it administers and under which not-for-profit organisations running social programmes can apply annually for funding in respect of municipal assessment rates and the social programmes that they conduct in the community. The other category in respect of which organisations can apply is mayoral support which covers events for which the organisations need assistance. This policy replaces the Grants-in-Aid policy that the City has been using to assist community organisation that link up to the social functions of the City and the mayoral priorities (CoJ, 2003a: 59).

At present, despite the good intentions of the Social Funding Policy, this initiative needs to be boosted. It needs to have a much larger budget allocation. The Social Funding Policy needs to be tailored to match the strategic programmes proposed by the HDS. If an impact is going to be made on scale, then it is important that the modest funds the City has are channelled effectively.

Joburg's role regarding the NGO and CBO sector should not be construed only as being a source of funding. Joburg has a role to play in nurturing social relations at the local level as a means of ensuring both that Joburg initiatives are supported in the community we serve and that Joburg is accessible to local community issues.

Additional partnerships

The challenge for developing partnerships is in identifying what form they should take and how they can be used optimally.

In order to achieve even greater impact, it is necessary to bring in the assistance of the private sector linked to their corporate social responsibility imperatives. It is equally important to link the social development work undertaken by the City to that of provincial and national government.

Target groups:

- All city residents

Outcomes of indicative programmes

- A supportive environment for CBOs and NGOs in the city
- A consolidated approach to human development through partnerships with different spheres of government
- A constructive relationship between the City and the business community

Investing in the Human Development Strategy (HDS)

The City needs to invest financial and institutional resources in the implementation of the HDS. If a real impact is going to be made the Social Package and the Early Childhood Development (ECD) programme are the ones that need to be pursued most vigorously.

Ideally, the concurrent implementation of all the programmes outlined in Chapter 4 would have the greatest effect on the state of human development in the city. But given the limitations, both institutional and financial, this will not happen. Instead, there will be a staggered implementation process.

All the indicative programmes outlined in Chapter 4 were selected on the basis that, given the *status quo*, these interventions would have the greatest effect in the next ten years.

Within these programmes, however, priorities have been selected according to the following criteria:

- Scale and impact
- Core competency of local government
- Compliance
- Sustainability
- Cutting edge and innovation

Each of these five indicators was equally weighted. Using these five categories, a prioritisation scale of the programmes was implemented. The outcome of this prioritisation process was as follows:

5*** Programmes:** Those programmes with five stars are considered to be the most important and pressing programmes for the City to tackle and should, therefore, be prioritised. These are the five star programmes:

- Social package
- ECD
- Positive partnerships



4** Priorities** are ranked as the second tranche of programmes for prioritisation. These are:

- Women's health and security
- Job creation
- Economic opportunities for women entrepreneurs
- Sustainable human settlements
- Urban management

3* Priorities** are ranked as the third tranche of programmes for prioritisation and these are:

- Social grants
- Social cohesion
- Building community trust in the City

Priority programmes

The two programmes that require real commitment and the concomitant increase in the budget are the social package and the programme for ECD. Both of these require large budgets and a fundamental policy shift.

The social package

The social package programme indicates a shift in the approach of the City. It signifies a real commitment, both budgetary and institutionally, to assisting poor households through a social protection mechanism. The social package exemplifies the City's pursuit of a policy agenda that acknowledges that Joburg is a place of inclusion and a place where city government is prepared to assist those households that are unable to afford services as a result of poverty.

The outcomes of an effective social package are manifold, but they include:

- Positive health externalities
- Public benefits
- Direct benefits to poor households

Early childhood development

The pursuit of a large and well-budgeted ECD programme equally reflects a fundamental policy shift. Accepting this responsibility means that the City is broadening its mandate. It is committing itself to playing a proactive role in fighting intergenerational poverty and inequality. Furthermore, this programme signifies that Joburg aspires to being an inclusive city.

The outcomes of an effective ECD programme are equally far-reaching, but include:

- Building a generation of children with access to good support mechanisms
- Freeing women to pursue employment opportunities
- Providing a safe and supportive environment for all the city's children

Championing the HDS

The Human Development Strategy gives expression to the strategic agenda item on fighting poverty and promoting human development. The HDS serves as the guiding mechanism to inform the IDP process along with other City-wide strategies. This strategy is written from a short- to longer-term perspective and will inform subsequent IDPs – 2006 to 2011 and 2011 to 2016.

Unless sufficient budget resources as well as institutional and political commitment are attached to the HDS, the success of the strategy and its accompanying programmes will be compromised. The success of the HDS is not reliant on one City department. It cuts across all departments in the City as well as the utilities and agencies. It will begin to be mainstreamed into City operations through the business planning component of the IDP process.

Monitoring and evaluation

The programmatic component and implementation plan to the HDS will be developed as the next phase in the process. This document suggests a series of programmes at a strategic level. These must be refined through implementation programmes.

On the basis of the programmes a monitoring and evaluation system will be developed to track their success. The current operational performance system in Council is not sufficient to track the HDS achievements. Therefore, in consultation with the relevant departments, detailed indicators and targets will be developed for each programme, and for the HDS overall.

The City-scale monitoring and evaluation function of the HDS should be located in the Office of the City Manager. The targets and indicators set for monitoring the state of human development should coincide with, and build on, those developed at a provincial and national level.

Conclusion

This HDS has outlined the City's commitment to its poor residents. What the HDS affirms is that the City is committing itself to building:

- Equity within Joburg
- An inclusive city for all residents
- A broader developmental role for the City
- A world-class African city for all

Through its HDS, the City is committing itself to an equitable and inclusive city in which all city residents enjoy a substantially high quality of life, and are able to live and grow to their full potential, drawing on the public and private resources that exist in support of their efforts.

The HDS acknowledges that arriving at this goal involves a process of prioritised interventions that target the poorest, the most vulnerable and the marginalised in the City. Indeed, the success of the *Joburg 2030* strategy is dependent upon the interventions of the HDS which will support the participation of the poor and vulnerable, along with those who are better off, in reaching the City's goal of being a world-class African city for all.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	– Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CASE	– Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CBD	– Central Business District
CBOs	– Community Based Organisations
CC	– Constitutional Court
CIET	– Community Information Empowerment and Transparency
CoJ	– City of Johannesburg
CPTED	– Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
ECD	– Early Childhood Development
EMS	– Emergency Management Services
EPWP	– Expanded Public Works Programme
FIRE	– Financial/Insurance/Real Estate
GDP	– Gross Domestic Product
HDI	– Human Development Index
HDS	– Human Development Strategy
HHS	– Households
HIV	– Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	– Human Sciences Research Council
IDP	– Integrated Development Plan
INDS	– Integrated National Disability Strategy
ISS	– Institute for Security Studies
JDA	– Johannesburg Development Agency
MDG	– Millennium Development Goals
MRC	– Medical Research Council
NGOs	– Non-Governmental Organisations
NQF	– National Qualifications Framework
RHRU	– Reproductive Health Research Unit
SACN	– South African Cities Network
SAPS	– South African Police Services
SHS	– Sustainable Human Settlements
UACs	– Utilities, Agencies and Corporatised Entities
UNDP	– United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	– United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Unisa	– University of South Africa
YAZ	– Youth Action Zones



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