

"Living for the Sake of Living"

Partnerships between the Poor and Local Government in Johannesburg

*David Everatt
Graeme Gotz
Ross Jennings*



This United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) Programme Paper has been produced with the support of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. UNRISD also thanks the governments of Denmark, Finland, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom for their core funding.

Copyright © UNRISD. Short extracts from this publication may be reproduced unaltered without authorization on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to UNRISD, Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. UNRISD welcomes such applications.

The designations employed in UNRISD publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNRISD concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

The responsibility for opinions expressed rests solely with the author(s), and publication does not constitute endorsement by UNRISD.

ISSN 1020-8186

Contents

Acronyms	ii
Acknowledgements	ii
Summary/Résumé/Resumen	iii
Summary	iii
Résumé	v
Resumen	vii
Part I: Contextual Overview	1
Introduction	1
Gauteng province	1
City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	3
Policy context at the national level	5
Policy context at the local government level	7
Sociopolitical context	8
Meeting the challenges?	9
Part II: “Living for the Sake of Living” in Tladi-Moletsane	10
Introduction	10
Tladi-Moletsane in 1996	10
Methodology and limitations	12
Tladi-Moletsane in 2002	12
Partnerships, and people’s awareness of organizations working in Tladi-Moletsane	19
The local council and councillor	20
Negative views	20
“Squatter” versus councillor	21
Positive views	22
The local civic association	22
Business	23
Part III: The Inner City	23
Structure and focus	23
Methodology and limitations	24
Overview of the Johannesburg inner city	24
Major socioeconomic trends and their consequences	25
Urban management policies and practices in the inner city	28
Voluntary action in the inner city	31
An overview of current voluntary sector organizations	32
Self-start-up social formations and projects	34
Current initiatives and concerns: An adequate basis for partnerships?	35
Partnering: A promising start goes awry	35
Conclusion	38
Bibliography	41
UNRISD Programme Papers on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights	43
Boxes	
Box 1: Ward committees	7
Box 2: Poverty in South Africa	14
Figures	
Figure 1: Municipalities of Gauteng province	1
Figure 2: Key Johannesburg statistics in comparative perspective, 1996–2001	4
Tables	
Table 1: Population, number of households and household size by municipality	2
Table 2: Unemployment in South Africa by race and sex, 1999	15

Acronyms

AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CBO	community-based organization
CSO	civil society organization
GDP	gross domestic product
GEAR	growth, employment and redistribution
GJMC	Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council
GVA	gross value added
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
ICDA	Interfaith Community Development Association
IDP	integrated development plan
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPO	non-profit organization
R	South African rand
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACN	South African Cities Network
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNV	United Nations Volunteers

Acknowledgements

This paper uses two case studies to critically review the complexities of creating partnerships between civil society organizations and local government structures to provide substantive benefits to the poor. The paper also analyses how – if at all – things have changed since 1996, when the initial research was carried out and the case studies were first presented at the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II).

The authors are grateful to David Westendorff for commissioning this challenging study, for his unceasing support and for never allowing us to take the easy option unless it was the right option.

We are also grateful to Gerald Kraak, Director of Atlantic Philanthropies, South Africa, who published the results of the 1996 study in *Development Update* and also provided financial support for the 2002 update.

Finally, thanks are due to the anonymous referee, and to Laureen Bertin and AvisAnne Julien for editing and proofreading.

Summary/Résumé/Resumen

Summary

South Africa's democracy, brought about through grassroots mobilization, is just a decade old. The struggle against apartheid mobilized hundreds of thousands of South Africans not simply around the political goals of freedom and equality, but around their exclusion from decision making and service delivery at the local level. Civic associations, which played a prominent role in the 1980s, mobilized people around slogans such as "one city, one tax base", and used consumer and service payment boycotts to force local authorities and businesses to negotiate around service delivery. Freedom, equality and the end of apartheid were obviously the primary goals, but they were undergirded by community struggles around participation in local development.

Apartheid ended as a result of negotiation rather than an overthrow of the incumbent regime; as a result, a host of concessions had to be made to both the ruling regime and to local and international capital. Dramatic redistribution of wealth was impossible for a host of reasons. As a result, the African National Congress and its allies, which formed the government after 1994, had to adopt a long-term view in which redistribution and growth could occur simultaneously, requiring a national framework that would guide investment on the basis of equity. But partnerships rely on communities having the space and resources to generate and pursue their own ideas and goals. This requires the state to manage a balancing act between ensuring that its policy goals inform development and simultaneously make space for people-driven development.

Following the end of apartheid, the racially demarcated landscape was reshaped into nine provinces and, in 1995, into 843 elected transitional units in the local sphere. The first full democratic local elections were held in 2000, after the Municipal Demarcation Board consolidated the local sphere into 284 local government units, comprising six metropolitan municipalities, 47 district municipalities and 231 local municipalities. Put simply, intergovernmental relations are just 10 years old in South Africa, and the local sphere—the rock face of delivery and community participation—barely a toddler.

The context for examining partnerships between organizations for the poor and local government is an evolving and changing one. The governance model is being developed, and civil society is changing as well. South Africa has a rich and diverse non-profit sector, with an operating expenditure of R9.3 billion in 1998. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) played a key role in the anti-apartheid struggle, and although their relative importance has declined since 1994, the non-profit sector as a whole remains a defining feature of South African society.

In this paper, David Everatt, Graeme Gotz and Ross Jennings focus on two areas: (i) the Johannesburg inner city; and (ii) Tladi-Moletsane, a suburb of Soweto. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality oversees the largest number of residents of any municipality in Gauteng province. Poverty indicators show that the constituency of this area includes both affluent, well-served communities and impoverished, disadvantaged communities. While the existing levels and quality of service delivery need to be maintained, the real challenges lie in the extension of services and infrastructure to all residents of Johannesburg.

In meeting these challenges, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality is guided by national legislation as well as local dynamics. In particular, fiscal constraints at the local level have led city authorities to adopt an approach that is cognizant of the need for democratic, participatory governance, but is primarily concerned with generating economic growth.

The question is whether this approach is workable. Are there inherent tensions or contradictions in the application of an approach that is underpinned by participatory principles, while at the same time being governed by an economic bottom line?

Local government is located at the centre of government's rural and urban development strategies. Partnerships between the poor and their structures, on one hand, and local government, on the other, are as fundamental for "developmental local government" at a theoretical level as integrated development plans—required of all local authorities—are at a practical level. The policy terrain has never been more conducive for local-level partnerships.

On the ground in Tladi-Moletsane, however, the situation is very different. Politics and activism have come to be seen as avenues for the ambitious, and not mechanisms for effecting change. Disinterest and apathy are widespread. Politics is still dominated by a golden clique of more affluent residents; but even here there are problems, with fewer affluent people actively involved in local affairs.

Class differences are reflected in local organizations. The formal areas have a local civic association, which barely relates to and does not actively support the civic associations set up by those living in the Tladi informal settlement. The local councillor replicates these differences, having a warm relationship with local businesses and using a junior staff member to tour the formal areas, but bypassing the informal settlement.

Ten years of democracy provided some tangible benefits to the residents of Tladi-Moletsane: shared taps and toilets for the informal settlement; houses and tarred roads for residents of the formal areas. Expectations were probably unrealistic, and some observers may be correct in detecting more continuity than change from "urban apartheid" to "postapartheid". Either way, the general attitude in Tladi-Moletsane is despondent.

There is some evidence of local action by small local community-based organizations (CBOs) and concerned individuals. Formerly prominent structures such as the local civic association have faded into the background or closed down; and there is some evidence that local government structures are seen as a tool for leveraging change. The Tladi informal settlement dwellers, for example, established their own ward committee to concentrate on water, sewerage and electrification. While sceptical about their chances of success, it is important that they are trying to use the mechanisms made available to them as part of democratizing local government. The authors of this paper found no evidence of partnerships with larger CBOs or NGOs, nor with the council. The policy terrain may be favourable, but a great deal of grassroots mobilization and education is urgently required if policy is to translate into substantive and sustainable reality.

By contrast, in the authors' Johannesburg inner city case study, we see how the declining fortunes of city-community partnerships illustrate how the shifts in city management and community organization impact the prospects of future partnerships. A rapidly changing economic and social environment has put pressure on the city authorities to manage the inner city in ways less conducive to partnerships, as well as on conventional voluntary sector initiatives and organizations that, in the increasingly contested, fluid and inscrutable inner city, have little incentive to function as voluntary groups have in the past.

According to the authors, the future of partnerships appears gloomy, and they argue that it is difficult to predict the impact that further changes in the inner city may have in making future partnerships more meaningful and viable. Presently, the most successful partnerships seem to be project-based and focused on specific geographic locations, involving government-facilitated opportunities for existing organizations with defined mandates to provide new services to their communities.

David Everatt and Ross Jennings are partners in Strategy and Tactics, a development research agency based in South Africa. Graeme Gotz is an independent researcher and consultant, focused mainly on local government and urban development.

Résumé

La démocratie sud-africaine, résultat de la mobilisation de la base, a juste dix ans. La lutte contre l'apartheid a mobilisé des centaines de milliers de Sud-africains, qui se sont rassemblés non seulement autour des objectifs politiques de liberté et d'égalité, mais aussi autour de la prise de décision, dont ils étaient exclus, et des services, dont ils étaient privés au niveau local. Les associations civiques, qui ont joué un rôle de premier plan dans les années 80, ont mobilisé les populations autour de slogans tels que "une ville, une base d'imposition" et se sont servies du boycott des consommateurs et du non-paiement des services pour forcer les autorités et les entreprises locales à négocier sur la prestation de services. La liberté, l'égalité et la fin de l'apartheid étaient manifestement les objectifs essentiels mais leur réalisation passait par des luttes communautaires pour la participation au développement local.

La fin de l'apartheid a résulté de négociations plutôt que du renversement du régime en place; il a donc fallu faire de multiples concessions à la fois au régime et au capital local et international. Il était impossible, pour diverses raisons, de procéder à une redistribution radicale des richesses. Le Congrès national africain (ou ANC pour African National Congress en anglais) et ses alliés, qui ont formé le gouvernement après 1994, ont dû consentir à reléguer à la fois la redistribution et la croissance dans le long terme, ce qui exigeait une politique nationale d'investissements guidée par un souci d'équité. Mais pour que des partenariats se mettent en place, il faut que les collectivités aient l'espace et les ressources nécessaires pour produire leurs propres idées et objectifs et les traduire dans la réalité. L'Etat, de son côté, doit trouver un juste équilibre entre son action et celle de la population et veiller à ce que le développement soit conforme à ses propres objectifs politiques tout en laissant la population en être le moteur.

Après la fin de l'apartheid, le pays, naguère divisé en régions raciales, a été réorganisé en neuf provinces et, au niveau local en 1995, en 843 circonscriptions transitoires élues. Les premières élections locales vraiment démocratiques ont lieu en 2000, après que le Conseil chargé du redécoupage des municipalités eut refondu le pays en 284 autorités locales comprenant six municipalités métropolitaines, 47 municipalités de district et 231 municipalités locales. Pour employer une image simple, si les relations intergouvernementales ont juste 10 ans en Afrique du Sud, les autorités locales, pierre angulaire de la prestation de services et de la participation communautaire, savent à peine marcher.

Le contexte dans lequel évoluent les partenariats entre organisations pour les pauvres et autorités locales est en constante mutation. Le modèle de gouvernance se cherche encore et la société civile change, elle aussi. Les organisations sans but lucratif forment en Afrique du Sud un secteur dynamique et diversifié, dont les dépenses d'exploitation s'élevaient en 1998 à R9.3 milliards. Les organisations non gouvernementales (ONG) ont joué un rôle capital dans la lutte contre l'apartheid et, bien que leur importance relative ait décliné depuis 1994, le secteur sans but lucratif, dans son ensemble, reste un trait majeur de la société sud-africaine.

David Everatt, Graeme Gotz et Ross Jennings se concentrent ici sur deux zones géographiques: (i) le centre de Johannesburg et (ii) Tladi-Moletsane, une banlieue de Soweto. La Municipalité métropolitaine de la ville de Johannesburg est, de toutes les municipalités de la province de Gauteng, celle qui compte le plus grand nombre d'administrés. Les indicateurs de pauvreté montrent que cette agglomération est composée à la fois de quartiers riches et bien desservis et de quartiers pauvres et défavorisés. S'il importe de maintenir les niveaux et la qualité des services actuels, le vrai défi consiste à étendre les services et l'infrastructure à tous les habitants de Johannesburg.

Pour relever ces défis, la Municipalité métropolitaine de Johannesburg se laisse guider par la législation nationale autant que par les dynamiques locales. Des contraintes budgétaires au niveau local, en particulier, ont amené les autorités municipales à adopter une démarche certes consciente de la nécessité d'une gouvernance démocratique et participative, mais surtout attentive à produire de la croissance économique.

Reste à savoir si cette approche résistera à l'épreuve des faits. N'est-ce pas s'exposer à des tensions ou à des contradictions que d'appliquer une approche qui, tout en reposant sur des principes de participation, obéit à des impératifs économiques?

Le pouvoir local est au centre des stratégies de développement rural et urbain du gouvernement. Les partenariats entre les pauvres et leurs structures, d'une part, et les autorités locales, de l'autre, sont aussi essentiels, au plan théorique, à un "gouvernement local axé sur le développement" que les plans de développement intégrés, que l'on demande à n'importe quelle autorité locale, le sont au plan pratique. Le terrain politique n'a jamais été plus propice aux partenariats au niveau local.

Sur le terrain à Tladi-Moletsane, cependant, la situation est très différente. La politique et le militantisme sont perçues comme des filières d'avenir pour les ambitieux, et non des moyens de faire changer les choses. Le désintérêt et l'apathie sont généraux. La politique est encore dominée par une clique huppée dont les membres se recrutent parmi les habitants les plus nantis mais, même là, il y a des problèmes, et ceux qui s'investissent dans la vie de la communauté locale sont moins nombreux que par le passé.

Les différences de classes se retrouvent dans les organisations locales. Les zones viabilisées ont une association civique locale mais elle n'a guère de contact avec ses homologues créées par les habitants des bidonvilles de Tladi et ne leur apporte aucun soutien. Le conseiller municipal reproduit ces différences; il a des relations cordiales avec les entreprises locales et charge un jeune membre de son personnel de visiter les zones viabilisées, mais contourne les bidonvilles.

Dix ans de démocratie se sont soldés par des avantages tangibles pour les habitants de Tladi-Moletsane: des robinets et des toilettes publics pour les bidonvilles, des maisons et des routes goudronnées pour les habitants des quartiers formels. Les attentes n'étaient sans doute pas réalistes, mais certains observateurs, qui voient plus de continuité que de changement entre "l'apartheid urbain" et "l'après-apartheid", pourraient bien avoir raison. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'humeur générale à Tladi-Moletsane est au découragement.

Il semblerait pourtant que de petites organisations communautaires locales et quelques personnes intéressées ne restent pas inactives. Des structures qui avaient auparavant pignon sur rue, comme l'association civique locale, ont disparu ou ont été reléguées à l'arrière-plan. Il semblerait aussi que les pouvoirs locaux soient considérés comme le moyen d'opérer des changements. Les habitants des bidonvilles de Tladi, par exemple, ont créé leur propre comité de gestion, qui s'occupe de l'eau, de l'évacuation des eaux usées et de l'électrification. Bien que sceptiques sur leurs chances de succès, il est important qu'ils essaient de mettre à profit les mécanismes mis à leur disposition dans le cadre de la démocratisation du pouvoir local. Les auteurs de ce document n'ont relevé aucun partenariat avec de grandes organisations communautaires ou ONG, ni avec le conseil municipal. Le terrain politique est sans doute favorable, mais il faut consentir sans tarder à un énorme travail de mobilisation et d'éducation de la base si l'on veut que les principes politiques se

预览已结束，完整报告链接和二维码如下：

https://www.yunbaogao.cn/report/index/report?reportId=5_21351

