FORGING COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIPS IN THE FURNACES OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING

By Walter Fieuw, Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC)

Within a context of deep urban poverty, landlessness and homelessness, building collaborative partnerships between organised informal settlement communities and local governments is one of the most important – and perhaps most neglected – aspects of participatory, inclusive, pro-poor and sustainable development. It is also one of the most salient challenges, especially when upscaling to the city-wide level.

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BALANCING MICRO-LEVEL interventions and practices with the macro-level structures of governance and body of rules requires the skilful building of institutions that can navigate the complexities of informal settlement upgrading. In this sense, forging partnerships requires the ability to negotiate and transact around a common set of problems and agendas guided by social and political change. According to section 16 of the Municipal Systems Act (RSA 2000), government should create a 'culture of community participation' where civil society has a direct interest and influence on the design of governance arrangements. The creation of new institutional alignments, through the practice of

upgrading informal settlements, is one of the unfolding "cultures" in the partnership between communities aligned to the Informal Settlement Network (ISN) and local governments.

During the first post-apartheid decade, "first generation" urban and housing policies, such as the White Paper on Housing (DoH 1994) and the National Housing Act (RSA 1997), underscored the importance of creating viable, integrated, sustainable settlements with convenient access to opportunities. Despite significant achievements, the roll-out of housing delivery has produced unintended consequences[1] of socio-economic, spatial and racial fragmentation,

urban sprawl, and has failed to create low-income housing markets, thereby undermining the ideal of houses contributing to asset-driven poverty alleviation (e.g. Charlton and Kihato 2006; Cross 2010; Khan 2010; Pithouse 2009). The "second generation" (from the second decade) of potentially more progressive, transformative and responsive policies has had little impact in changing the paradigm of an unsustainable housing subsidy system (Misselhorn 2008). Breaking New Ground (BNG), the 'comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements', which aimed to inform the new generation of human settlement legislative frameworks, advocated that 'informal settlements must urgently be integrated into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion' (DoH 2004: 12). Moreover, BNG introduced the notion of 'locally constructed social compacts'[2] and called for capacity building and organisation building to be supported in the roll-out of the new human settlements paradigm (DoH 2004: 18).

Local governments have struggled to come to grips with the extensive community engagement and difficult engineering and geotechnical interventions implicit in the upgrading of informal settlements. A lack of community participation, political will and technical expertise has resulted in "knowledge gaps" that obstruct effective planning. Government-appointed contractors at the coalface of project implementation are often confronted by communities that refuse to collaborate on plans drafted without their participation. Communities are often still regarded as passive recipients, unable to contribute significantly to the design, management and implementation of settlement upgrading plans.

Institutional and political, legal and financial, and technical constraints (such as lack of departmental alignment, supply-chain management procedures and contractors with adequate socio-technical skill-sets) obstruct collaboration between organised communities

and "developmental local government" in upgrading informal settlements. However, new approaches are emerging, where communities have greater influence on how public resources are allocated for development. By "co-producing" development plans and outcomes, democracy is deepened and citizenship is actively exercised. Communities are presenting responsive, intelligible, affordable, and inclusive in-situ solutions to urban poverty compared to conventional contractor and state-driven delivery mechanisms. The Informal Settlement Network (ISN) experience shows how horizontal networks of the urban poor mobilised around issue-based agendas and solutions can have significant impacts on the way development is conceptualised and operationalised.

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However, reaching this level of active citizenry and collaborative partnerships requires extensive engagement, which starts with recognising informality.

ACTIVE CITIZENRY IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING: THE ISN

Informal settlements are often perceived as obscure places; as political time bombs waiting to explode. Political relations are framed as oppositional, violent, and rights-demanding. To a certain extent, shack dwellers are seen as surviving by illegal means. They are seen as land invaders, a perceived security threat and the cause of depreciating land market values to neighbouring land owners, and are therefore not considered to be rights-bearing citizens (Chatterjee 2004). Yet, if the very nature of their citizenship is

contested, how can shack dwellers be required to be "active citizens"?

Patrick Magebhula, chair of the ISN and special advisor to Mr. Tokyo Sexwale, the Minister of Human Settlements, wrote[3]:

> The press has a fascination with what are often referred to as 'service delivery protests'. The fires and looting make good copy for editors desperate for any kind of violence or scandal. But there is a much bigger story developing across our cities. The poor are organising, informal settlement by informal settlement, to work with all levels of government and other stakeholders to address their most pressing needs. We can recall the street and issue-based people's development committees so effectively in the civics movement that organised communities to improve their own lives and bring down apartheid. The Informal Settlement Network (ISN) is the first major attempt in the post-apartheid era to bring South Africa's settlement-level organisations of the urban poor under one umbrella, this time to work with government in finding solutions to slum poverty.

The impact of social movements on policy deliberations has been recognised internationally, and in many cases has had transformative significance in building more just and inclusive cities. Organised and capacitated networks of the poor and marginalised – the underclasses – are mobilising around the chronic and acute conditions associated with the "urbanisation of poverty". When modernist planning ideas – those imagined sanitised spaces of the competitive city – meet urbanisation trends, existing anti-poor systems of exclusion and exploitation are often entrenched. Policy makers fail to address core urban problems. Coalitions

and networks are formed at the intersections of a failing state, the planning of competitive urban spaces (such as the "World Class City"[4]), the commodification of public spaces and resources, and existing systems of exclusion (Mayer 2009). These very same forces and dynamics make complex social systems, such as cities, either work or crumble. The "right to the city" discourse is often framed along these lines, albeit open to various interpretations, arguing that the remaking of the city in the fashion of a more egalitarian and sustainable city depends on a politics of contestation and resistance (Harvey 2008, 2012; Marcuse 2009; see Purcell 2003, 2006 for a different interpretation).

The ISN has emerged as an alternative social movement, arguing that communities are best placed to contribute meaningfully to the design, management and implementation of upgrading projects that affect their immediate living conditions. Communities are networking in the metropolitan municipalities of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, eThekwini and Cape Town, and smaller municipalities such as Stellenbosch. The origins of the network can be traced to the momentum built up by the Federation of the Urban and Rural Poor (FEDUP), a national network of more than 400 woman-led saving schemes that mobilised around an asset-based approach[5] to development. The Coalition of Urban Poor (CUP) was inaugurated in 2006, when the then-minister of housing, Ms. Lindiwe Sisulu, pledged[6] up-front subsidies to the FEDUP. The CUP, consisting of a wider representation of community-based organisations, centred its focus on the Learning and Advocacy Programme. This included the upgrading of Kwa-Themba (Johannesburg); Inanda and Eshowe HIV/AIDS grassroots care initiative (Durban); dialogues with state institutions around sanitation, emergency housing, and relocations; community-based solid waste management and recycling (Cape Town); and many more. The Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) – an NGO based in Cape

Town – supported CUP in creating platforms for learning exchanges, providing technical support, and documentation. Following after CUP, the ISN was launched in 2008/09 and by that time constituted a network of more than 400 affiliated settlements in the major metropolitan areas of South Africa.

The rally call in ISN is: *Nothing for us without us. Vukuzenzele! Wake up and do it for yourself!* The kind of upgrading that the ISN espouses is not about land and services alone, but about realising citizenship and equality in our cities. ISN is re-interpreting the "rights-based" discourse by opting for renewed state-citizen relations via the political strategy of "co-production": extending citizen action to secure political influence, build community capacity and skills, and access central decision-making processes that determine resource allocation (Mitlin 2008). Shifting the energy from opposition to collaboration, the ISN strives to influence resource allocations in remaking the city.

AMANDLA! IMALI NO LWAZI. EISH, AYILUMI MA IHLAFUNA

In partnership with local government, or as autonomous change agents, the ISN is implementing projects capable of demonstrating the value of "co-producing" development solutions. Local capacities come to the fore as communities illustrate their ability to plan, budget, procure and implement their own projects, drawing government into new democratic spaces. By leading the way with draft development plans produced by communities, effective negotiation with government authorities occurs. Autonomous initiatives of the urban poor are funded through the Community Upgrading Finance Facility (CUFF). The CUFF board – consisting 60% of shack dwellers and 40% of CORC technical staff – makes the final decision on the allocation of funds, which might include small-scale drainage, water and sanitation reticulation, public amenities (crèches, community centres, etc.) and re-blocking

(shack improvement in a new layout plan). The CUFF aims to provide seed funding for precedent-setting projects able to catalyse partnership formation. Plans for new upgrading projects should be well motivated by communities and are usually based on enumeration results.

The process of self-enumeration entails a detailed socio-economic and demographic profiling of the settlement by the residents, which becomes the key building blocks for a comprehensive development plan. This development plan is also spatially referenced on (often hand-drawn) maps indicating the levels of services, densities, footpaths, and other socio-spatial readings. These maps are codified in Geographical Informal System (GIS) databases, with support from CORC. In this sense, service delivery goes beyond consultation and participation because power is shared. The goal of ISN capacity building, networking and partnership formation is to activate new kinds of citizenship forms, where poor communities have direct access to government decision-making processes. This requires a balancing of community agencies at the micro level, and government's institutional parameters at the macro scale.

The electric chants of the collective speak volumes – *Amandla! imali no lwazi. Eish, ayilumi ma ihlafuna* [Power is money and knowledge. You cannot bite while you are chewing], referring to the inability of councillors, officials and politicians to facilitate participation, which is a central principle of the Constitution and major policy frameworks. For ISN communities, empowerment means on the one hand access to knowledge and decision making, and on the other influence on resource flows.

The following section, albeit limited in scope and depth, discusses partnerships with two local governments where the ISN has made considerable inroads in realising the kind of institutional alignments

necessary to place people at the centre, and take upgrading strategies to the city-wide scale.

STELLENBOSCH MUNICIPALITY

Stellenbosch is home to an internationally acclaimed university, has a booming FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) industry and is generally configured to cater for the knowledge economy. Surrounding the town are wine farms and other agri-businesses that provide seasonal jobs. Land is a valuable commodity and is subject to fierce competition. But hidden in the folds and crevices of a seemingly unspoilt landscape, resides some of the poorest communities in the country. Two large informal settlements of more than 1 500 households – Enkanini (Khayamandi, Stellenbosch) and Langrug (Franschhoek) – and many smaller settlements and backyarder communities make up a housing backlog that will take the municipality more than 130 years to eradicate, based on the 300 housing subsidies the municipality receives per annum (Carolissen 2011).

The gripping reality of the urban crises, among others, led to the restructuring of core municipal functions and the newly created Integrated Human Settlements Department under the Planning and Economic Development Department. A subdivision in the Integrated Human Settlements Department, the Informal Settlements Management Department is dedicated to improving the conditions of people living in informal settlements and backyards.

IN-SITU UPGRADING OF LANGRUG: FROM PERCEIVED PROBLEMATIC TO CHANGE AGENT

Langrug is an informal settlement established in the early 1990s by migrant labourers seeking jobs on nearby farms, the forestry plantations, and the construction of Wemmershoek dam. Langrug has a population of 4 088 people, or 1 858 households, of which 41% are led by woman (CORC 2011c). The settlement is located on the slopes of Mont Rochelle Nature Reserve, three kilometres outside the town of Franschhoek. On average, about 45 people share a toilet, and 72 people share a water tap. However, these services only reach two-thirds of the community: higher up on the mountain slope is Zwelitsha, an area that was occupied in the past five years, has no services, where people use the bucket system and carry water up the steep slope.

For more than three years the municipality tried to engage with the community to find solutions to these challenges. Years of neglect and mismanagement of the settlement's services had led to the greywater runoff polluting the neighbouring farmer's irrigation dam, and in 2008, the farmer obtained a court interdict against the municipality. Under the interdict, the municipality was forced to construct a road hierarchy with proper storm water channelling. The construction of the road required 16 families to be moved to another section in the settlement. However, planning processes were delayed because of the fractured relationship between the community and the municipality.

Officials from the Informal Settlement Management Department approached the ISN in the hope of cementing a partnership that would initially focus on the in-situ upgrading of Langrug. Notwithstanding the claims from the municipality of being an "honest broker", the ISN leadership had suspicions about the municipality's intentions for entering into a partnership and whether any serious long-term developmental prospects were on the cards. Over two years (2009–2010), a sustained engagement between ISN/CORC and Stellenbosch Municipality took place, with parties outlining the conditions under which the partnership would crystallise. The central topic of discussion was the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and, more specifically, the core areas of intervention and action (contained in the appendices to the MoU). Between 11 and 16 October 2010, senior officials from the Stellenbosch Municipality and community members

from ISN Stellenbosch (mostly leaders of Langrug settlement) travelled to Uganda to see people-centred planning in action (see CORC 2011b). This international exchange was facilitated by Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI).

Once a draft agreement was in place, the ISN launched a settlement-wide mobilisation in Langrug with the aim of building local capacity in municipal engagements. This entailed a number of general meetings and learning exchanges from and to ISN Cape Town communities. In February 2011, Langrug community volunteers took on the job of enumerating their settlement through house-to-house visits, socio-economic and demographic surveys, and measuring shack sizes. Alfred Ratana, a Langrug community leader, said 'we took … about two to three weeks to talk with them [the broader community] about the enumeration. And then afterwards they came in big numbers'. The community presented their enumeration results to the Mayoral Committee and the Executive Mayor, who were impressed by the community's articulation of their needs and aspirations. One of the immediate needs identified was better engineering services to Zwelitsha, which required the construction of a pump station to improve the pressure in the water supply. Meanwhile, a committee was formed to drive the project to relocate the 16 households that had to be moved because of the new road development. Trevor Masiy, another community leader, remarked that 'our will is to see the improvement of the whole of Langrug, because the municipality has been trying to come up with a solution since 2008'. In October 2011[7] , the relocation of 16 families was successfully completed, paving the way for the in-situ upgrading of Langrug. As Johru Robyn, senior project manager of the municipality, commented, 'the role of the municipality has intensified in this partnership compared to an agreement with a contractor. In this case, we were quite hands-on in everything'.

By November 2011, the community's enumeration data had evolved into a detailed spatial development plan, which informed the extension of the electricity grid, more toilets and standing pipes, and the installation of a play park. The MoU was signed between the Stellenbosch Municipality and ISN and CORC, and at the spirited event, the Executive Mayor Mr Conrad Sidego remarked,

The benefits of this partnership are far-reaching and *should be viewed as a paradigm shift in municipal governance*. Today is about changing mindsets in providing housing … Just days ago we contemplated that we now have seven billion people on the planet and the challenges going with that … For us as the local government, we also need to understand and face the reality of what we need to do. If we continue with our old thinking, there is no way that we are going to change this [emphasis added].

The in-situ upgrading of Langrug also drew the attention of Western Cape Premier Helen Zille, who visited the settlement with a number of officials from other municipalities across the Western Cape in May 2012. In an interview with *Eyewitness News Online* (2012), Premier Zille stated,

The important point about this informal settlement is that it is one of the first where we have a viable partnership with the community. And now, working with the community, we are installing stormwater, greywater systems, toilets, washing facilities, roads and upgrading the place generally … But the exciting thing about this project is that we are upgrading shacks where they are instead of moving people out and starting from the beginning.

In 2012 a design studio was launched in partnership with the University of Cape Town's (UCT) Department of Engineering and Built Environment. The studio's aim was to produce a number of potential spatial frameworks in a collaborative planning exercise between community members and urban planning students. The spatial frameworks made recommendations on precinct developments, environmental health, mobility and transport nodes, and more generally on how Langrug could be integrated into the broader urban fabric. In June 2012, eight Langrug community leaders were awarded Continued Professional Development (CPD) certificates from UCT, recognising their contribution in the design studio. At the time of writing, the upgrading project is in phase three of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP)[8] application, and the Municipality has committed to the full upgrading of the settlement, which includes land rehabilitation, relocation assistance, the instalment of permanent municipal engineering infrastructure, and the provision of social amenities and community facilities.

COMMUNITY PORTFOLIOS

While waiting for full service delivery in Langrug, the community is taking proactive steps to produce more detailed information that can inform future development. In collaboration with the Worcester Polytechnic Institute (WPI) in Massachusetts, USA, locally based "community researchers" have initiated more pointed research into key areas of concern as identified at general meetings. Portfolios in Health, Security, Water, Sanitation and Hygiene, Greywater, and Education have been established. With funding from WPI, the community has built more than 500 meters of greywater channels, beautified sanitation and wash-up facilities, planned a health conference, and established working relationships with local schools to reach out to non-attending youth. Plans are being devised for a multi-purpose centre, and a team is engaging stakeholders such as youth and

culture groups, churches, and arts and crafts collectives on maximising the use of the centre. The settlement has been divided into clusters, where households within these clusters are saving towards livelihoods development and shelter improvements (CORC 2012).

NETWORKING COMMUNITIES FOR MUNICIPAL-WIDE INFLUENCE

In the first financial year (2011–2012) of the partnership between the CORC and ISN alliance and Stellenbosch Municipality, in addition to the capital and operational expenditure of community-initiated projects, the MoU makes provisions for 'building an urban poor platform through a network of informal settlements and informal backyarders'. This is done by surveying, mapping and profiling settlements across the municipality with the aim to upgrade them (Stellenbosch Municipality and CORC/ISN 2011). Provisions are also made to invest in the social institutions of the poor in order to manage the partnership projects; for example, setting up mini offices in five strategic zones within the municipality. Various spheres of government and other interested parties will also be invited to participate in researching and designing a 'financial facility that incentivises community participation in informal settlement upgrading' (Stellenbosch Municipality and CORC/ISN 2011).

CITY OF CAPE TOWN

Cape Town is often referred to as the city with two faces: an inner city hub with European characteristics, which is geared towards creating a viable business centre (via the Central City Improvement District), and sprawling middle-class suburbs; and the massive expanses of pockets of poverty spread across the Cape Flats, where more than a quarter of the City's residents reside. Cape Town's Gini coefficient[9] ranks it as one of the most unequal cities in the world, and the city has a housing backlog of more than 400 000 units.

2009/10: CATALYST FOR CHANGE

More than three years of successes and failures in informal settlement upgrading inform the partnership-in-the-making between ISN/CORC and the City of Cape Town. After a seemingly stalled period, in 2006 the partnership was launched onto a troubled stage when a run-away shack fire in the Joe Slovo settlement razed 500 shacks to the ground (CORC and iKhayalami 2009). ISN mobilised the community, and FEDUP set up effective savings schemes. With support from CORC and iKhayalami[10], the community "re-blocked" (shack improvement in a new layout plan) the settlement, which became a precedent for in-situ upgrading in the contested N2 Gateway project. Based on the Joe Slovo experience, the City showed interest in partnering at a city-wide scale, and 12 pilot projects were agreed to. These projects included the resettlement of a section of Barcelona settlement (Gugulethu) to nearby Lwazi Park (see CORC 2010) and the in-situ "re-blocking" of Sheffield Road in Philippi (CORC 2011a).

2010/11: REGIONAL PARTNERSHIP MEETINGS TAKE SHAPE

The successes of these earlier pilot projects spurred on frequent dialogues between communities and the City. Linking community-based organisations across the regions of Cape Town, ISN introduced monthly forums around needs identification, project progress, and planning for upgrading. The regular attendance of various line departments (such as Informal Settlements Management, Water and Sanitation, Roads and Stormwater, and Electricity) implicit in upgrading and the City's four Principal Field Officers guaranteed real-time feedback and action planning.

This departure – from service delivery consultations on a project-by-project basis to engaging in collaborative, responsive and cost-effective partnerships focused on improving living conditions and "materialising citizenship" – was

a momentous moment. Understandably, this new partnership was wrought with complexity and uncertainty, especially when aligning other line departments to the community development plans, which threatened to derail the process.

> The geographical spread of these projects were true to the needs of the City, with eleven projects in the South/Central area, six in the Khayelitsha/Strand area, and the rest spread across other parts of the city. Some of the projects (20%) included consolidation and relocation of settlements that consisted of less than 15 households and where development was not feasible.

2012: PARTNERSHIP REKINDLED

In the embers of a seemingly stalemate, a renewed interest in building partnerships ignited new negotiations and possibilities. In February 2012, the ISN and the municipality agreed to 22 pilot partnership projects. The geographical spread of these projects were true to the needs of the City, with eleven projects in the South/Central area, six in the Khayelitsha/Strand area, and the rest spread across other parts of the city. Some of the projects (20%) included consolidation and relocation of settlements that consisted of less than 15 households and where development was not feasible. The majority included formalisation and subdivision (40%), and re-blocking (40%). Settlements ranged from very small (seven households) to considerably large (1 284 households). The partnership would lead to better-serviced and more tenure-secure settlements. Projects prioritised basic service delivery in the short term, and formalisation and infrastructure development in the long term. In February 2012, the deputy-minister of the National Department of Human Settlements, Ms Zoe Kota-Fredericks visited Mshini Wam and Siyahlala informal settlements and formed part of the activities and celebrations of these pilot projects. She witnessed

the in-situ process of re-blocking, heard about the layout plans, and handed over ID cards with household enumeration data. 'It's an honour to again have you here amongst the shacks, Minister,' said Patrick Magebhula. 'This is where it really matters.' Turning to the buzzing crowd he said, 'You need to be a leader with a purpose. And you will only know your people and your settlement if you have enumerated and discussed the data'.

On Thursday 19 April 2012, the celebrations came closer to home when Mayor De Lille signed the partnership accord with ISN and CORC (City of Cape Town and CORC/ISN 2012). At a mass gathering held in Vygieskraal – a settlement of 300 households located behind the formal housing development with the same name in Athlone – the Mayor was introduced to the programmes of the ISN. She saw the community's demonstration model of the new cluster layout, the enumeration results, and listened to community leaders and the local councillor speak about their experiences.

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De Lille reiterated her vision of an 'inclusive and caring City' that included forming new partnerships with civic organisations. The partnership between ISN/CORC and the City will share the following guiding principles, set forth in to the MoU (City of Cape Town and CORC/ISN 2012), which was presented by Mayco Member for Human Settlements Councillor Sonnenberg:

1. Create a shared community vision of the future, especially with regard to informal settlements upgrading and backyard rehabilitation;
2. Identify and prioritise key issues, thereby facilitating immediate measures to alleviate urgent problems;
3. Support community-based analysis of local issues, including the comprehensive review of long-term, systemic problems that confront particular service systems and the need to integrate different service strategies so that they are mutually supportive;
4. Develop action plans for addressing key issues, drawing from the experiences and innovations of diverse local groups;
5. Mobilise community-wide resources to meet service needs, including the joint implementation of sustainable development projects; and
6. Increase public support for municipal activities and local understanding of municipal development needs and constraints.

CONCLUSION: NOTHING FOR US WITHOUT US.

As government struggles to adjust to the changing dynamics in delivery and infrastructure development, organised poor communities are offering responsive, innovative and cost-effective solutions to settlement upgrading. They are preparing their own development plans based on community-led enumerations, collective saving schemes, spatial mapping and implementing projects. Communities are advancing the idea that the only socially sustainable solution to upgrading – and for that matter enhanced People's Housing Processes (ePHP)[11] – is for organised poor communities and local governments to form partnerships, or "social compacts". Partnerships are emerging where communities have direct influence and access to central decision-making powers that determine resource allocations.

On-going negotiations and transactions are necessary in order to balance micro agencies with macro institutional prerogatives. On the one hand, communities need to articulate their development plans in ways that fit into government's bureaucracies, while on the other hand, local governments need to move beyond the iron towers and red tape that hinders service delivery. Collaborative partnerships are being forged in the furnaces of the practices of upgrading informal settlements. As organised community networks such as the ISN emerge at the city-wide scale, local governments cannot afford to view the delivery of basic services and informal settlement upgrades as purely mechanical supply-side interventions. Not recognising the agencies and micro-practices of the urban poor has led to numerous unintended, anti-developmental consequences in the roll-out of housing delivery.

This paper has attempted to unpack some of the emerging dynamics in the partnerships between organised networks of the urban poor aligned to ISN (and supported by CORC) and local governments of

These platforms should start tilting the balance in favour of the urban poor and carve out a space in the numerous and overlapping government participatory processes that influence decision-making.

Stellenbosch and Cape Town. The challenge going forward will be to build platforms where engagement is centred on the lived experience of communities themselves, and not the perceived experience in the imaginations of city planners and builders. These platforms should start tilting the balance in favour of the urban poor and carve out a space in the numerous and overlapping government participatory processes that influence decision-making. In doing so, new cultures of community participation are realised, and democratic engagement is deepened. Communities are leading the way in demonstrating alternative paradigms in the governance of service delivery and building an active citizenry. For, as the rally cry goes, 'Nothing for us without us'.

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NOTES

[1] South Africa's ambitious housing delivery regime is said to have delivered more than 2.3 million houses since 1994, but today the demand for housing still outstrips the supply. Many developments have not had a significant impact on reconstructing apartheid spatial forms because they are located on the peripheries of cities. The National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP) estimates that meeting the 1.2 million housing backlog with the standard RDP housing package (40m^2 top structure on 250m^2 serviced site plus 30% for roads and amenities) would require 40 000 hectares (plus 30%) and a budget of R92.4 billion, which is equivalent to 70% of the total budget 2009–2015 (NUSP 2010).

[2] In the Breaking New Ground policy, 'social compacts' make direct mention of 'new funding mechanisms for PHP' developments. Earlier versions of the National Housing Code's Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP) (under Chapter 13 and after 2009 under Part 3) included the notion of 'social compacts' between local government and communities, but this term was removed in the 2009 Housing Code amendments. Three per cent of the UISP subsidy is allocated for social facilitation grants (DoHS 2009).

[3] 'Eradicating the slums', *The Sowetan*, 11 May 2010.

[4] Urban theorists and critical geographers such as John Friedman, Saskia Sassen, David Harvey and Manuel Castells have developed new "geographic vocabulary" to point to the 'spatial outcomes of economic and social transformations' of globalisation and the new roles of cities (Harrison 2003: 14). The "world city" hypothesis focuses on the transnational economic flows and their subsequent impacts of urban populations and spatial formations. The ambitious capitalist urban development trajectory of "African World Class City" has become popular in emerging cities looking to attract international capital, such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Nairobi, Lagos, and so forth.

[5] An "asset based" approach departs from the belief that the inherent qualities, competencies and experience of communities should be revealed and supported in order to build sustainable communities capable of forming collectives to achieve common goals.

[6] The relationship between government and FEDUP have been described as follows: 'communities take the lead, government adopts a policy based on community actions, and then government implements that policy through legislation, which effectively removes it from the genuine process of the urban poor' (FEDUP 2008: 9). In 2006, in an effort to restore the relationship, then-minister Sisulu entered into a formal agreement pledging to release 1 000 subsidies through each province.

[7] The Municipality initially suggested providing pre-fabricated Wendy houses (wooden "cottages") for the relocated families. For each family, R8,000 was made available. The community rather took it on themselves to use the allocated funds to construct better quality structures, complete with concrete foundation, zinc walls and finishing. This was in accordance with a self-produced layout plan, which incorporates stormwater channels, walkways and open spaces.

[8] Part 3 of the National Housing Code, also called the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), makes available allocations for a phased approach to upgrading informal settlements. There are four development phases: application (Phase 1), project initiation (Phase 2), project implementation (Phase 3) and housing consolidation (Phase 4). In Phase 2, as seen in the upgrading of Langrug, an agreement between the municipality and the community should be reached, and preparation measures such as land acquisition, socio-economic and demographic profiling, provision of interim services, and conducting

pre-planning studies should have been conducted. In Langrug, this was completed. Going forward into Phase 3, full services will be provided for based on township planning and associated social and technical intervention (DoHS 2009). Stellenbosch Municipality has made allocations to construct an access road in the 2012/13 financial year.

[9]   UN-Habitat (2010) reports that spatial, economic and social polarisation have increased in the post-apartheid era in South Africa's major cities. Cape Town has a Gini coefficient of 0.67 (1 meaning absolute inequality; 0 meaning perfect equality).

[10] iKhayalami works closely with CORC in finding alternative and cost-effective solutions to shack upgrading in a new community-based layout plan, which has been dubbed "re-blocking".

[11] The enhanced People's Housing Process (ePHP) is a housing subsidy where beneficiaries are actively involved in decision-making processes in the design and implementation of houses.