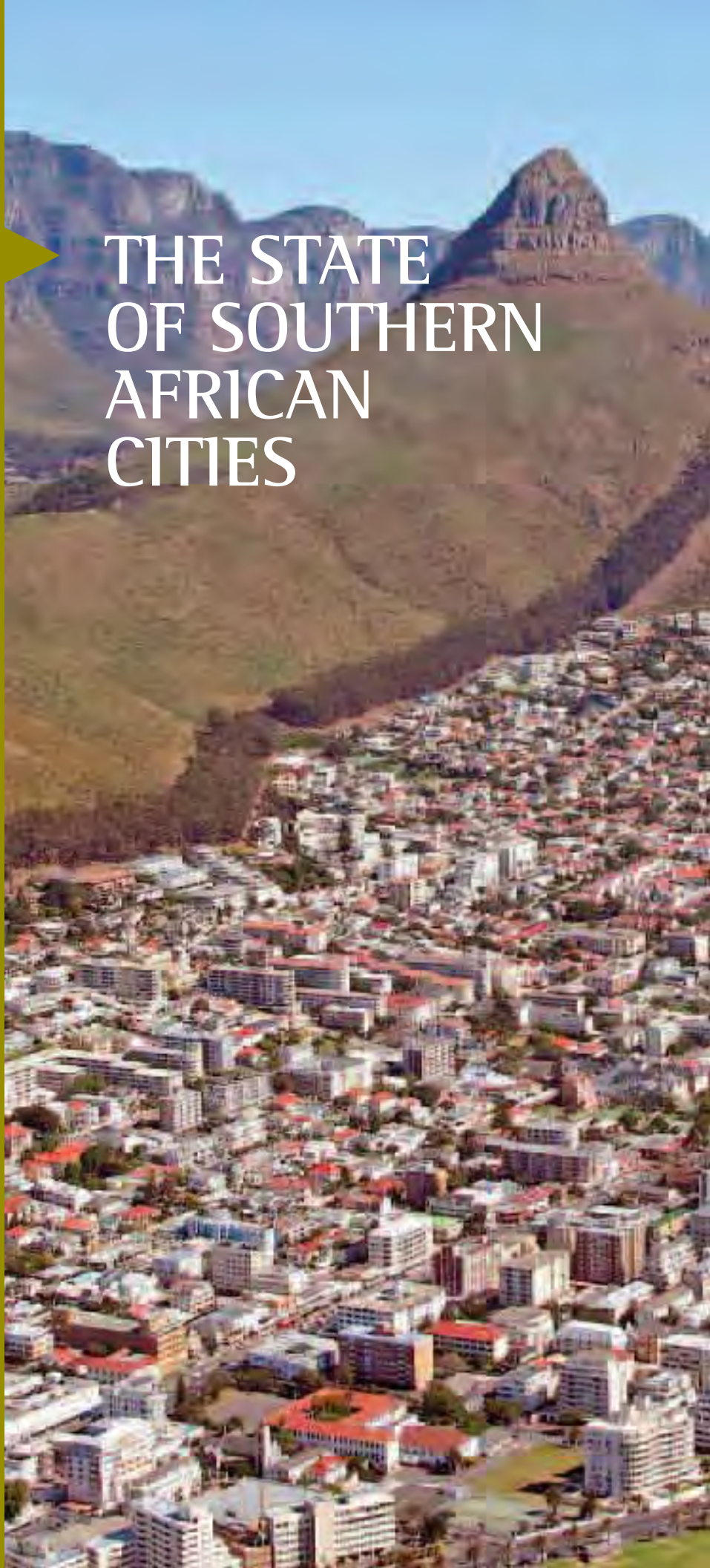


Chapter Six

06

THE STATE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN CITIES



Cape Town, South Africa.
©Wiw/Shutterstock



6.1

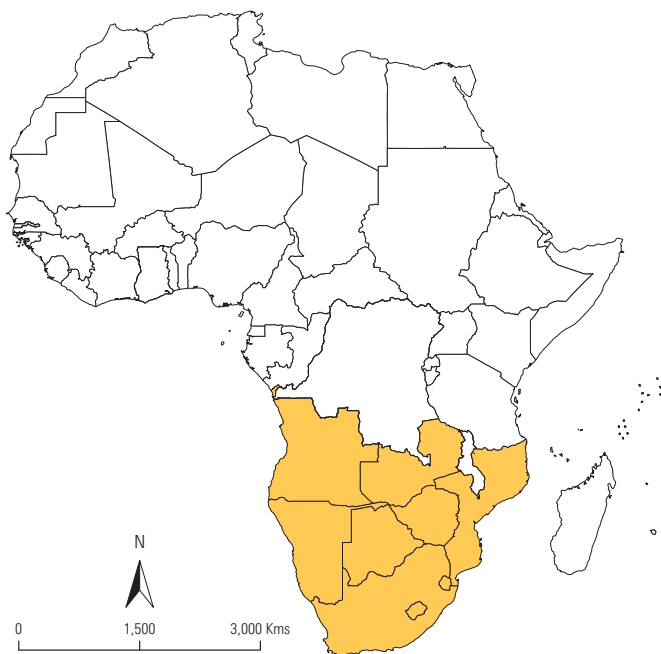
The Social Geography of Urbanisation

The Southern Africa region as defined¹ by UN-HABITAT (2008), brings together cities in a set of countries with close physical, linguistic, cultural, political economy and developmental features. The people in this set of countries generally describe themselves as belonging to Southern Africa, a description that may not coincide with non-African denominations or boundaries as determined by colonisers or empires, many of which are endorsed wholesale in global reports by international organisations.

Southern Africa includes nine countries: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, the Republic of South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

While it may be true that rapid urbanisation in Africa has not been associated with corresponding economic growth, in Southern African cities (to the exception of Zimbabwe) urbanisation has gone hand in hand with growth in real gross domestic product over the past decade although both urbanisation and economic growth have been highly uneven over time and unequal across this region.

MAP 6.1: SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES



Urban geography recognises the importance of spatial unevenness in development outcomes. It further acknowledges the changes in spatial thinking and capital outlays needed for sustainable development, like targeted infrastructure and investment incentives to promote growth, on one hand, and to reduce inequalities on the other. A geographical perspective can add to our understanding of uneven urban development in Southern Africa in several respects. The main point is an appreciation that prevailing inequalities are a product of the history of political power relationships, institutions and international factors that continue to reproduce social differentiations at various scales. Consequently, this chapter highlights that addressing inequalities in urban welfare is unlikely to emerge without struggles over power. This chapter also shows that policy-making is a process whereby socio-economic and political interests are defended by those with power, and that technocratic interventions alone may not necessarily be enough.

Looking at geography beyond mere physical space in a bid to understand uneven development links, one must keep in mind the importance of the notion of deregulated governance in Southern Africa. In this perspective, governance is viewed as the manner or the processes through which power is mobilised, leveraged and used, not only between the state and society but also within state institutions and within and among civil society institutions – both individually and collectively². Despite a dominant view that governance processes occur in the framework of regulations and formal rules, much of the governance engagement in Southern Africa is played out in deregulated spheres or within systems where ‘withdrawal of regulatory power creates a different logic of resource allocation, accumulation and authority’.³

Following two decades of various degrees of neoliberal reform in the subregion, deregulation and informality have become *de facto* modes of planning and a defining feature of state and society governance. As will be shown with *Maputo, Harare, Luanda, Lusaka* and to a lesser extent *Cape Town, Durban* and *Johannesburg*, the capacity to provide services and infrastructure as well as to plan and invest for economic growth and job creation is uneven and continues to diminish. Nevertheless, government in Southern Africa remains powerful and in a position to influence society through a variety of deregulated modes of action, actors

and relations. Government retains the monopoly to declare some urban activities legal and legitimate, while condemning others as illegal, illegitimate and targets for demolition. But most crucially, it is within the state's discretion to place itself outside the law to practice development or urban governance and to manage competing urban interests that are major sources of economic, political and social difference in urban Southern Africa.

It is in this capacity to 'informalise' itself that the typical Southern African state apparatus has engaged in administrative manipulations of race, ethnicity, class and gender as well as repeated forced evictions that have shaped city forms in the region. Zimbabwe's 2005 'Operation *Murambatsvina*' is an example of resort to state informality in a bid to assert control

over a political economy which normal bureaucratic systems could no longer contain⁴.

Informality from above enables the state to criminalize some activities while promoting others. It is a calculated and purposive mode of governance and resource allocation. Governance in Southern Africa is thus a complex, ubiquitous and multi-actor game of power structures that are integral to regulated and deregulated formal structures. These structures' interactions at different moments give rise to urban wealth enclaves sitting next to slums. While corruption is the term ordinarily used to describe some of these activities, this does neither capture the deregulated governance detailed here nor does the term expose state manipulation and violence to control and reproduce itself, especially in times of crisis.



▲ Harare, Zimbabwe. ©Lakis Fourouklas/Shutterstock

This section focuses on Southern Africa's large capital cities, those with populations over 750,000 or smaller other towns of national and subregional significance. Except for the Republic of South Africa, primacy is a defining characteristic of these large cities, with a major one at the apex of the urban hierarchy accommodating between 18 and 30 per cent of the total national urban population. The Republic of South Africa features a triple apex (*Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town*) unless the *Gauteng* city region (inclusive of *Pretoria* and *Johannesburg*) is considered as a single urban entity, in which case a primacy pattern emerges here as well.

Over the 2000-2010 decade, the Southern Africa subregion retained its position as the most urbanised on the continent, with the rate increasing from 53.8 to 58.7 per cent. The subregion is projected to reach a two-thirds urban majority some time around 2025. Decade-interval urbanisation growth rates peaked during 1990-2000 at 7.0 per cent when the subregion also passed the 50 per cent urbanisation mark.

Southern Africa has now entered a period where decade-interval urbanisation growth rates are expected to slow down, to 4.9 per cent for 2000-2010 and a continuing steady slowdown to 2.1 per cent in the 2040-2050 decade.

As projected for 2010, the urbanisation rates of individual countries in the subregion varied significantly. The Republic of South Africa, 61.7 per cent urbanised, is way ahead of the least-urbanised nations of the subregion, Swaziland and Lesotho, with 2010 urbanisation rates of 21.3 and 26.8 respectively. The latter two are starting to catch up, particularly from 2020 onwards, with projected high inter-decade urbanisation growth during the 2020-2030 decade of 17.7 and 29.0 per cent respectively. By 2040, Swaziland will be the only Southern African nation without an urban majority. However, the increase in urbanisation rates during the 2010-2020 decade will be most rapid in Lesotho (6.5 per cent), Botswana (7.7 per cent) and Namibia (6.4 per cent) compared to 0.9 per cent for Swaziland.



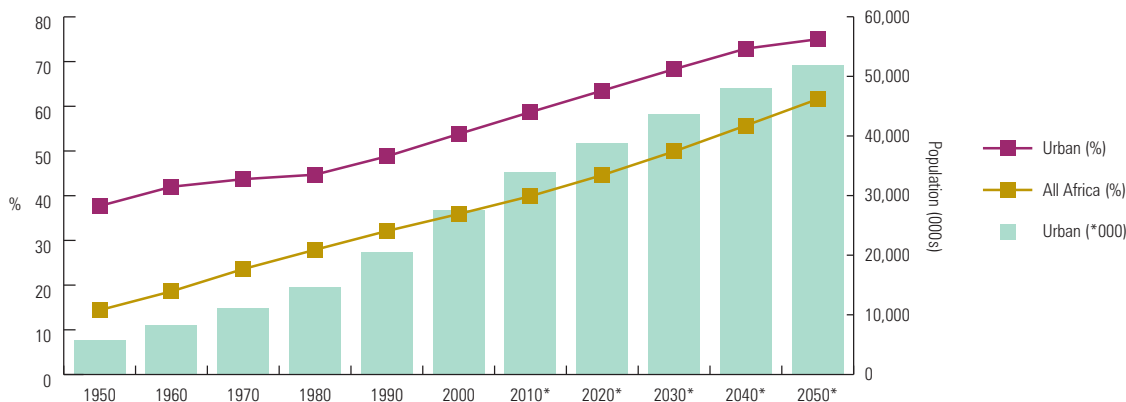
▲ Johannesburg, South Africa. ©Cliff Parnell/iStockphoto

TABLE 6.1: SOUTHERN AFRICAN URBAN POPULATION, 1950-2050 (ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE)

Population	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010*	2020*	2030*	2040*	2050*
Urban (*000)	5,869	8,277	11,118	14,752	20,502	27,657	34,021	38,809	43,741	48,119	51,917
Urban (%)	37.7	42.0	43.7	44.7	48.8	53.8	58.7	63.5	68.3	72.9	75.0
All Africa (%)	14.4	18.6	23.6	27.9	32.1	35.9	39.9	44.6	49.9	55.7	61.6

•Projections
Source: WUP 2009

GRAPH 6.1: SOUTHERN AFRICAN URBAN POPULATION, 1950-2050 (ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE)



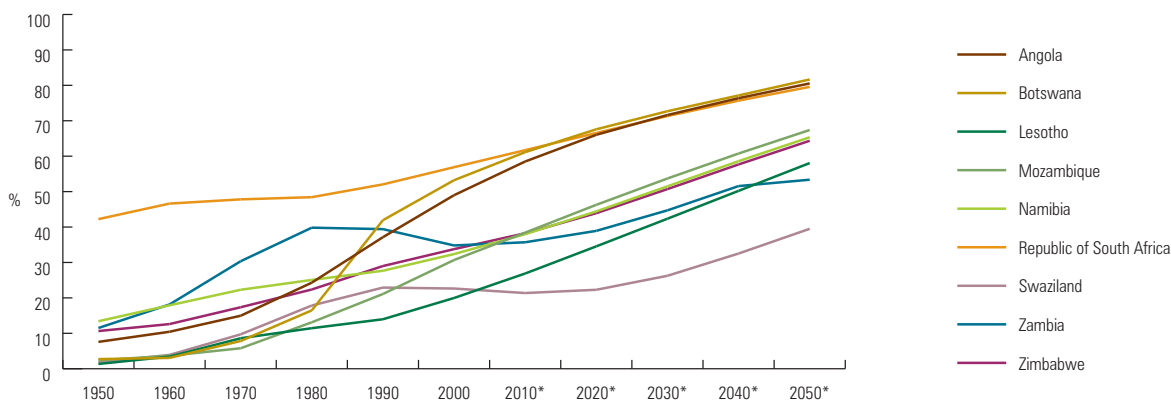
•Projections
Source: WUP 2009

TABLE 6.2: SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS' URBANISATION 1950-2050 (%)

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010*	2020*	2030*	2040*	2050*
Angola	7.58	10.44	14.96	24.30	37.14	48.99	58.50	66.04	71.62	76.37	80.54
Botswana	2.72	3.06	7.83	16.48	41.93	53.22	61.13	67.59	72.69	77.14	81.66
Lesotho	1.35	3.42	8.61	11.45	13.97	19.97	26.88	34.55	42.35	50.21	58.06
Mozambique	2.38	3.67	5.78	13.11	21.10	30.69	38.43	46.27	53.70	60.75	67.39
Namibia	13.41	17.91	22.29	25.07	27.66	32.37	37.98	44.41	51.49	58.59	65.34
Republic of South Africa	42.23	46.62	47.81	48.43	52.04	56.89	61.70	66.56	71.32	75.68	79.57
Swaziland	1.75	3.91	9.71	17.85	22.91	22.64	21.37	22.29	26.24	32.52	39.50
Zambia	11.50	18.15	30.35	39.82	39.41	34.80	35.70	38.92	44.71	51.56	53.36
Zimbabwe	10.64	12.61	17.36	22.37	28.99	33.76	38.25	43.92	50.71	57.67	64.35

•Projections
Source: WUP 2009

GRAPH 6.2: SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS' URBANISATION 1950-2050 (%)



•Projections
Source: WUP 2009



▲ Lusaka, Zambia. ©Cordelia Persen. Licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution - NoDerivs 2.0 Generic Licence

The Future is Young: Patterns in Urban Demography

Southern African cities effectively highlight the enduring socio-political and economic effects of decades-long apartheid and its entrenched inequalities, which subsequent neoliberal economic policies have only exacerbated. However, major urban requirements like employment, infrastructure, services and good governance are made more glaring if one reflects on the structure and composition of the urban populations. Consider *Johannesburg*, *Harare* and *Lusaka*. Those under 20 contribute 57 per cent of the total population in *Lusaka*, 44 per cent in *Harare* and 33 per cent in *Johannesburg* (see Table 6.3 and Graphs 6.3 and 6.4). This young population demands urban services, housing, serious planning for employment, education, infrastructure, and participatory governance.

Although rural-urban migration continues, it is no longer the major source of urban demographic growth in *Lusaka* and *Harare*. The main growth factors are now natural increase and inter-urban migration. This partly explains the bulge in the pyramids with *Harare* a major recipient of domestic (male and female) immigrants aged 14 to 40.

As urban poverty increased due to loss of employment following economic adjustments in the 1990s, parents sent children to rural communal areas where education costs were lower and where government and non-governmental organisations helped with food handouts. Urban health infrastructure also deteriorated in *Harare*, especially in the years just prior to the 2002 census, often forcing relocation of the terminally ill and vulnerable groups to rural areas. The cumulative impact of these phenomena partly explains the proportionately lower presence of children of school age (6-

TABLE 6.3: AGE STRUCTURES OF SELECTED CITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Age Group	Johannesburg ^a (%) ⁵	Harare ^b (%) ⁶	Lusaka ^c (%) ⁷
0 - 4	10	13.7	18.5
5 - 19	23	31.2	38.1
20 - 25	10	14.7	10.0
25 - 65	53	38.5	32.8
≥ 65	5	2.0	0.9

(a) For Johannesburg: projected 2010 population: 3.8 million⁸ with a sex ratio of 102 men for every 100 women

(b) Harare: projected 2010 population: two million with a sex ratio of 99.9 men for every 100 women.

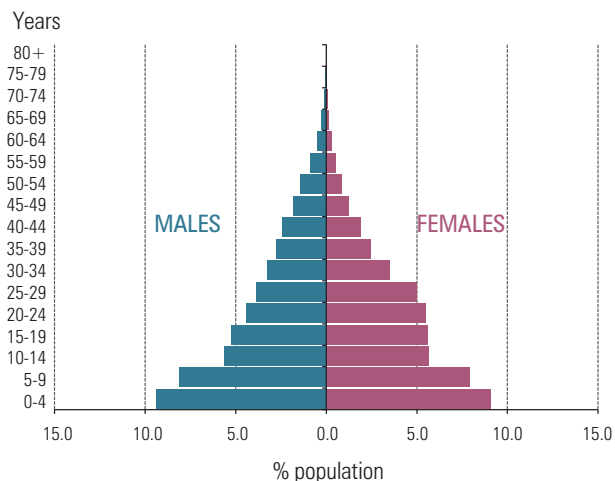
(c) Lusaka: projected 2010 population: 1.3 million with a sex ratio of about 100.4 men to every 100 women.

19 years) in *Harare*. After the year 2000, the economically active (especially women) were moving to urban areas in the wake of agricultural decline. Research revealed that more females than males departed Zimbabwe's rural resettlement areas with *Harare* and other urban areas as the destinations⁹.

A significant proportion of the region's urban children and youths are orphans, or street children, or live in vulnerable conditions. Whereas governments have made efforts to invest in education, for which they should be commended, the rate of employment creation does not match demand. Education does not create sufficient job-generating entrepreneurs, and standards are unequal across social groups.

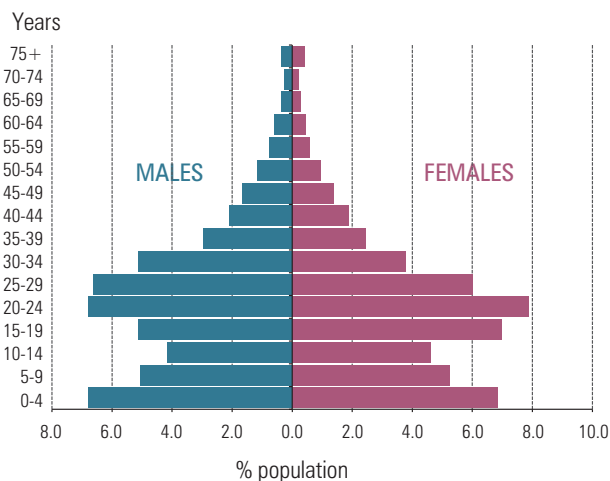
Based on figures for formal employment, unemployment rates range from 22 per cent in *Tshwane*, 23 per cent in *Cape Town*, 26.3 per cent in *Johannesburg*, 30 per cent in *eThekwinini* to as high as 80 per cent in *Harare*¹⁰. In the

GRAPH 6.3: LUSAKA POPULATION - AGE-SEX STRUCTURE, YEAR 2000



Source: Data from Lusaka Integrated Development Plan, June 2000

GRAPH 6.4: HARARE POPULATION - AGE-SEX STRUCTURE



Source: Data from National Census 2002

Republic of South Africa, despite huge expenditures on education since 1994, *The Economist* reported 80 per cent of the schools as dysfunctional, with only 39 per cent of the black children passing matrix maths exams in 2008 (despite a low pass threshold of 30 percent) compared with 98 per cent of the whites. Moreover, 28 per cent of whites achieved a score of at least 80 per cent, compared with just 2 per cent among blacks.¹¹

Multiple deprivations can be found in low-income urban areas, especially in informal settlements. Some of these discrepancies have to do with history, including resource allocations and adopted cultures. However, the future lies clearly in how well countries improve the conditions and opportunities for the urban majority who happen to be children, youth and young people.

The Links between Poverty, Inequality and Slums

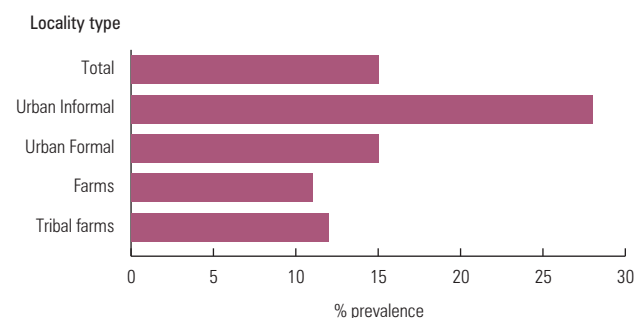
A legacy of uneven urban development on the basis of race or class continues to prevail in urban Southern Africa. In many instances, the racial dimension (black *vs.* white) is, perhaps, becoming less visible as socio-economic class is gaining prominence, although the various socio-economic strata retain clear ethnic-based associations. On the one hand, one can find the ‘world city’-inspired and aspirant cultures with market-driven investments, as physically expressed in urban ‘glamour’ zones, gilded entertainment sites in middle- and upper-class suburbs and for tourists, gated shopping malls and residential communities¹². On the other hand, overcrowded, resources- and services-deprived townships and informal settlements proliferate and are hosts to a majority of the population, including black Africans from rural areas and migrants from other Southern African countries and beyond. Although rural-urban migration remains significant, nowadays it does not exceed 8 per cent as a proportion of the

total population. Migration to cities has many dimensions, such as circular migration to and from rural areas and countries in the subregion and stepwise migration whereby migrants settle in lower-order cities before moving on to larger ones. Stepwise migration means that smaller urban settlements experience higher rates of immigration relative to large conurbations.¹³

Deprived urban communities are largely neglected or overlooked by formal governance systems, or viewed as pathological. As was the case in the colonial and apartheid eras, development plans continue to target squatter settlements for demolition, with residents relocated to urban ghettos on the city periphery, far away from jobs, social networks and services. In *Durban*, *Cape Town* and *Johannesburg*, recurring social catastrophes (especially fires and floods devastating entire communities) are viewed by officials as ‘natural disasters’ or faults caused by their low-income victims¹⁴. Yet, they are clearly a product of asymmetric public policy choices that favour the wealthy at the expense of the poor.

The poor are most exposed and vulnerable to disasters and disease. Graph 6.5 highlights the prevalence of HIV/AIDS

GRAPH 6.5: HIV PREVALENCE, 15-49 AGE GROUP, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, 2002



Source: Data from SACN (2004).



▲ Street children in the CBD, Harare, Zimbabwe. ©Annie Mpalume/IRIN

among the more vulnerable age groups (15-49 years) in the Republic of South Africa. HIV/AIDS prevalence is highly correlated to poverty as well as to overcrowded, poorly serviced urban slums and informal settlements. These are areas with substantial inward and outward migration flows and multiple deprivations, a combination of factors conducive to the spread of diseases such as cholera, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis.

Horrific fires in Alexandra, *Johannesburg*, are a product of informal settlement layout, overcrowding, highly combustible building materials and inadequate strategies for fire prevention compared with upper-class areas like neighbouring Sandton.¹⁵ As argued and illustrated by fledging grassroots squatter settlement activism in *Durban*, the most effective prevention of such fires would be provision of affordable electric power to replace the fire hazard of paraffin lamps and candles.¹⁶

The Geography of Disease and Urban Water and Sanitation Infrastructure

The improvement of water and sanitation is at the core of the United Nations Millennium Development Goal to reduce urban slum incidence. Consequently, water and sanitation conditions act as major indicators of urban inequalities. In *Harare* and other cities in Zimbabwe, for instance, the geography of a major cholera outbreak in 2008-2009 shows that a majority of both cholera cases and fatal impacts were concentrated in deprived high-density suburbs. Although the whole of metropolitan *Harare* went without water for many

months, cholera patterns followed income, plot density, and infrastructure patterns. In the wealthy suburbs, the impact was marginal as these households could afford to drill boreholes and access solar power, while the poor had to make do with contaminated surface water or shallow wells. Whereas the city's waterborne sewage system collapsed due to lack of water, the wealthier residents could flush toilets with borehole water. In contrast, the poor had access only to low quality water and sanitation alternatives, particularly the so-called Blair Toilets (ventilated improved pit latrines). Given the small plot sizes and overcrowding in these areas, prolonged use of pit latrines contaminated the shallow wells. Map 6.2 depicts the cholera patterns for the peak period October 2008 to May 2009 in *Harare*. Other than for Hatcliffe to the north, Mabvuku and Epworth to the east, Harare's low-income and high-density neighbourhoods are located to the west of a diagonal southeast to northwest line. The map is evidence of the extent to which reductions or collapse of public outlays on infrastructure (water, sewerage, electricity, health) had different welfare effects across the richer or poorer segments of the Harare population.

These gross geographic inequalities have been compounded by the collapse in urban livelihood opportunities, and it may not come as a surprise that the affected poor have developed a historical consciousness that exposes continuities between present day conditions and those prevailing under colonial rule and apartheid. If these obstacles remain unaddressed, the

main culprit is none other than denial among intransigent ruling elites, neoliberals, development agencies and policymakers. While neoliberal thinkers point to corrupt local officials, opportunism and implementation problems as the major obstacles, the urban crisis in Southern Africa is rooted in cost recovery-driven and commodified cities that deliver residential and services patterns the poor majorities cannot afford.

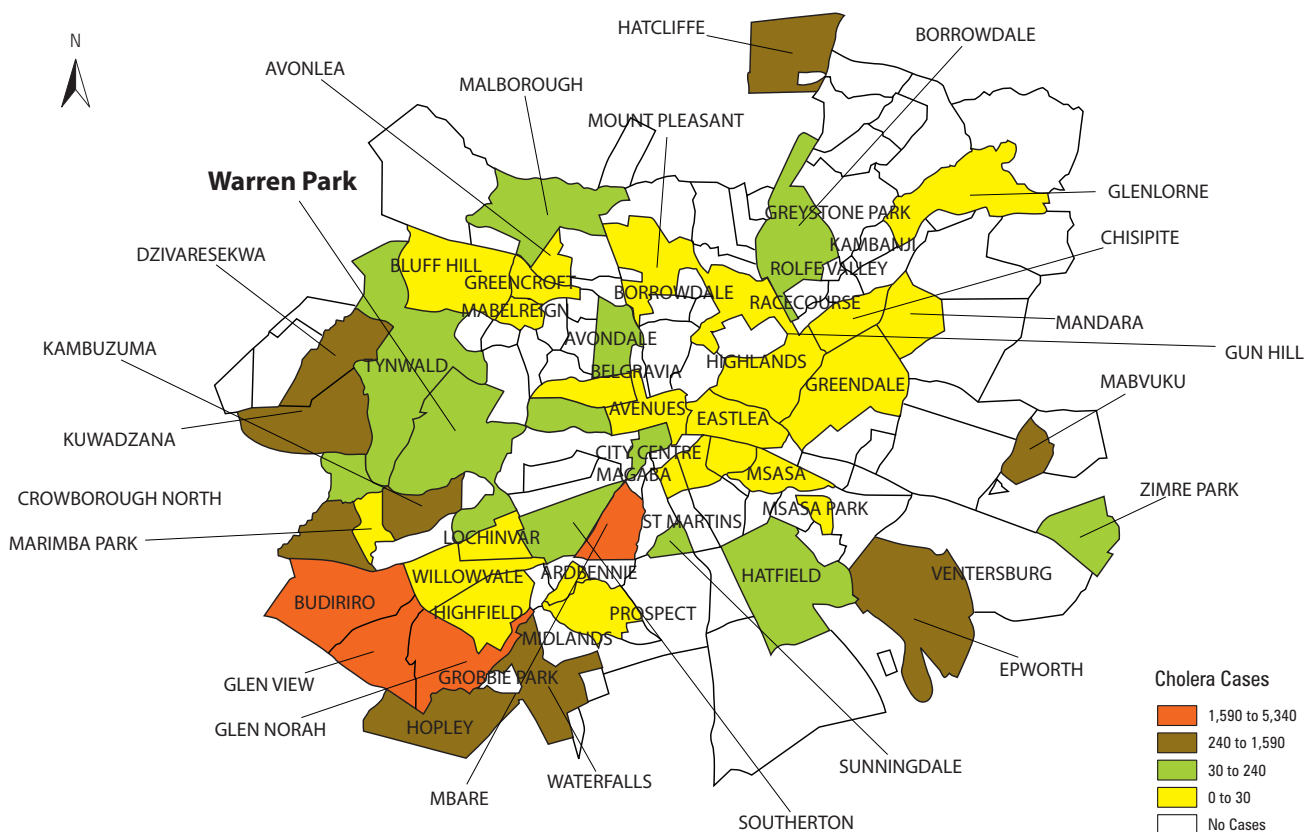
Misplaced priorities and inadequate funding for public infrastructure in neoliberal-oriented national budgets further expose the poor to worldwide economic downturns.¹⁷ Misplaced policy priorities are illustrated in the Republic of South Africa where, in 2002, the government was purchasing sophisticated weaponry worth US \$5 billion on top of further millions to recapitalise the World Bank's subsidiary the International Development Association, while millions of poor urban residents saw their water and electricity disconnected or were evicted from their land and homes for their inability to make payments. As many as 20,000 households per month were disconnected from water and power distribution networks.¹⁸ The legacy of such priority decisions is still felt by the affected communities and has contributed to the rise of protests against once popular leaders.

To address the legacy of unequal, poorly resourced and inefficient urban service delivery, the past decade witnessed

the adoption of full cost-recovery of basic services such as water, electricity, waste removal and health care. Water, for instance, is considered a commercial or economic good rather than a critical social or welfare item. Delivery of services has shifted from the public authorities to private firms and 'arms-length companies' like the Johannesburg Water Pvt. Ltd. Furthermore, in the name of decentralisation and good governance, central governments have off-loaded complex delivery challenges to poorly-resourced local authorities, many of which retained anti-poor bureaucrats.

For water services in *Durban*, *Cape Town* and *Johannesburg* (from 2002 to 2004), privatisation and cost recovery entailed installation of prepaid, self-disconnecting water meters in Soweto and other poor community suburbs. The poor get a Free Basic Water (FBW) allocation of 6,000 litres/month per standpipe. This commendable free water provision, however, on the average lasts only twelve days because the number of people served by the standpipe is at times double that of the allocation calculation. Water allocation per standpipe instead of per person is biased towards wealthier households with fewer children. Once the free-of-charge amount expires, the supply disconnects automatically. Poor households frequently go without clean water and their dignity, health and security become severely compromised. Not surprisingly, the frustration arising from such conditions has contributed

MAP 6.2: THE GEOGRAPHY OF CHOLERA IN HARARE, 2008-2009



Source: Produced from WHO data, Harare, October 2009.

to community protests – 6,000 annually from 2004 to 2005 and up to 10,000 per year from 2005 to 2007¹⁹ (see Box 6.1).

Bond & Dugard argue that prepaid water as part of cost-recovery measures costs lives, operates at the expense of basic needs, and violates constitutionally guaranteed rights. While poor areas are installed with automatically disconnecting meters, conventional meters prevail in the rest of the city. Rich households can purchase and use water on credit and accumulate arrears, get notices before water is disconnected and take corrective measures, whereas the poor cannot. High-income households have access to highly inequitable, unlimited amounts of water for their gardens, car washing, swimming pools and baths. The ideology of water commodification is starkly at odds with the emerging ideology of conservation, like it has always been at odds with the values associated with human rights and social justice.

With the above examples, the irrelevance of ideology to today's development challenges becomes clear. As in many other countries, an ideology of public service and social responsibility has been bullied out the door by one that appeals more to economic security of the individual through personal accumulation of wealth and isolation from others. In this perspective, commodification of public services is little else than an ideological strategy to steal from the middle class and keep the poor in their place. The rationale behind prepaid metres in poor urban neighbourhoods of Namibia and the Republic of South Africa came partly in response to a culture and history of non-payment associated with the fight against apartheid that was now leading to bankruptcy among local authorities. Nevertheless, it should be realised that the resulting inequalities and resentment foster xenophobia, violence and racism that undermine the long-term investment and social harmony the subregion badly needs.



▲ Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa. ©Don Bayley/iStockphoto

BOX 6.1: WATER COST RECOVERY: SELF-DISCONNECTING PRE-PAID WATER SUPPLY IN URBAN SOUTH AFRICA



▲ A march in Johannesburg, South Africa, to protest against pre-paid water meters, corruption, harassment and evictions. ©Indymedia South Africa

Since 2006, civic groups, progressive lawyers and residents from Phiri, an area of Soweto just outside Johannesburg, jointly brought an action before the High Court to challenge the constitutionality of the prepaid water meters and the adequacy of the Free Basic Water (FBW) allocation. They demanded the same rights as rich households and a free allocation of 50 litres per person per day as stipulated in the 1994 ANC Reconstruction and Development Programme. The now famous *Mazibuko* case has significance beyond the Republic of South Africa in a number of respects. First, in a groundbreaking judgement in 2008, the High Court ruled the pre-payment system unlawful and unconstitutional and said the free allocation must be raised to 50 litres per person per day. When the respondents appealed to the Supreme Court, this ruling was reaffirmed, but the free allocation was reduced to 42 litres per person per day, still way above the current 25 litres. The ruling did not oblige the local authority to actually supply this amount of water even though it had the resources to do so. It also failed to tackle the systemic problem of automatic disconnection and further failed to provide residents with the

choice of conventional water meters as provided in Johannesburg's richer suburbs.

Second, although the case shows the power of organisation and the importance of addressing the issue at multiple fronts — streets protests, negotiations and courts — it highlights that, without free legal service, access to justice remains remote, complex and drawn out for the majority of the poor. The High Court application comprised 6,000 pages of record, filled some 20 arch lever files and captured technical inputs from global water experts on the amount of water that meets basic rights.

Thirdly, whereas poorly-resourced local authorities and officials are blamed for failing to deliver services, the case highlights that the strategies for urban service delivery need resolution at the national level. Although it can only be implemented at the local level, the provision of water and other urban services ultimately remains the responsibility of national governments by ensuring adequate funding and policy strategies that promote efficiency while upholding the rights of all, including the poorest.

A fundamental fourth point is that, while overt

racial discrimination in Southern African economies disappeared on the advent of majority rule, '... attempts to implement neoliberal development policies in many ways result in reinforcing and reproducing the after-effects of the legacy of racial discrimination'.

Fifthly, trends of cost recovery and commodification of basic services simply have to be reined in. Practitioners should think more comprehensively about rights-based approaches to urban management and essential basic service delivery. Yet, this is still contested terrain and only politics will be able to dismantle the 'services apartheid' prevailing in Southern Africa.

The hopes raised for an emerging rights-based urban management and service delivery in Southern Africa were crushed when the case eventually went before the Constitutional Court in 2009. In a unanimous decision, the Court ruled that Johannesburg City had not violated any constitutional rights of the Phiri residents and that the prepaid meters were an acceptable water management instrument.

Sources: *Mazibuko and Others v. the City of Johannesburg and Others* (Case number 06/13865 in the Johannesburg High Court) and Supreme Court of Appeal Case No. 489/2008; Bond, P. & Dugard, J. *The case of Johannesburg water; What really happened at the pre-paid Parish –pump, in Law Democracy and Development, 2008, 1-28, <http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/>*

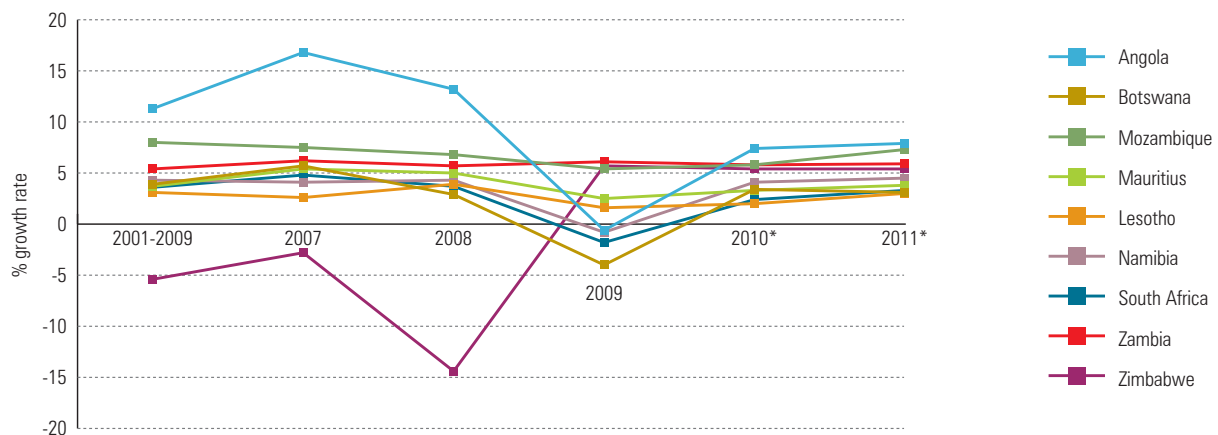
6.2

The Economic Geography of Cities



▲ Durban Market, South Africa. ©Cliff Parnell/iStockphoto

GRAPH 6.6: REAL ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 2006-2011



Source: Data from Africa Economic Outlook, Africa Development Bank and Economist Intelligence Unit. (Figures for 2010 and 2011 are estimates)

TABLE 6.4: URBAN WATER CONSUMPTION PER HEAD IN SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN CITIES

	Typical High-Income Areas	Typical Deprived Low-Income Areas
Cape Town	60m ³ /household/month	6m ³ /household/month
eThekweni	60m ³ /household/month	6m ³ /household/month
Harare	250 litres/person /day	80 litres/person/day
Johannesburg	60m ³ /household/month	6m ³ /household/month
Maputo	16m ³ /household/month	5m ³ /household/month
Tshwane	60m ³ /household/month	6m ³ /household/month

Sources: Compiled from multiple municipal and other sources

The Impact of the Global Economic Recession on Southern Africa

Over the past decade, Southern Africa experienced positive real economic growth averaging 4.8 per cent (or 5.3 per cent if Zimbabwe is excluded), but in 2009 this was slashed to a paltry 1.4 per cent (excluding Zimbabwe) due to the worldwide recession²⁰ (see Graph 6.6). With a mix of economies dependent on commodity exports (diamonds, chrome, platinum and heavy metals) and global trade of goods and services, Southern Africa was hit harder by the recession than the other regions on the continent. Export commodity prices declined heavily between 2008 and 2009, while 2010 has not seen much improvement²¹ and the region's recovery will be slow especially when compared to that of East Africa.

The effects of the recession in terms of job losses and infrastructure decay were only mitigated by government action, particularly those associated with large-scale sporting events. Since the locations were agreed years before these events took place, rather on a spur of a moment, this was a timely coincidence for Africa. As will be elaborated later in

this report, in 2010 Southern Africa hosted the Africa Cup of Nations Games in *Luanda*, Angola, followed by the football/soccer World Cup Games in the Republic of South Africa, and the All Africa Games in *Maputo*, Mozambique. These public sector-driven initiatives stimulated private sector capital outlays in new infrastructure and business. They also in effect paved the way for a speedy economic recovery in the subregion. Beyond the host countries, tourism received a significant boost from these events, especially in Botswana, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Another factor that dampened the impact of the recession was a favourable amount of rainfall, which lowered prices of agricultural produce in urban areas. The urban poor purchase unprocessed fresh agricultural products from rural hinterlands and also grow food in urban and peri-urban spaces to supplement the little they can afford in stores. In cities like *eThekweni*, *Gaborone*, *Harare*, *Lusaka*, *Maputo* and *Maseru*, urban agriculture has developed significantly in the last decade. However, arable peri-urban land has increasingly come under threat from urban expansion while authorities remain ambivalent and/or hostile to urban agriculture. Against this background, the *2003 Harare Declaration on Urban Agriculture*²², in which African ministers committed to promote this type of activity, is a commendable initiative that will hopefully encourage further expansion, especially in efficient, intensive food production in peri-urban areas, and preserve some prime agricultural lands from built development.

Income and Consumption Inequality

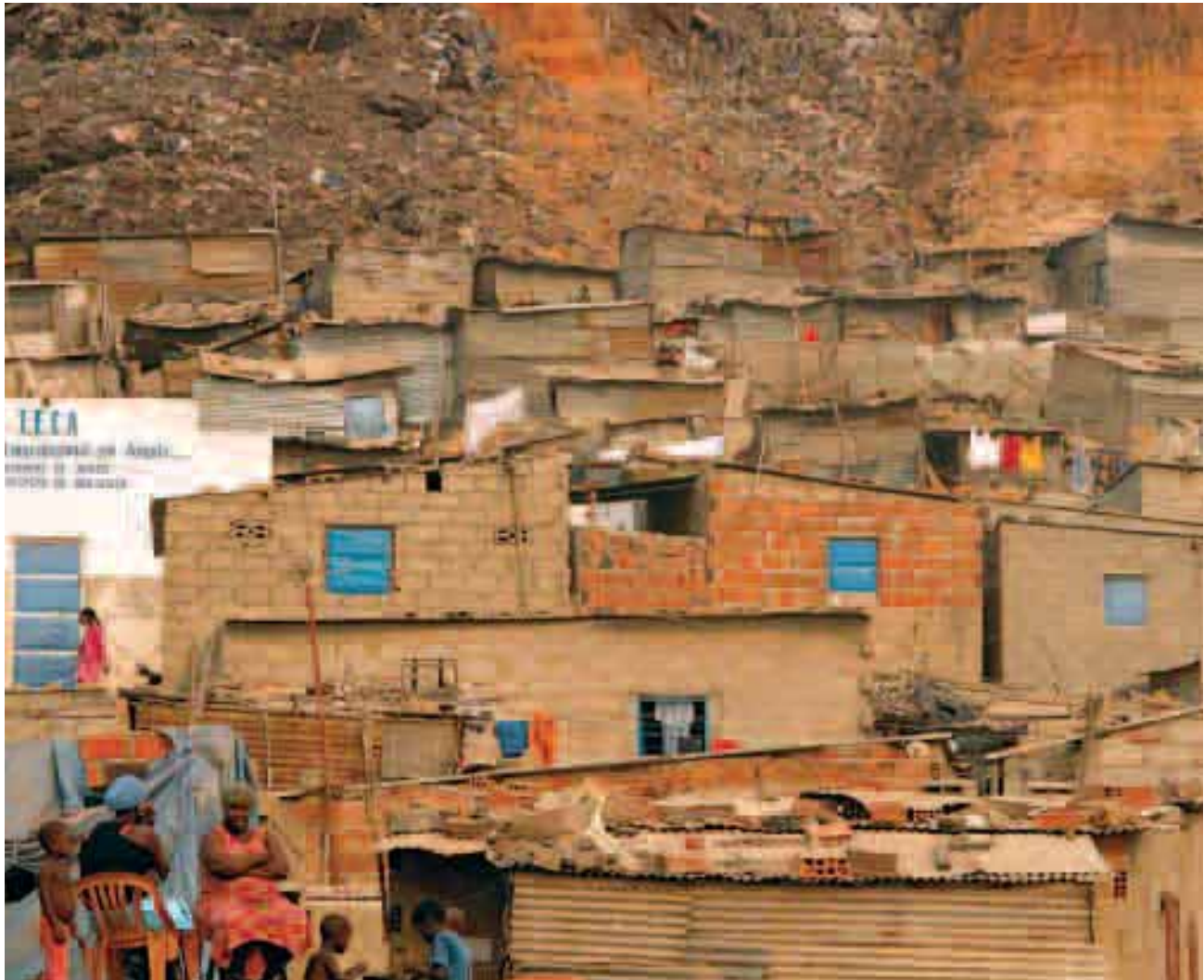
Southern Africa suffers from extreme poverty and inequality that run along class and racial lines, and stands out as the 'most unequal' subregion on the continent. In the Republic of South Africa, for instance, the proportion of those living in poverty is dramatically on the rise. Between 1992 and 2001, poverty among black South Africans rose from 50 to 60 per

TABLE 6.5: URBAN INEQUALITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA – TRENDS IN GINI COEFFICIENTS

City	Country	Gini Coefficient Year One		Gini Coefficient Year Two		% Change
		Year	Coef.	Year	Coef.	
Lusaka	Zambia	2003	0.61	2006	0.66	8
Cape Town	Republic of South Africa	2001	0.69	2005	0.67	-3
eThekweni	Republic of South Africa	2001	0.75	2005	0.72	-4
Tshwane	Republic of South Africa	2001	0.75	2005	0.72	-4
Johannesburg	Republic of South Africa	2001	0.78	2005	0.75	-4
Windhoek*	Namibia	1993	0.63	2003	0.58	-8
Maputo*	Mozambique	1996	0.44	2003	0.52	18
Gaborone	Botswana	1993	0.54	2003	0.50	-7

Source: Global Urban Observatory, UN-HABITAT 2009

* All Gini coefficients are income-based, except for Maputo and Windhoek (based on consumption).



▲ Boa Vista informal settlement in Luanda, Angola. ©Jaspreet Kindra/IRIN

cent compared with 26 to 29 per cent for the 'Coloured' group, 8 to 11 per cent for the Asian group and from 3 to 4 per cent for Whites. The 1993 breadline or basic income for subsistence was defined as SAR755/month (US \$251) and SAR1,270/month (US \$129) in 2001 to account for inflation. (In 1993 the average exchange rate was US \$1 = three South African Rand (SAR) and in 2001 US \$1 = SAR9.8.)

Consumption of urban services is highly correlated with the segregated nature of cities, with higher-income areas consuming disproportionately more than the poorer neighbourhoods. Implicitly, this also shows the different relations groups maintain with the environment. Table 6.4 shows water consumption per head in selected cities and intra-urban consumption differences by income group. Very poor households in urban South Africa consume 6 m³ of water per month compared to 60 m³ for high income households. Considering that low-income households can comprise 10 to 15 people compared with as few as three in high-income ones, the disparities are glaring. Consumption

volumes are also dependent on the quality of infrastructure, as illustrated by the case of *Maputo*. For high-income areas with indoor water connections, consumption ranges between 100 and 130 litres per person per day, or about double the 73-80 litres consumed in areas with yard connections where access to water is shared with neighbours. At the lower end of the poor communities, water is collected from public standpipes outside the yard. For these groups, collecting water is a daily chore and water consumption is as low as 30 litres per person per day.²³ This compromises health and quality of life while compounding the effects of diseases like HIV/AIDS which require regular flushing of toilets and cleaning of patients, utensils and living areas.

The distribution of water in terms of gender, racial and socio-economic groups is more unequal than the distribution of income. In the Republic of South Africa, more than 50 per cent of raw water goes to commercial (largely White-owned) farms, of which half goes wasted in poor irrigation techniques and inappropriate crop choices. Another 25 per cent goes to



▲ Windhoek, Namibia. ©Attila Jándi/Shutterstock

mining and 12 per cent is consumed by households, with half of that going to White households' gardens and swimming pools. All in all, less than 10 per cent of available water is consumed by the majority, i.e., of Black households.²⁴ Inequalities are replicated in other areas of basic needs such as electricity. In *Luanda*, a mere 25 per cent of the city's five million people with access to electricity supply accounts for 75 per cent of national electricity consumption.²⁵

Income and consumption inequalities are probably best captured by the urban Gini coefficients displayed in Table 6.5. Other than *Windhoek* and *Maputo*, where the indicator is based on consumption, the coefficient is based on income data (see Chapter 1 for a description of the Gini coefficient). The major message is the steep inequality prevailing in cities, and generally much more so than in rural areas. To the exception of *Maputo's* 'relatively low' coefficient in 1996, all the other ratios range between 'high' and 'extremely high' on the Gini scale. The coefficients in *Lusaka* (0.61 in 2003 and 0.66 in 2006) are much higher than those for rural areas (0.42 and 0.54,

respectively).²⁶ Meanwhile, income inequalities are growing in both rural and urban areas. However, inaccuracies may arise when comparing consumption- and income-based Gini coefficients (UN-HABITAT 2010: 60-62). No figures are available for *Luanda* (let alone *Angola*), one of the major cities in the region. As far as Namibia is concerned, both the United Nations and the US Central Intelligence Agency estimate the nationwide Gini coefficient above 7.00 (or more than 'extremely high'), but *Windhoek* is well below that, indicating that the country's rural areas are more unequal than cities.

A second major feature is the general rise in urban inequalities in Southern Africa. The only exception is the Republic of South Africa, where marginal declines were observed between 2001 and 2005 thanks to the redistributive policies of the first decade of majority rule, but only future can tell whether these declines can be sustained. On the other hand, in *Maputo* inequalities have turned from 'relatively low' to 'high' in recent years, clearly suggesting that since the late 1990s the benefits of Mozambique's economic growth have not been well shared.

6.3

The Geography of Urban Land Markets

Land dispossession of indigenous Africans was at the core of settler colonialism and apartheid, and has shaped the political economy and identities of the region ever since. This includes violent struggles for independence and majority rule, and the subsequent widespread culture of impunity that prevails as far down as the household level. However, the transfer of political power from colonial and apartheid authorities to indigenous elites since the 1970s has not led to fundamental restructuring of the land legacy. What is prevailing instead is continuity and re-entrenchment of colonial land laws, policies, administrative procedures and infrastructures. The 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach adopted to redistribute land in Namibia, the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe has been slow to meet the needs of marginalised poor households. Even in Zimbabwe, where fast-track land reforms have been deployed since the year 2000, colonial administrative structures remained intact generally, and in urban areas in particular.

Political change and land policies in Southern Africa have been adaptive and co-optive rather than radical, only giving African elites more power to access or consolidate control over local and national economies.²⁷ One of the ideals sustaining the struggle for independence, i.e., turning land into a resource to be liberated to the equitable benefit of all, remains unrealised. Consequently, land continues to be a central bone of contention in politics, identity, culture and the economies of the region. Land markets in today's Southern Africa are defined by the following features:

- Inequitable access and distribution, with the majority of the population marginalised in both rural and urban areas.
- Duality in legal, administrative and economic systems and tenures – one set for rural and another for urban; one set for indigenous African spaces and another for the former European spaces now appropriated by local elites, tourism, expatriates and the descendents of settler colonials.
- Highly bureaucratic and slow land delivery systems for urban development, encouraging unproductive land hoarding, speculation and banking, with maximum rewards to the propertied class.
- An 'export enclave' economy controlled by new elites and their global alliances, as opposed to a subsistence, peripheral, rural and urban informal economy where the majority hardly eke out a living.

- Untrammelled reconduction of colonial policy orientations, administrative infrastructures and the inherent violation of the majority's rights.
- Landlessness, uncontrolled urban development, squatter settlements, urban squalor and overcrowding, environmental pollution, degradation and unhealthy low-income areas in cities.

The colonial and apartheid era in Southern Africa instrumentalised land laws to dispossess indigenous African economies and control their livelihoods while supporting the European and global economies. Not much has changed since in Namibia, the Republic of South Africa or Zimbabwe, much-heralded fast-track land reforms notwithstanding. Consequently, short of radical change to the fundamentals, applying new policies and techniques can amount to little more than exercises in futility.

The Forms of Urban Land Tenure

Land tenure refers to the terms and conditions under which rights to land resources (including water, timber, soil, etc.) are acquired, retained, used, transmitted, shared, inherited or disposed of. In line with inherited colonial practice, existing policies and laws have promoted freehold tenure in urban areas. However, in *Maseru*, Lesotho, and *Gaborone*, Botswana, customary land tenure is significant in both urban and peri-urban areas. Elsewhere in Southern Africa, urban freehold tenure sits side by side with leasehold tenure, especially in *Lusaka* and *Maputo*, where land nationalisation has been reversed only recently. In these cities, governments retain ownership of land while investors and households can acquire 50 to 99-year leaseholds. Thus, urban land in Southern Africa falls into several categories: private freehold, customary or communal land (leasehold where traditional authorities are effectively in charge of allocation and dispute resolution) and public land owned by government and leased to individuals for private use over a specified period of time.

Under customary tenure, ownership is communal rather than individual. Individuals do not pay for the land allocated to them, or then only a token fee, but they retain right of use for as long as they effectively occupy the land. This leaves them holders not owners. Upon vacating the land, they can claim compensation only for any developments on the land, not for the land itself. These aspects of customary tenure are

dominant in rural areas and are similar to leasehold tenure in urban areas. In *Gaborone* and *Maseru*, significant areas that were originally rural customary lands are now part of the municipal area and remain under the administration of tribal land boards rather than the municipality. Conversion of these peri-urban customary agricultural lands to urban use, while often essential, does not provide sufficient incentives for customary land holders to release the land.²⁸ When this land is eventually released, compensation is generally an inadequate of true market value.

Land Boards are a culturally specific feature of communities that were not fully incorporated into the direct control and management of colonial systems. Their brand of decentralised governance is unique to such areas. However, with rapid economic growth and urbanisation, traditional systems have come under pressure. Inadequate funding and lack of personnel has dented their ability to provide effective administration. In the 1990s, The Government of Botswana introduced market value, enabling customary land to be transferred at market prices and without the need for approval from the land boards. However, without guaranteed access to alternative livelihoods, land holders are unwilling to sell their plots even at the market price. This suggests that land reforms without significant alternative sources of income for land holders will not alter their perception of, or relations to, land.

Land Institutions and Administration

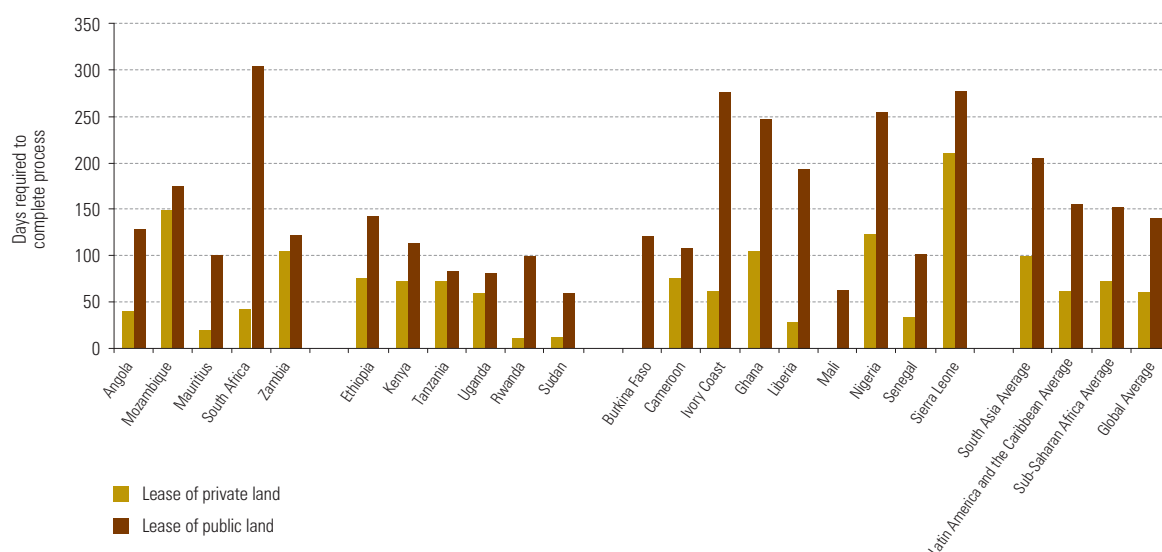
It is important to explain the difference between urban land *administration* and urban land *management*. Land administration is the process of determining and registering land ownership, value and use, and sets out the procedures and registration rules of land right transfers. Land registration, although time-consuming and often costly, is a necessary condition for the proper operation of formal land markets, because these are mainly about transactions and the associated documentation. Land management, in contrast, refers to the processes of directing use and development of land resources. This will often entail setting restrictions and/or standards of land development, which both influence land values. Land administration and management are complementary and determine the efficiency of formal and informal land markets. Outside the customary systems unique to *Maseru* and *Gaborone*, Southern Africa has established consolidated institutions for land management and administration.

However, formal land processes are bureaucratic, hardly accessible and expensive. Recent research²⁹ views Southern Africa as a subregion with high availability of land information. On an index with 100 as the maximum score for information *availability*, Southern Africa scored 75.5 compared with a worldwide average of 70.6. However,



▲ The outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique. ©AmigoDia. Licenced under the GNU Free Documentation Licence.

GRAPH 6.7: TIME REQUIRED TO PROCESS A LEASE FOR ACCESS TO URBAN INDUSTRIAL LAND - VARIOUS REGIONS/COUNTRIES, (DAYS)



Source: Data from IAB 2010, World Bank, Washington

TABLE 6.6: AVAILABILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF LAND INFORMATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (BASED ON MAIN CITIES) (100 = FULLY AVAILABLE OR FULLY ACCESSIBLE)

	Country	Availability of Land Information Index	Accessibility of Land Information Index
Southern Africa	Angola	60.0	36.8
	Mozambique	62.5	33.3
	South Africa	85.0	47.4
	Zambia	75.0	37.5
	Regional Average	75.5	37.26
Eastern Africa	Ethiopia	2.5	0.0
	Kenya	85.0	22.2
	Tanzania	62.5	36.8
	Uganda	77.5	25.0
	Rwanda	50.0	38.5
	Sudan	30.0	30.8
	Regional Average	51.25 (or 61.0 without Ethiopia)	26.88 (32.26)
Western Africa	Burkina Faso	50.0	31.6
	Cameroon	55.0	52.6
	Ivory Coast	75.0	47.4
	Ghana	85.0	30.0
	Liberia	15.0	28.6
	Mali	5.0	28.6
	Nigeria	67.5	50.0
	Senegal	75.0	50.0
	Sierra Leone	30.0	26.3
	Regional Average	50.8	38.3
	Sub-Sahara Average	58.5	41.3
	Global Average	70.6	33.9

Source: Compiled and calculated from Investing Across Borders 2010: 82-168, World Bank, Washington DC

accessing land information, is difficult in Southern Africa, although the regional index (37.26) is an improvement over the continental average (33.9), while ranking below the world average (41.3) and West Africa (where the accessibility index stands at 38.3, but a lower information availability index (50.8) than Southern Africa.

In general, access to land information worldwide is difficult even in regions where such information is available, like Southern Africa (see Table 6.6). Access to this information can be improved with geographic information systems (GIS), sharing data across government departments and posting basic land information on government websites.

Availability of and access to land information is critical for urban development, particularly for investment, as well as for residential developments by the poor. At a time of global recession, attracting both foreign and local investment is important. For Southern Africa, while foreign investment can be of non-regional origin, in some cities such as *Gaborone, Lusaka, Maputo* and *Maseru*, regional investors, and particularly from the Republic of South Africa, play an increasingly significant role. In Mozambique, a significant number of South African investors are active in real estate, tourism, infrastructure, peri-urban horticulture and mining. Ease of access to land is a critical factor that affects the location, sectors, as well as breadth and depth of investment. In other words, reducing the barriers to land access is important for economic growth, employment creation and poverty alleviation. These barriers and burdens include the following:

- Lack of land information, leading to costly and time-consuming research in distinct agencies;
- Unhelpful land regulations and procedures for land purchase and leasing;
- Weak land laws, land rights and security of tenure (whether freehold or leasehold); and
- Non-existent or weak land arbitration systems.

Rules regarding land access to foreign investors and the time to process land leases vary across the region. For instance, Angola and the Republic of South Africa allow purchase of public and private land for foreign direct investment purposes, while Mozambique does not allow any type of land purchase. In Zambia foreign investors can purchase private though not public land.

According to *Investments Across Borders 2010*, where land is leased the process can take as little as 19 days for private land in Mauritius, but as much as 10 months for public land in the Republic of South Africa.³⁰

Land- and Property-Based Local Authority Revenues

The question of improved municipal finance features high in the *Habitat Agenda* as a major issue for public services delivery. In Southern Africa, the problem of municipal government finance has often been perceived as the gap

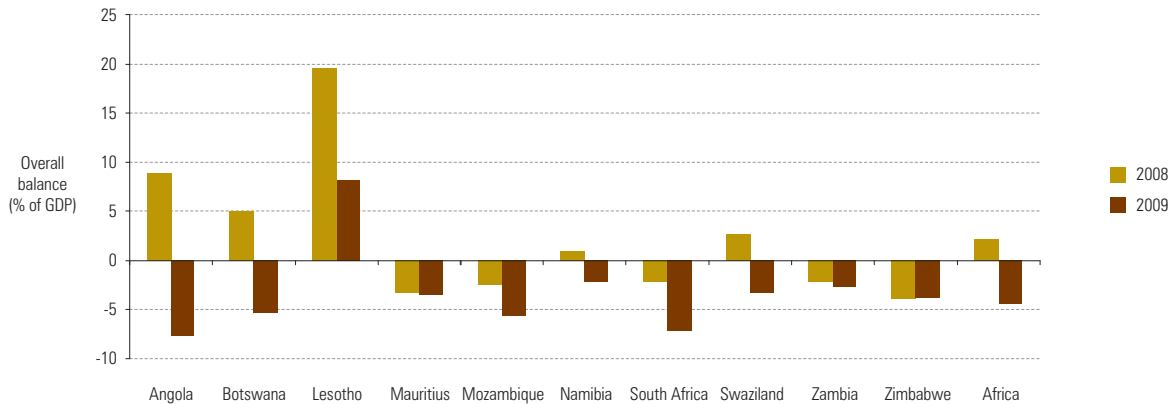
between financial resources or revenues on the one hand, and expenditure needs on the other.³¹ This fiscal gap arises from lack of elasticity of municipal income; in other words, revenues do not grow in tandem with urban populations and economic needs.

With the current global economic slowdown, the importance local government finance has become more evident. Most analyses of the recession have focused on regional and global economies, but it is at the level of local basic services (waste removal, water and sanitation, street lighting, road upgrading, electricity, ambulance services, etc.) that people experience the effects of the global slowdown.³² In Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, municipalities make bulk purchases of water and electricity from public utilities for distribution to households, whereas in Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe some of these services are provided directly to consumers by the relevant public authorities. Some large municipalities also run their own police service independently from national forces. As in many regions of the world, most local authorities derive the bulk of their income from central government transfers or grants. However, with the global recession, between 2008 and 2009 (and possibly into 2011) central governments have accumulated huge budget deficits (see Graph 6.8), which may result in reduced disbursements to local authorities as a result.

Consequently, local authorities are left to their own devices when it comes to finance. They should see this as an opportunity to develop innovative ways of expanding their own revenue sources. They should opt not just short-term for deficit reduction measures, but also take current economic conditions as an opportunity to renegotiate their mandates with central government. This opportunity is more appropriate in countries experiencing constitutional changes, such as Zimbabwe (or recently Kenya in Eastern Africa). Respective roles, mandates and functions could be set out or clarified, as for instance in Botswana's constitution.³³ Improved governance would provide for any increases in rates or user fees in a transparent and participatory manner that ties them to better service delivery. Some would object that this would make property owners pay for urban expenditures; but it should be understood that the most valuable properties have all been serviced through previous municipal budgets, and it would only be fair if services were extended to new urban areas. Where public-private partnerships or debt funds infrastructures, more transparency and stakeholder participation are in order.

Local authorities derive their own revenue from service fees, user charges, land rents, urban land and property taxes (rates), income from local authority investments or businesses. Land rents, rates and taxes can provide significant revenue and, for instance, contribute as much as 25 per cent of income for *Gaborone*,³⁴ up to 50 per cent for *Lusaka*³⁵ and between 20 and 30 per cent for cities in the Republic of South Africa.³⁶ However, the full potential of this financial resource is rarely realised due to poor collection methods, weak billing systems, incomplete valuation rolls (the basis for rates),

GRAPH 6.8: PUBLIC FINANCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, 2008 AND 2009 COMPARED.



Source: Data from 'Data and Statistics', Africa Economic Outlook. www.africaeconomicoutlook.org/en/

political interference, as well as high numbers of defaulters and debtors (including government departments). Given the importance of land- and property-based sources, current practice needs greater scrutiny if revenues are to be improved. Between 2003 and 2006, rates collection increased across the board in the cities of the Republic of South Africa; between 2003 to 2005 the actual revenue collected as a percentage of budgeted revenue increased from 14 to 83 per cent in *Lusaka* due to computerisation and capacity-building in the finance department. Updated valuation rolls would further increase rate collection ratios.³⁷

All countries in the region levy taxes from which local authorities derive incomes, including value added tax (VAT), property transfer and capital gains tax, estate duty and donations tax, as well as urban property taxes also known as

property rates. Except for Mozambique, all other countries in the subregion levy rates, including Angola where even 26 years of civil war saw no disruption of property tax collection. However, value added, transfer (stamp duty), estate and capital gains taxes are all levied at the national rather than the local level. This leaves local authorities with just rates (land and property tax) as the main immediate source of land-based incomes.

Local authorities utilise various methods to compute rates, which they base on land or site value, improved site value, site and improvements, or improvements only. A few municipalities use more than one of these tax bases to any significant degree.³⁸ Botswana and Zambia only use improved value as a basis for rates, which seems to penalise those property owners that develop their properties relative to those that hold large tracts of land for speculative purposes. All countries in the subregion use valuation rolls to compute rates. The problem is that due to lack of expertise or capacity (or political interference), valuation rolls are often not up to date. Countries also apply different taxation rates for different types of property: for instance residential rates may be lower than those on commercial or industrial land or property.

In Botswana, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, rates are set every year. The critical difference is that when rates remain static for years, even if conditions on the land or property have changed and warrant rate changes, either the local authority loses revenue, or some residents end up relatively overcharged and others undercharged.

The problem of valuation rolls is important in property taxes. Countries in the subregion use rolls based on valuation of each and every property. The preference for this method is of a political and institutional nature even in the face of capacity constraints. Apart from the Republic of South Africa, the number of valuers should be increased, or alternative valuation and rating systems applied. If they want to enhance



▲ SADC headquarters, Gaborone, Botswana. ©Gerald Mashonga/iStockphoto

BOX 6.2: DISCRIMINATORY FORMAL LAND ALLOCATION RULES – MASERU, LESOTHO



▲ Maseru, Lesotho. ©Netroamer. Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported License

A survey of 390 households in Maseru (90 in up-market neighbourhoods and 300 in informal settlements) used three proxy indicators to determine the socio-economic status of household heads: (a) educational qualification; (b) employment status; and (c) household possessions. The survey found a positive correlation between educational achievement and formal access to land in up-market urban neighbourhoods. Household heads with university, secondary or vocational education were the major (87 per cent) beneficiaries. Over four-fifths of households had obtained plots under 'free state grants'. Some had purchased land from 'free state grant' beneficiaries, in violation of the law, since land in Lesotho can neither be bought nor sold. State-granted plots were

sold by those who had obtained more than one housing plot, taking advantage of their superior knowledge of the formal rules. Employment status and household possessions were found to be positively correlated with education levels. The Lesotho Land Act 1979 provides for advertisement of available plots in local newspapers and government gazettes. Individual requests for land grants are declared after application with urban land committees, which make decisions after interviewing applicants. The survey showed that socio-economic status influenced plot allocation through patronage, elite networks and corruption. The survey also exposed an absence of formal selection criteria, and the fact that plot allocation had degenerated into personalised relations of reciprocity.

A similar analysis of the socio-economic status of households in informal settlements was made to establish which types of households benefited from formal rules and procedures. Of the 300 household heads interviewed, 48 per cent had either not attended school at all or had only primary education; 36 per cent had low secondary or vocational training and 16 per cent had a university education. The survey concluded that access to residential land in informal settlements was open to a wide range of households, including the poorest. However, since plot acquisitions in informal settlements became highly commercialised after 1980, land became less accessible to the very poorest households.

Source: Leduka, R. C. *Informal Land Delivery Processes and Access to Land for the Poor in Maseru, Lesotho.*, in *Informal Land Delivery Processes in African Cities: Working paper 5*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2004

the contribution of land-based revenue but do not have the institutional capacity, local authorities should consider a flat tax for all properties in any area not yet listed on the valuation roll, and add such properties to the rating system. This mechanism would stand until the rolls have been updated by valuers.

To explain their weak financial positions, local authorities often point to government centralising of resources. However, before seeking to broaden their revenue bases, local authorities must fully exploit the provisions in their current legal mandates, especially improvements in effective fee collection as witnessed in *Lusaka*. Short of full prior exploitation of existing mandates, a call for constitutional change and broadening of mandates will be difficult to sustain.

How Urban Land Markets Operate

A variety of land transaction instruments are in use in Southern Africa. In formal urban land markets, statutory registered titles are the norm, with much of the transfer procedure undertaken by registered real estate agents. For informal urban land markets, administrative instruments range from verbal promises to witnessed written agreements. In cities like *Maseru* and *Gaborone*, informal urban land transactions can entail an exchange of certificates formally provided by government bodies.

Rules, procedures and processes relating to urban land transactions can generally be divided into formal and informal,

as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, with enforcement contingent on market type. Formal market agreements are enforceable through the courts of law. Enforcement of informal agreements varies, but usually involves mediation, local courts and ultimately statutory/common law courts. Formal rules of land access are derived from state law or legislative frameworks that specify taxation and other public sector requirements for land acquisition, tenure, transactions, registration and land use. Access to land through formal channels is notoriously lengthy and cumbersome, especially where the state or government is the only source of land. Applicable rules and regulations are usually neither widely known nor understood by ordinary urban residents. The resultant bureaucratic delays lead to increased transaction costs and foster 'palm greasing' to speed up transactions. Box 6.2 shows how formal rules and procedures, as described in recent research on *Maseru*, tend to discriminate on the basis of wealth, educational or economic status.

Formal housing finance also discriminates against lower-income households in Botswana and the Republic of South Africa where both middle-income and poor households are not catered for in the formal systems. In Botswana, as of 2004, households earning less than an annual 4,400 pulas (BWP) (or US \$630) do not qualify for state land because they cannot afford housing that meets minimum formal planning standards and regulations. Those earning less than an annual BWP24,000 (US \$3,439) do not qualify for building material loans offered under government self-help housing schemes, which effectively sidelines them, too. Likewise, in the Republic of South Africa the lending practices of the banks as well as

government subsidy programmes have created a large gap in the formal property markets, excluding those households too poor for standard bank loans though not enough for subsidised housing schemes.

Wherever formal markets cannot deliver, for whatever reasons, informal markets will fill the gap with hybrid alternatives that combine formal rules with customary and social practices. Although these informal market procedures are not necessarily recognised by public authorities and may at times even be plain illegal, they are regarded as socially legitimate by those who use them. With this divergence between the formal rules based on law, and procedures based on 'everyday-life practice', alternative land supply systems evolved side by side. They cater to a range of residential options, from squatting to customary allocation for illegal subdivision of private or public lands.

Under pressure from ongoing rapid urbanisation, the spatial expansion of cities in Southern Africa has increasingly led to commercialisation of informal access to land with payment in cash or in kind, including distress land sales. Therefore, informal transactions are now more often committed to writing, as this confers at least a perception of *de facto* security. This has triggered changed attitudes among some of the region's authorities. For instance, in *Maseru* where over 80 per cent of urban land demand is met informally, customary allocations are now routinely recognised by formal law. Informally acquired lands now can even be registered as formal leaseholds. However, informal procedures, even when recognised, remain fraught with pitfalls because the land rights are often ill-defined, or there may be unresolved plot



▲ Maputo, Mozambique. ©Cordelia Persen. Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NoDerivs 2.0 Generic Licence

BOX 6.3: HOW MOZAMBIQUE CAN REGAIN CONTROL OF 'SPONTANEOUS' URBANISATION

In 2003, the Ministry of Agriculture of Mozambique commissioned a study to assess the efficiency of rural land allocation across the nation. The report was published in 2006 and highlighted significant differences in social justice between the various forms of allocation of rural land. In 2006, and with UN-HABITAT support, the Ministry for Coordination of Environmental Affairs, which is in charge of land use management and spatial planning, commissioned a similar study on urban land markets based on the cities of Manica and Nacala. The aim was to identify the dynamics of urban land markets, assess existing defenses against social inequity, reverse unsustainable urban growth trends, and maximise the socio-economic uses of urban land. The rationale also included identifying the factors behind medium- to long-term sustainable urban growth, the best ways of achieving secure tenure, and the promotion of pro-poor housing alternatives under the 'slum target' set by Millennium Development Goals.

The research in Manica and Nacala identified four existing channels for access to urban land: customary systems (19 per cent), State allocation (13 per cent), simple occupation in good faith (6 per cent) and indirect access (62 per cent). Indirect access is the major form of urban land access because, by law, land cannot be sold in Mozambique. However, Land Law 14/97 allows ownership transfer of urban buildings and then automatically grants land use rights for the entire plot. Together, these four categories effectively (though not efficiently) allocate land as, bar the odd exception, anyone has access to land, so much so that Mozambican cities are not plagued by the homelessness that is a defining feature of so many other African cities. The implication is that any attempts at interfering with the four above-

mentioned channels of access to urban land are not desirable.

The 2010 study further established that 63 per cent of the demand seeks land in peri-urban areas, 17 per cent in urbanised areas ('Zona de Cimento' – Cement City) and 20 per cent in the urban green belts. Three types of markets are found operating in Mozambican cities; theoretically distinct they may be, but intertwined in practice: urban land, housing, and the rental housing markets. Three broad land market forces are at work: the government, formally allocating urban land; the private sector, allocating land through the formal markets; and civil society, which deals with informal markets (subdivision, sub-renting or simple occupation) without prior formal authorization.

Neither the government nor the formal markets on their own feature the capacity for efficient allocation required to match the scale of demand for urban land, or to smooth out the interactions of this demand within the surrounding rural areas. The government is now gradually being replaced by the market as the main adjudicator of land (especially in peri-urban areas where the demand is highest). As a result, urban land becomes commodified and land values rise, to the detriment of social justice as the urban poor find are left out.

In Mozambique, urban expansion is a spontaneous phenomenon. The government claims it is in no position to control this, while the private is keen to stress that this is none of its business apart from any opportunities for profitable investment. Individual initiatives determine investment behaviour: the poor spend on land in a bid to secure more effective tenure; the rich will only do so when and where tenure is guaranteed.

Some of the main recommendations in the 2010 report can be summarized as follows:

1. The prevailing mechanisms of urban land allocation should be maintained, but a progressive registration procedure must be rapidly established.
2. New land management and administration models must be introduced in order to facilitate regularisation of all informal land rights transactions and to bring transparency, clarity and efficient sustainable use of urban land.
3. Existing housing loan schemes should be reviewed to include the poor and promote self-help home improvements.
5. A participatory system for land use planning and management devolved to the neighbourhood level would ensure more inclusive approaches to the challenges of rapid urbanisation.
6. A new concept of 'buffer zones' between formal and informal urban areas must be introduced in order to safeguard urban agriculture while extending adequate service provision to informal urban areas.

The 2010 report further highlights government and municipal inability to urbanise new land, deliver new infrastructure or provide urban services at a pace that can match growing demand. This inability must be overcome because it promotes exclusion of the poor, uncontrolled urban growth, the emergence of new, larger slums, and increased urban poverty. Against this background, the research called for the introduction of new tools for city managers and local governments in neighbouring districts that put local authorities in a better position to forecast urban growth within their respective boundaries, and help them to undertake preventive measures to reverse undesirable trends, including the proliferation of urban poverty.

Source: Negrão, J. *Urban Land Markets in Mozambique*, Cruzeiro do Sul - Research Institute for Development, Maputo, forthcoming. www.iid.org.mz

boundary overlaps, while contracts are not always enforceable under formal law. Moreover, transaction costs remain disproportionately high, which often deters land investment.

In *Maputo*, urban informal land markets mostly involve purchase of rural lands that are newly incorporated in the city, subdivision of existing urban plots, and occupation of urban lands that are inappropriate for housing development. The informal urban markets involve exchange of unregistered land and cater principally to the urban poor and those excluded from access to land under state allocation processes.

The formal markets are confined to the consolidated areas of *Maputo* (the 'Cement City') and involve exchange of registered rights to land and property. They cater mainly to the urban rich through sale of improvements on the land and horizontal co-properties (what would normally be considered 'sectional titles' in the Republic of South Africa).

Most documented land disputes in Southern Africa bear on disagreements among individuals and between individuals and central or local government. The Republic of South Africa features the most organised grassroots movements in the



▲ Johannesburg, South Africa. Satellite image of Soccer City stadium. Shaped roughly like a rectangle with rounded corners, the stadium sports high walls that cast long shadows toward the south-west. Capable of seating 94,700 spectators, Soccer City is nevertheless dwarfed by nearby slag piles left over from decades-long mining operations. On the opposite side of the slag piles from Soccer City is Diepkloof, one of several settlements comprising Soweto. The roughly circular-shaped settlement shows a street grid typical of residential areas, with small, closely packed houses. ©NASA Earth Observatory

subregion, including the *Abahlali base Mjondolo* (Abahlali) and the Landless People's Movement. Ironically, government and landowners perceive these social movements in criminal terms rather than as the voice of genuine citizen concerns.

Other disputes between individual land owners and public authorities involve appropriation of land from customary owners without compensation, or with compensation equivalent only to the value of unexhausted improvements on the land. Faced with the predominant power and influence of government, individual land owners or loosely organised groups of individual owners rarely win these disputes. Instead, many resort to less confrontational options such as false compliance or benign neglect of formal government rules and regulations.

Many land disputes occur among individuals, especially in informal settlements. However, too many significant differences between countries and cities stand in the way of any meaningful generalisations. Disputes, especially in informal markets, often arise from issues like dual or multiple land sales, extra-legal land allocation by public authorities, contentious land/property ownership, extension of plot boundaries, unauthorised occupation of land and land inheritance. Such disputes are mostly resolved through informal mechanisms involving customary or community leaders. However, despite the often uncertain nature of rights to land in informal or other irregular urban settlements, disputes that defy local remedies often end up in the formal law courts where, quite surprisingly, the legality of rights over disputed, informally acquired land parcels rarely becomes an issue in its own right.

Informal Settlements as a Response to Land Market Deficiencies

Informal markets are plagued by several serious inherent problems, which include conflicting and unrecorded ownership claims, simultaneous multiple sale of property, high transaction costs and defective property rights. The dual system of land ownership and administration in the region acts as a major constraint on the operation of land and housing markets. In most Southern African cities, no information is available on the numerical size or volume of transactions that take place, whether in formal or informal markets, the sums of money involved, the amount of land transacted, or the general pattern of land prices/values. And this is happening while in some cities in the region, over 70 per cent of the population are thought to access land through informal channels.

In the Republic of South Africa, the poor access land through occupation, spill-over and encroachment, unofficial subdivision, allocation by local figures of authority or committees and a variety of rental practices. Accessing urban land outside the formal market grew by 26 per cent (informal settlements and backyards) between 1996 and 2006. Several studies have revealed that 63 per cent of households in informal settlements had participated in secondary markets through purchasing a house from someone else. Over the same period, an estimated 14 per cent of households in site-and-services and 12 per cent in Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) settlements had transacted informally.

6.4

The Geography of Climate Change

The Role of Local Authorities in Adaptation to Climate Change

Cities have a unique position in the climate change debate. On one hand, through their prolific use of fossil fuels for transport, manufacturing and electricity generation they are significant generators of carbon emissions while, on the other, they are generators of added value to the economy. Taking the Republic of South Africa as an example, national energy consumption by sector is as follows: industry: 40 per cent; transport: 24 per cent; residential: 18 per cent; mining: 7 per cent, commerce: 6 per cent; and agriculture 3 per cent.³⁹ In urban areas, this energy comes from electricity and liquid fuels (petrol, diesel, paraffin).

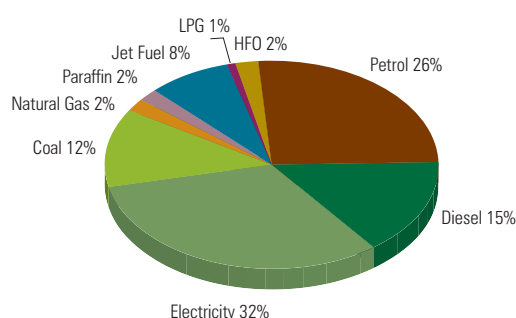
Energy-related carbon emissions in urban areas follow a broadly similar pattern, with industry producing 50 per cent followed by transport (25 per cent) and residential (19 per cent), commerce (4 per cent) and mining (1 per cent). In terms of greenhouse gas emissions by source of energy or fuel type, electricity contributes 66 per cent of carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions compared with 23 per cent from liquid fuels.⁴⁰

Cities also occupy a unique position in that they are crucibles of political and governance innovations. They should therefore play major roles in climate change interventions. At the local level, this role can be appreciated by what can be described as the 'urban local authority dividend'⁴¹: the multiple role of local authorities as regulators, administrators, taxing and licensing authorities, strategic land use planners/developers and consumers, as well as providers of a vast array of goods and services. This 'local authority dividend' enable urban managers to support and stimulate behaviour change among stakeholders – business and citizens alike. Local authorities are in a position to support and stimulate

Southern African cities have traditionally prioritized the private car and there is still a strong roads lobby that influences the transport agenda in its largest economy, the Republic of South Africa. Although there is agreement that the focus needs to shift towards non-motorised transport, designs for such alternatives are poorly supported and there is no clear indication of the direction cities should adopt for the future.

Source: SACN, 2009: 9

GRAPH 6.9: METROPOLITAN ENERGY CONSUMPTION BY FUEL TYPE IN SOUTH AFRICA



Source: State of the Energy Report for the City of Cape Town 2007, p.25

energy-efficient and 'green' industries. They have the closest continuous link with the population, enabling them to foster local participatory and pro-poor climate response strategies, and global environmental change in general.

Spatial planning is one of the major mandates vested in local authorities. However, past and current planning has promoted highly dispersed cities with long commuting distances, with housing for low-income households located on the urban peripheries or beyond. Poor public transport, a bias towards private cars and poorly maintained vehicles are features of all the cities in the region.

It is recognized that Africa has contributed very little to the problems associated with climate change but it may be a major recipient of its negative effects. This global inequality is replicated at the city level in Southern Africa, where the poor majority commute by public transport with low carbon emissions per head, while the middle class and the rich, who are significantly fewer in numbers, commute by private car and produce more carbon emissions. Suburbs combine high rates of car ownership and access to subsidised bus routes. In contrast, the low-income groups in peri-urban townships benefit from poor bus services and have consequently shifted their patronage to more reliable informal 'taxi's'. The rail system, which would have been more effective in reducing carbon emissions, has seen a decline in passenger numbers, largely due to poor service, poor safety on carriages and a lack of integration with other transport modes (buses and informal taxis)(DBSA, 2006: 41). Though more reliable, informal taxis

are characterised by poor customer care, dangerous driving, overcrowding and poorly maintained vehicles.

Inequality also prevails regarding electricity, the production of which is a major source of CO₂. Poor households in *Cape Town* spend 10 to 15 per cent of incomes on energy, compared with 3 to 5 per cent for high-income households. Households without access to electricity (the poorest of the poor) contribute 6kg of CO₂ per month, compared with 240kg for the low-income group and as many as 750kg per household per month for middle- and upper-income groups.⁴²

Local authorities can reduce urban dependence on oil and carbon footprints in a number of ways, including:

- City, neighbourhood and building designs that prioritise energy efficiency, shorter commutes, cycling and public transport options over private transport;
- Environmental-economic legislation and actions, including renewable energy technologies in industry, public and residential buildings and generally integrating 'green' policies in municipal by-laws;
- The 'local authority dividend' puts city managers in a position to take the lead 'green' procurement strategies that give priority to climate change adaptation/mitigation;

- Pooling municipalities' purchasing power to procure services, goods and 'green' technologies would generate cost savings while creating a critical mass for climate change-compliant decision-making, with the attendant demand for novel products and services; and
- Creating incentive programmes to develop 'green' enterprises.

What Urban Climate Change Knowledge is Available?

Over the past decade, governments in Southern Africa have developed national climate change frameworks that seek to balance mitigation and adaptation policies, while fostering climate change-resilient, low-carbon economies and societies. These moves seek to integrate national with global initiatives, but largely take place outside urban local government.

In its Fourth Assessment, the International Panel on Climate Change indicates that in Africa, a 2°C rise in temperature would lead to a 50 per cent decrease in crop yields by 2020. Therefore, it is not surprising that emerging national climate



▲ A flood simulation exercise in Mozambique. ©David Gough/IRIN

change policies in Southern Africa (e.g., in Botswana and Zambia) focus strongly on agriculture. National ministries of agriculture, environmental and water affairs feature as leaders in the climate change policy responses, with the urban sector remaining largely 'invisible' as an explicit policy domain. As a result, urban authorities and local stakeholders are lagging latecomers and marginal to the key debates. Most are at the early, learning stages and reactive rather than pro-active agenda-setters. Only in Mozambique (see Box 6.4) and the Republic of South Africa, where climate change-induced sea-level rise threatens the economies of cities like *Maputo*, *eTekwini* and *Cape Town*, has there been an urban dimension to national climate change strategies. However, the responses from inland cities (*Johannesburg*, *Harare*, *Tshwane*, *Lusaka*, and *Gaborone*) regarding water scarcity, energy and food are not well incorporated in these policies.

In order to strengthen their awareness and knowledge and be in a position better to influence truly national responses to climate change, local authorities have seen the need to reinforce city-to-city networks and partnerships, especially within the framework of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) and United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) as illustrated by the July

2009 Tshwane Climate Change Roadmap Summit for local governments and partners. These networks enable urban authorities to share knowledge on climate change, and to lobby national governments and international partners regarding issues of capacity building and financing of carbon emission reduction strategies in cities. The Republic of South Africa has benefited from its partnership with the Government of Denmark through the Urban Environment Management Programme (UEMP). The South African Cities Network has been able to develop new city climate mitigation programmes that can be funded through the national public infrastructure facility. The scheme brings together a number of municipalities and therefore can achieve widespread benefits in a short time. At the local level, partnerships with professional bodies and research centres are also pivotal, such as one with the Green Building Council of the Republic of South Africa to develop a Green Star Rating Tool, and the National Biodiversity Institute on urban biodiversity and reforestation strategies. In 2009, *Cape Town* established a climate change knowledge think-tank regrouping academics and scientists to undertake reviews and assessments of the effects of climate change on the city. This research will enable the city to be more proactive in its response to climate change.⁴³

BOX 6.4: MAPUTO LEADS THE 'CLIMATE CHANGE INITIATIVE' IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The *Cities and Climate Change Initiative* was launched by UN-HABITAT in early 2009 at the request of its Governing Council to assist in the major, worldwide re-alignment of public policies towards adaptation and mitigation. The Initiative provides city authorities with the expertise, policy advice, methodologies and information they need to meet this daunting challenge. The newly-created Sustainable Urban Development Network (SUD-Net) complements these efforts (see Box 6.4). The whole project operates in partnership with the UN Development (UNDP) and Environment (UNEP) Programmes and a wide range of other relevant organisations. No other region in the world is more exposed to the effects of climate change than Africa. Therefore, it was natural for two African cities – Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and Kampala, the capital of Uganda – to feature among the four 'pilot' conurbations that have been selected to launch the initiative in the developing world. Indeed, both cities provide an apt illustration of the typical threats climate change is posing for conurbations in the developing world.

Sitting on the Indian Ocean coast, Maputo (population 1.1 million, and close to 3 million for the metropolitan area) is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Rapid demographic growth increases the demand for housing and infrastructure, with the poorer residents relegated to risk-prone urban areas.

A preliminary assessment of potential climate change effects was carried out under the Initiative and identified five vulnerable areas: (i) coastal zones and ecosystems; (ii) human settlements and infrastructure; (iii) health, food security and waste management; (iv) the transportation system; and (v) wetlands and urban agriculture. In Maputo, the main climate-related hazards with destructive consequences are floods, droughts, rising sea level and storms (cyclones). These pose serious risks of flooding of the lowest areas, which are the most populated and where slum dwellers are concentrated.

The assessment also identified the six main steps to be taken to design a well-adapted climate change adaptation strategy for Maputo, namely: (i) actively involving major stakeholders from the public, business and academic sectors,

civil society and development partners in the process of raising awareness about the impacts of climate change at all levels; (ii) establishing an appropriate institutional arrangement between the city and the central government; (iii) creation of a municipal 'Natural Disasters Risk Reduction' unit; (iv) preparing a more in-depth assessment of the effects of climate change in Maputo, in order to determine the required adaptation and/or mitigation measures to be implemented; (v) developing methods and tools for the analysis of climate change effects, in order to facilitate the financial planning and decision-making and preparation of a Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation Plan, which identifies priority interventions to be implemented in the short, medium and long term; and (vi) creating coordination mechanisms with new initiatives or ongoing projects, in order jointly to identify potential sources of funding to ensure continuity of operations.

One immediate outcome of the assessment was a mangrove preservation project in the Maputo area, which serves to demonstrate the methods and results of adaptation/mitigation.

Source: UN-HABITAT, *Cities and Climate Change – Initial lessons from UN-HABITAT*. Nairobi: UN-HABITAT 2009

BOX 6.5: AN INNOVATIVE NETWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN GOVERNMENT

Climate change is a vast and complex phenomenon and if cities are to become more sustainable all tiers of government must benefit from a wide range of knowledge and experience. This is the rationale behind the Sustainable Urban Development Network ('SUD-Net'), a worldwide interdisciplinary link supported by UN-HABITAT.

SUD-Net assists cities in a variety of ways: mobilizing partners and networks, building partnerships, implementing innovative, pro-poor projects, stimulating the acquisition and sharing of knowledge, and disseminating good practice. The network provides access to up-to-date information (tools and guidelines, resource packages, documents) as well as feedback on ongoing debates, initiatives and activities at the global, regional, national and local levels. SUD-Net also supports institutional capacity-building through improved governance and leadership against a background of decentralized public authorities. Over the past year or so, links have been established with local urban knowledge networks, city councils and universities, as well as the World Bank.

Urban Climate Change Adaptation Strategies and the Energy Sector

Southern Africa faces an energy crisis, as became evident between 2005 and 2007 when severe power shortages hit industry, business and more generally the quality of life. The region relies on hydro-electric and coal-based thermal power and is supplied by national utility companies such as Eskom (Republic of South Africa), NamPower (Namibia), ZESCO (Zambia), Empresa Nacional d'Electricidade (Angola) and Electricidade de Moçambique (Mozambique).⁴⁴ Since the region is prone to droughts, though, hydro-electric power generation is exposed to significant risk, which recent climatic variability can only compound. Although the Republic of South Africa produces nuclear electric power, this contributes less than 5 per cent of national grid volume and future capacity expansions are controversial. Meanwhile, a massive 74 per cent of the country's electricity supply comes from coal-fired power stations.

The region produces and uses over 80 per cent of all the electricity generated in sub-Saharan Africa. However, supply from existing energy infrastructure has fallen well below demand and the region has only managed to cope because of energy imports from the Democratic Republic of Congo, whose economy uses relatively little of its significant production. Most of the Republic of South Africa's energy is consumed by industry, mining and cities. The 10 largest cities consume 50 per cent of the available electricity. Ninety-six per cent of this electricity is generated by Eskom with at least 70 per cent generated from highly-polluting low-grade coal (similar patterns are found in Zimbabwe and

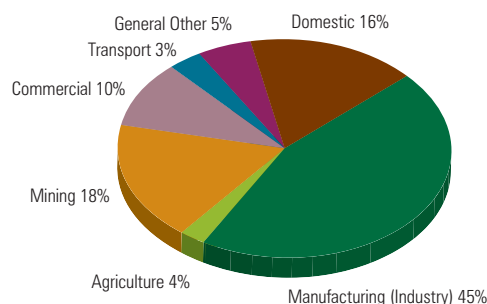
Namibia).⁴⁵ Taking *Cape Town* as an example, coal-fired electricity accounts for 28 per cent of its energy consumptions but results in 66 per cent of total carbon emissions of the conurbation.⁴⁶ Emissions in dense manufacturing provinces like *Gauteng* are even higher. As shown in Graph 6.10, the major end-users of electricity are manufacturing industries, with mining operations and domestic consumption coming second and third.

Consequently, if any significant reduction of coal-related carbon emissions is to be achieved, it will require major changes in power-generation for manufacturing and mining, as reductions in the commercial and domestic sectors would have a limited effect.

In the household sector, energy use inequalities persist. The high cost of providing electricity infrastructure to the urban periphery and beyond means that many poorer urban communities go without power at all. The implications are evident in *eTekwini* and *Luanda*, lack of electricity in low-income areas leads to widespread use of candles, paraffin and charcoal. These are a major cause of fires while charcoal is associated with environmental degradation in peri-urban areas, greenhouse gas emissions, domestic pollution and severe lung conditions. The upfront costs of universal provision of electricity may look hefty, but this is the least costly solution in the long run. It might be worth remembering here that in colonial days, one of the reasons for extending electricity to *Harare* and *Bulawayo* was to preserve the environment from the damages caused by firewood exploitation in peri-urban areas.

One aspect of Southern Africa's more or less open energy crisis is the ageing of power plants and infrastructure. This is especially the case with Zimbabwe's coal-fed thermal power stations. Although the country's industries are operating at a mere 10 per cent capacity, energy demand is not met and the situation can only worsen if and when operational capacity improves to even 50 per cent in the near future, as is expected. However, as Zimbabwe's economy recovers and the Republic of South Africa emerges from the global economic slowdown, a more serious power crisis can be anticipated from as early

GRAPH 6.10: ELECTRICITY END-USER DISTRIBUTION IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



Source: Compiled from DBSA (2006: 74)



▲ A coal-fired power station in Cape Town, South Africa. ©Simisa. Licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported Licence

as 2010, with load shedding likely to resume.⁴⁷ The crisis was evident during the 2010 football World Cup when electricity demand was already at its peak due to the winter season: poorer communities were the first targets for load shedding to avoid disruptions in the areas associated with the event.

A major aspect of the crisis has to do with the structure of the sector: national utilities are in charge of all power generation, transmission and distribution, and local authorities have no say over production volumes or energy use. Legislative and institutional arrangements do neither give city authorities any power over energy, nor do they encourage power utilities to invest in alternative sources. Against this background, the energy crisis in Southern Africa offers opportunities to rethink and encourage decentralised investment in renewable energy sources, especially the abundant wind and solar power potential for residential water heating and lighting. Ocean wave power for coastal cities like *Maputo*, *Durban* and *Cape Town* could be explored. Alternatives that have not been fully developed include bio-fuels and electricity from wastes

and sugar cane. As for energy conservation, it is neither encouraged nor rewarded by current governance structures. A combination of user information campaigns and appropriate technologies could bring significant savings. Mass solar water heaters alone could save 20-30 per cent of household energy.

Solar power is viewed largely as adequate for rural electrification rather than for urban consumers. Despite the associated environmental damage, the region still largely relies on coal-based thermal power stations. The availability of huge coal reserves seems to drive the decision making and investment policies of major power utilities rather than climate change-related considerations. For instance, ESKOM's new programme commits the Republic of South Africa on a carbon intensive path even as the government shifts focus to a low-carbon economy.⁴⁸ However, isolated initiatives point in the right direction, i.e., a diversity of alternative sources of urban energy, as exemplified by *eTekwini* Municipality's gas to electricity project in three municipal landfill sites. Capturing landfill gasses reduces greenhouse gas emissions and can yield 10 megawatts every year.

6.5

Emerging Issues

The Development Role of Mega-Sporting Events

The year 2010 witnessed a bonanza of sporting events for Southern Africa. The Confederation of African Football organised the African Cup of Nations, staged during January 2010 across four cities in Angola where the Chinese constructed four new stadiums, rebuilt roads and upgraded airports. Then came the football World Cup Finals in the Republic of South Africa in June-July 2010, in nine cities with the opening and final games in *Johannesburg*. While this section will focus on the soccer World Cup, it should be noted that the development rationales and effects of these major events can also be found in the All-Africa Games that were staged in *Maputo* in the second half of 2010.

Mega sporting events continue to be viewed as catalysts for economic development in the hosting nation. The opportunity to showcase the host nation improves the country's image, attracting investment and job creation, boosting tourism and leaving behind a legacy of urban development



▲ Bafana Bafana supporters at the World Cup 2010. ©Jonathan Larsen/Shutterstock

legacy (infrastructures and housing).⁴⁹ In Southern Africa, investment in infrastructure (stadiums, media, entertainment and leisure, transportation, hotels, security) was the main expected benefit associated with these events.⁵⁰ At the planning stage in 2004, the estimated budget was in the region of SAR15 billion (US \$1.9 billion) with SAR8.4 billion (US \$1.08 billion) and SAR6.7 billion (US\$865 million) for stadiums and infrastructure, respectively,⁵¹ funded through partnerships among government, local authorities and private investors.⁵² The objective was not only to deliver a successful sporting event but to integrate the related capital expenditure into broader plans that would leave a legacy of improved cities in the Republic of South Africa.

This legacy was the major benefit the Republic of South Africa expected to reap from the World Cup 2010.⁵³ Legacy embodies inheritance and transformation; not just the transfer from one generation to another but also the transformation of a society from one state to another. Beyond economic gains in terms of employment, it was about promoting inclusive urban space and moving away from the apartheid-era political economy of marginality for the majority. The event elicited reflections upon identity and affirmed social standing and belonging on a national, regional (SADC) and worldwide scale. In contrast to the 1995 World Rugby Cup, for instance, the 2010 FIFA World Cup highlighted the inclusion of the majority black South Africans, and Africa in general, as citizens in the global society, who were able not just to participate in the consumption of global culture but also to produce it.

Neighbouring countries including Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe collectively used the football World Cup to develop and market their own tourism industry. In this respect, the seven-country Trans-Frontier Conservation Area (TFCA) provided tourists with varied options. Infrastructures included rehabilitation of the Maputo-South Africa railway line (US \$57 million) and hotels, casinos and leisure facilities (US \$500 million).⁵⁴ The positive effects were clearly well beyond the sporting events, strengthening the flows of goods and people in the *Maputo-Johannesburg* development corridor. Political integration within the SADC was also enhanced and a sense of success and global belonging was felt by Africans throughout the continent and the diaspora (see Box 6.6).

Soccer is favourite sport of the majority poor black populations of Southern Africa. Consequently, staging the event in the Republic of South Africa and locating some of the major venues in poor or low-income townships brought more than a 'feel good' effect – a sense of triumph and equality that was shared in the whole of Southern Africa as well. 'Soccer City', the venue for the opening ceremony and six subsequent games, is a stone's throw away from Soweto, the largest low-income township in the region. Similarly, for the 2010 African Cup of Nations in Angola, the stadiums were located in or close to poor neighbourhoods, sending a strong political message of inclusive development and global citizenship.

Although new stadiums were built for the games in each of the host cities, the Moses Mabhida stadium in *Durban* probably best illustrates how the World Cup infrastructure and investments have been used for urban development and local economic strategies. Post-2010 *Durban* hopes to be a successful (s)port city able to host future Olympic, Commonwealth and continental games. The 70,000 stadium was designed as an iconic and unmistakable silhouette on

the *Durban* skyline and, more functionally, to spur the urban economy.⁵⁵ The design has political symbolism in that its Y-shaped arch which ascends from one end of the stadium in two prongs to join in the middle and descend in one prong at the other end – a reflection of the country's flag – symbolises political unity. In a country and a region where interracial and inter-ethnic tensions lie only just below the surface, such physical symbolism helps project the nation's long-term desires for social unity.

Whereas some analysts query the economic and employment-creation effects of major global sport events in general, these elicit more immediate and tangible concerns for urban development.⁵⁶ The Government of the Republic of South Africa used the event as an opportunity to redistribute development and justify projects that would otherwise never have happened. The N2 Gateway Housing Development in *Cape Town*, for instance, was fast-tracked for completion to beautify the area before the 2010 Cup, rather than as the planned housing project it had been for several decades.⁵⁷ Massive forced removal of the area's residents and the stiff resistance from so-called squatters highlighted the unequal legacies experienced by different groups of society. Similar displacements of the poor, alleged violations of rights and corruption were recorded for Mbombela stadium in Mpumalanga province. These forced removals have been compared to those of the apartheid years. However, the World Cup rhetoric and the overwhelming support for this event, both within the city and nationwide, enabled the authorities to proceed and ride the storm of resistance.

The above example indicates that the positive effects of mega sporting events at the local level are not uniform and can be challenged by those excluded and evicted. Despite general enthusiastic support for the games in the Republic of



▲ Supporters at the World Cup 2010. ©NewZimbabwe.com

BOX 6.6: AFFIRMATION AND BELONGING TO GLOBAL SOCIETY

The lasting legacy of the 2010 football World Cup was also shared by Zimbabwe, a country whose economy and society are emerging from a decade of social upheaval and economic depression. A visit by the Brazilian national football team to Zimbabwe to play the country's own national team in June 2010 did Zimbabweans proud and instilled a sense of belonging to the global community. The game was watched by 60,000 including the president and the prime minister, not including millions through TV and radio, while others simply enjoyed the idea that during their lifetime, Brazil – the five-time World Cup winners – visited Zimbabwe, the first non-African football team to do so since independence. The event brought desperately needed positive coverage in global media. It left a legacy of hope and confidence while reiterating a message that, despite the troubles of the past decade, Zimbabweans were united, dignified and a determined people whose warmth makes the country a place for good global business.

Source: *New Zimbabwe.com*, 3rd June 2010



▲ The Moses Mabhida Stadium, Durban, South Africa. ©Jbor/Shutterstock

South Africa and the continent at large, those living close to the venues were disturbed. In Soweto, *Johannesburg*, female food traders were removed from their usual selling points outside the Soccer City stadium for the duration of the World Cup. The policy of keeping the poor out of sight denied these women good business over the period⁵⁸ and stood in stark contrast to the reported record US \$3 billion tax-free profits made by FIFA.⁵⁹ Likewise, in *Luanda*, where electricity supply is low at best, the poor were not able to watch the Africa Cup of Nations games on television as electrical power was diverted. Clearly, poverty and polarization are very real conditions with differential gains from mega sporting events and related urban development.

But all in all, the 2010 World Cup surpassed expectations and silenced 'Afro-pessimists'. The event gave the world a well-organised tournament with great hospitality that had a galvanising effect on sports in Africa. On top of the *vuvuzela*, it also helped market the region's potential in various areas, highlighted the ongoing transition in Southern Africa and reminded the world of the gross poverty and inequality that undermines the region's dream of a post-apartheid inclusive society. With this window of global awareness and empathy, Southern Africa should deploy the radical equity-focused programmes and structural economic changes that are required to tackle poverty. The enthusiasm, unity of purpose and efficiency with which leaders delivered the World Cup should now be replicated in the areas of housing, water, electricity, health and education. According to Ellen Chauke, a 56-year old unemployed who demonstrated at the start of the tournament, poor Africans were not against the World Cup, but:

*We are against a government that does not treat people right. We are still living in shacks. We don't have electricity. We don't have running water and we have 100 people to a toilet. We want the world to see South Africa is not working for [all] its people.*⁶⁰

Trans-Boundary Development: Insights from the Maputo development corridor

Since the 1990s, formal transnational development corridors and spatial-economic development initiatives have been promoted to unleash the growth potential in transport corridor areas and Southern Africa in general.⁶¹ However, the subregion also features many informal or spontaneous transnational development corridors that take advantage of highly permeable borders allowing for social, cultural, human and economic interaction in much of the subregion for centuries. In colonial times, these informal corridors contributed to the integration of local economies into global trade flows. They became channels or spaces for migrant labour to and from mining and agricultural regions of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The Tete Corridor (Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi), the Beira Corridor (Zimbabwe and Mozambique), the Limpopo-Gauteng corridor (Zimbabwe and the Republic of South Africa) and the Maputo Development Corridor (Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa) are examples of such informal corridors, some of which were formally recognised during and after colonial rule.

The Maputo-Gauteng Development Corridor

In the early 1900s, agreements between the Republic of South Africa and Mozambique gave rights to the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA), representing the group of major South African mining firms, to recruit black African labourers from Mozambique for South African mines on condition that 47.5 per cent of export traffic from *Witwatersrand* (Gauteng Region) would go through *Maputo*.⁶² As the result, an economic transport and population corridor formally linked *Maputo* to *Gauteng* (see Map 6.3). Forty-per cent of exports from *Gauteng* went through *Maputo* in the 1970s, but this figure declined during the Mozambican civil war in the 1980s and much of the infrastructure became derelict.⁶³

Mozambique developed similar corridors to the then-Rhodesia – the Beira Corridor – and Malawi – the Tete Corridor. Functionally, these corridors extend well beyond the narrow geographical confines of roads and railways to include permanent trade spaces on the sides, in the process creating fresh opportunities for hawking, smuggling, etc. Flows of people on a subregional scale, mostly women buying and selling goods, took to operating in tandem with male labour migration. However, these *de facto* cross-border economies remain largely outside the intellectual debates that inform integrated regional development policy. When discussing formal regions like the *Maputo-Gauteng* Development Corridor, the origins, purpose, governance and impacts of the historical and social undertones must be borne in mind.

MAP 6.3: THE MAPUTO-GAUTENG DEVELOPMENT CORRIDOR



Source: SADC (2007) Report of study on the corridor/Spatial Development Initiative. Gaborone: SADC Secretariat

MAP 6.4: TRANSNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORRIDORS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA



Source: Designed by Beacon Mbiba and drawn by Afua Afouwaah Adu-Boateng.

After the advent of majority rule in the Republic of South Africa and the end to civil war in Mozambique a few years earlier, the two countries revised the formal operations of the *Maputo-Gauteng* Development Corridor as a spatial and economic development initiative. As with the Beira Corridor in the 1980s, rehabilitation and upgrading of transport infrastructures (the N4 toll road, railway lines and port facilities) was at the core of this initiative, to facilitate freight movement between Gauteng and the port of Maputo. However, unlike the Beira Corridor, its Maputo-Gauteng equivalent also contributes to the development of both Maputo Province – home to about 40 per cent of Mozambique’s population – and the Mpumalanga Province of the Republic of South Africa through which most of the corridor runs. Industrial, agricultural and tourism investments feature high on the agenda and the benefits are supposed to trickle down over the whole area.

Other Major Trans-national Development Corridors in Southern Africa

Table 6.7 illustrates the diversity of development corridors in the subregion. The *Maputo-Gauteng* Development Corridor benefits from more private sector participation than any other, while in the Beira Corridor the public sector has crowded out the private one. However, the more generally favoured option today is a policy shift from government-based infrastructure development to market-led and export-oriented growth based on competitive positioning in the international economy.

The institutional structure of each development corridor is largely a by-product of history and opportunities in the partner countries. The *Maputo-Gauteng* corridor shows that its market-led rejuvenation leaves little room for the government

TABLE 6.7: THE DIVERSITY OF TRANS-NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORRIDORS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Name of Corridors and Institutional Leaders	Geographic Focus and Key Objectives	Anchor Projects
<p>Maputo Development Corridor</p> <p><u>Leaders:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maputo Corridor Logistics Initiative Republic of South African Ministry of Transport Mozambique Ministry of Transport 	<p>An economic corridor linking Gauteng province (Johannesburg, Pretoria, etc.) to the closest port – Maputo in Mozambique.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> rehabilitate core infrastructure along the corridor maximise the investment potential of the corridor area ensure that development impact is maximised for disadvantaged communities Ensure sustainable, participatory and integrated approach to development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconstruction of Witbank-Maputo road Rehabilitation and management of Maputo port Rehabilitation and upgrading of railway network in southern Mozambique Development of electricity infrastructure from Republic of South Africa into Southern Mozambique Development of Mozambique Aluminium Smelter (MOZAL) Development of the Belluluane Industrial Park (BIP) Development of natural gas resources.
<p>Beira (Zambezi) Development Corridor</p> <p><u>Leaders</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Departments of Transport and Communications - Mozambique and Zimbabwe. 	<p>An economic development corridor linking Zimbabwe, Zambia, DR Congo and Malawi to the port of Beira, Mozambique. The Zambezi River basin is a resource-rich hinterland that can act as a platform for future development.</p> <p>Prior to 1994, the Beira corridor was developed to guarantee economic survival of the land-locked states during the war in Mozambique and destabilisation from the Republic of South Africa.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Moatize power station Expansion of Cabora Basa hydropower dam and development of new downstream dam at Mpande Uncua. Upgrading Sena railway line to facilitate the transfer of coking coal to Beira. Upgrading of Beira Port Development of the Inchoper-Gorongosa-Caia Highway.
<p>North-South Corridor</p> <p><u>Leaders</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federation of East and Southern African Transporters Associations Sub-Sahara Africa Transport Program 	<p>This corridor extends from the industrial centre of Gauteng Region (Republic of South Africa) to Zimbabwe, Zambia, DR Congo and Malawi to the north & to Durban on the Indian Ocean</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The busiest corridor in southern Africa, yet has many bottlenecks (crossing points at Beitbridge, Chirundu and Victoria Falls) and security issues Development and management systems delayed by the crisis in Zimbabwe over the last decade as international partners shunned the country. Plan is to upgrade infrastructure, remove bottlenecks, standardise operational systems. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Construction of a new bridge at Chirundu (2002) Reconstruction of highway between Lusaka and Chirundu New border post facilities at Chirundu to accommodate One Stop Border operations. Improve border crossing facilities at Musian/Beitbridge Manage migration and health issues along the corridor
<p>Limpopo Development Corridor</p> <p><u>Leaders</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Departments of Transport and Communications - Mozambique and Zimbabwe 	<p>An initiative between Zimbabwe, the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique and eventually Botswana and Zambia, focused on the Limpopo River Basin</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foster increased economic activity through investment in processing of minerals, agricultural production, rehabilitation of key infrastructure and tourism (the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Trans Frontier Park). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concessioning of Limpopo railway line Rehabilitation of road network and further road linkage between Maputo Development Corridor and the Xai Xai Pafuri Route Development/Upgrading of new RSA/Mozambique border facilities in the Greater Limpopo TFP Bridge over Limpopo River at Mapai and upgrading of roads to the coast Mining of minerals, development of electricity Rehabilitation and development of Chokwe Irrigation Scheme

Source: Modified from SADC (2007) Report of study on the corridor/Spatial Development Initiative. Gaborone: SADC Secretariat.

to promote people-centred development. The large investment projects that have emerged in the region have visibly contributed to growth of national income in participating countries, but more broad-based positive effects on livelihoods remain uncertain in the short term. This harks back to the informal, policy-invisible dynamics of these corridors, which act as channels for phenomena like migration and trade that have direct effects on many people's livelihoods.

Through their own Development Community (SADC) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Southern African countries have promoted corridors or spatial development to foster economic growth and (sub)regional integration.⁶⁴ However, more harmonization is needed

between these corridor initiatives, on the one hand, and the development planning of metropolitan/city regions, on the other. Anchors in these corridors, such as infrastructure projects in the Maputo, Beira and North-South Corridors, create greater (sub)regional inter-city mobility. HIV/AIDS support institutions have begun to use these corridors as a framework for the planning and delivery of health services and information, an approach that should also be considered by regional and metropolitan authorities. This is just one example in a multiplicity of opportunities created by domestic and trans-national development corridors. This relatively new spatial, political, economic and social phenomenon can benefit the subregion in many ways which it is for further research to explore.

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