

Open City Policy Implementation: The Case of Three Post-Democratic Sub-Saharan African Cities

Rosemary Awuor Hayangah* and Yvonne Ofosu-Kwakye**

*Senior Lecturer; **Graduate Student - School of Architecture, Planning and Housing, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Durban, 4041, South Africa. Email: [*Awuorh@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Awuorh@ukzn.ac.za); [**koky112001@yahoo.com](mailto:koky112001@yahoo.com)

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Abstract

Contemporary growth of cities in Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed dramatic changes in terms of spatial expansion; composition; informalisation and emerging patterns of increasing isolation of segments of the city. This has led to the development of divided cities with the poor on the one hand and the rich on the other or a division based on race or ethnicity. This has also often led to fragmented city development in which cities are either open at the global/regional level but exclusionary at the city level depending on the policies adopted. A comparative analysis of three post democratic cities in Africa with integration and exclusion will be undertaken. The paper will examine the extent to which the varied policies adopted by the different countries/cities have resulted into their relative openness. It focuses on the individual experiences of Gaborone (Botswana)- social inclusion; Durban (South Africa) history of exclusion and Kisumu (Kenya) open city. Based on both qualitative and quantitative evidences, it is believed that Gaborone and Kisumu cities are spatially inclusionary whilst Durban is open at the global level but exclusionary and fragmented at the city level. The key issue is to assess the comparative advantages of openness as a planning tool at the city and global levels by identifying their respective post-democratic urban policies; post-democratic urban policies; plus an assessment of relative openness of the cities before and after policy implementation.

Introduction and the Context of 'Openness'

All the three cities, Durban, Gaborone and Kisumu have experienced some form of closed system or semi-open cities during the colonial rule where the blacks' visits/movement into the cities and their activities was restricted. On attaining independence, the cities to a large extent became 'open' from a political perspective but have exhibited different levels of socio-economic and cultural openness. Politically, openness resulted into massive influx of the people from the rural hinterlands to these cities with the associated implications of rapid urbanisation. The way in which the cities have responded to these challenges has forced them to consider their degrees of openness with respect to a number of urban policies. Each of these cities have thus implemented openness policies in similar and contrasting ways.

'Openness' ranks high among the advantages which cities present to the outside world when they endeavour to boost their 'success' (British Council). Although the concept of openness of a city has not yet been fully defined, it is clear that the openness of the city to long term internalization is a

critical factor for cities to retain their global competitiveness. Consequently, the way cities are translating 'openness' varies widely. Clark (2005) has identified a number of these factors which include:- cultural (embracing diversity & attractiveness of culture); amenity (availability of social amenities & support services); economic (accessibility to jobs, incomes); regulatory factors (immigration policies, welfare). The UrbAct Open cities project (British Council), on the other hand, believes that it is understood by some as providing spaces which enable all those who live, work, and play or visit the city to share them freely.

Explicitly, open cities' comparative advantage pertains to their ability to adapt to the emerging social dynamics; absorb different people; has synergy that promotes growth and development when other factors are held constant. Open city policy often demands that the city put in place measures that will both attract and retain the people who would find it feasible to conduct business or live in the city because of some perceived benefit. In this respect a city has to define and delimit the kind and degree of openness which should be based on the long term benefits of being 'open'. Secondly the nature of openness also has to taken into account given factors such as insecurity and safety of the urban citizenry. These elements must be considered by the spatial planners who have to define the location of the various activities which should be properly planned right from the onset to minimize costly future relocation. Open cities must have an appropriate level of infrastructure given that diseconomies of scale step in when the city attracts people who would remain unemployed for a long time when there is congestion and competition for limited spaces. Open cities should have to have capacity to absorb the changing socio economic dynamics including the new comers into the city either for whatever services or facilities which they would like to

The main objective of this paper is to establish the relative openness of Durban, Gaborone and Kisumu with respect to some of their urban development policies and evaluate the extent to which openness has been achieved. It is important to note that openness in these three cities have tended to be achieved, either through explicitly spelled out policies or subtle policies. This paper seeks to explore the following: for Durban, we intend to establish the extent of spatial and socio-economic integration according to the city's vision and strategies to promote openness and inclusion. Parallel to this is a discussion of the problematic nature of market-driven urban projects facilitated by various development policies; on one hand, meets the desires of the cities, but on the other, shadows the viability of public projects geared towards integration and inclusion of the urban poor. For Gaborone, the issue to be discussed concerns the extent of its openness in relation to land accessibility and basic services even in the absence of explicitly stated urban policies. Note that Gaborone's level of openness is largely attributed to the lesser magnitude of urban problems such as segregation in the past and its smaller population as compared to that Durban. The main interests in the case of Kisumu are that of spatial accessibility and openness in trade and movement of people. Also without an explicitly stated open city urban policy, the city has developed to a point where polarisation is almost non-existent. To make this study meaningful, major considerations for this enquiry include (a) the duration of democratic dispensation for each city; (b) urban policy evolution before and after democracy.

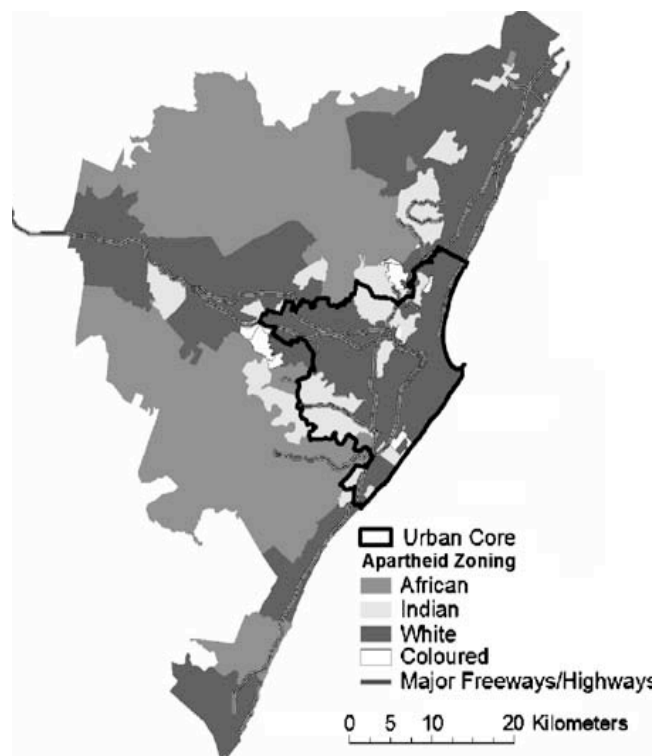
Basic Facts

Durban

Durban (known administratively as Ethekewini municipality) stretches along 98km of coastline and has a desirable sub-tropical climatic condition than any other province in South Africa. Competing with the cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town, Durban presents itself as a collaged city – it is the port city; ‘the country’s playground’ and an ‘industrial hub’ in Southern Africa and for the rest of the world – but most importantly, the city’s future depends on reaching its vision of being “Africa’s most caring and liveable city” by the year 2020. The city of Durban has a racially and culturally diverse population of just over 3.4 million (Statistics SA, 2007). The city prides itself as a cosmopolitan society with a fine mixture of African, European and Indian influence; the African community makes up the largest sector (68%) followed by the Indian community (20%), White community (9%) and Coloured community (3%) (Ethekewini IDP, 2009/10 Review).

In terms of spatial and socio-economic transformation, the city of Durban is no different from other South African cities; even after 15years of democratic rule and reconstruction, the city is still tainted with socio-economic segregation and spatial fragmentation. Physical infrastructure and social amenities are well developed around areas the urban core bordering major routes but poorly provided for as one moves inland where former black townships were located; and also far from employment opportunities.

Figure 1: Durban’s Apartheid zoning (according to Group Areas Act)



Source: Schensul, 2008

A spatial determinant feature has been the Umgeni River which literally separated Durban into residential and industrial – the south of Durban had [and still has] a large employment base due to the presence of an Industrial Precinct accompanied by a fairly good transportation system, the north

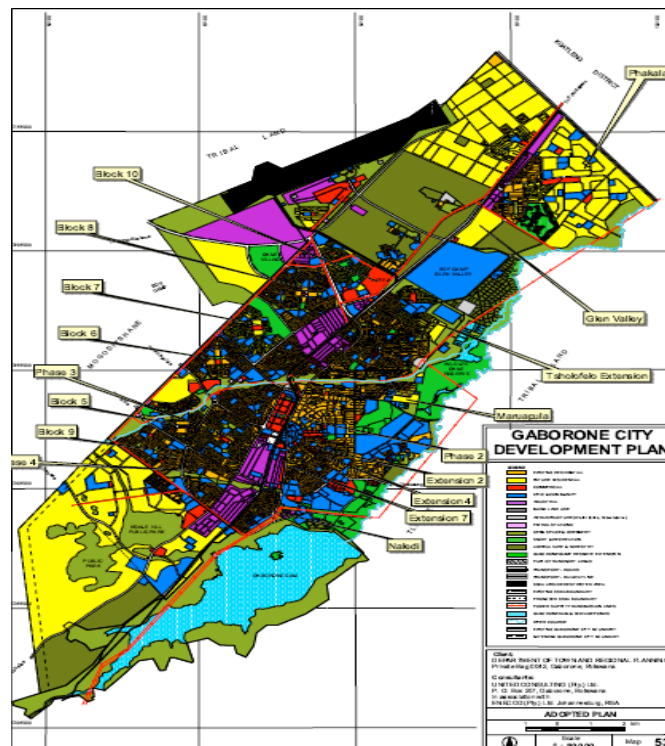
of Durban was mainly residential with Black and Indian townships located on the periphery with sugarcane fields stretching all the way to the coast. Today the situation is changing; the country's sugar giant, major private landowner and developer - Tongaat Hullet - has released land along the coastal belt for property development, thus creating a new urban geography for the north of Durban.

Socio-economically, Durban accounts for about 10.8% of the country's GDP¹ (Ethekwini IDP, 2009/10 review) with a GDP growth rate of 5.6%. These contributions have been largely dependent of the manufacturing, finance, trade and transport sectors, which also provide a reasonable employment base for the city. In spite of these encouraging statistics, Durban has an unemployment rate of 34.8%, just about 2% less than the national rate (State of Cities Report, 2006). Generally, the key challenges facing Durban are high unemployment rate, backlogs of basic services, relatively high rates of poverty, high rate of HIV prevalence, crime and local government inefficiencies.

Gaborone

Gaborone city, an area of 19.6km², was designated as the capital city of Botswana in 1963 when the country gained its independence from the colonial rulers. Gaborone has been the administrative capital of Gaborone District including two tribal villages of Ramostwa and Tlokwen (RoB, 2003) It had a population of 3 855 and by 1981 the population reached 59 657 and by 1991 it had reached 133 468. During the three national censuses the population of growth rate for the city ranged from 8% and 13% per annum (DTRP, 2001). Population 2001 was 186,007 which represented a 28.2% increase from the 1991 level. The population was projected to be 294,044 (CSO, projections 2001-2031 as cited in DTRP, 2007:178). The rapid rate of population had consequences pertaining to poor physical environment; infrastructure gap, unemployment and a high occurrence rate of HIV/AIDS.

Figure 2: The City of Gaborone



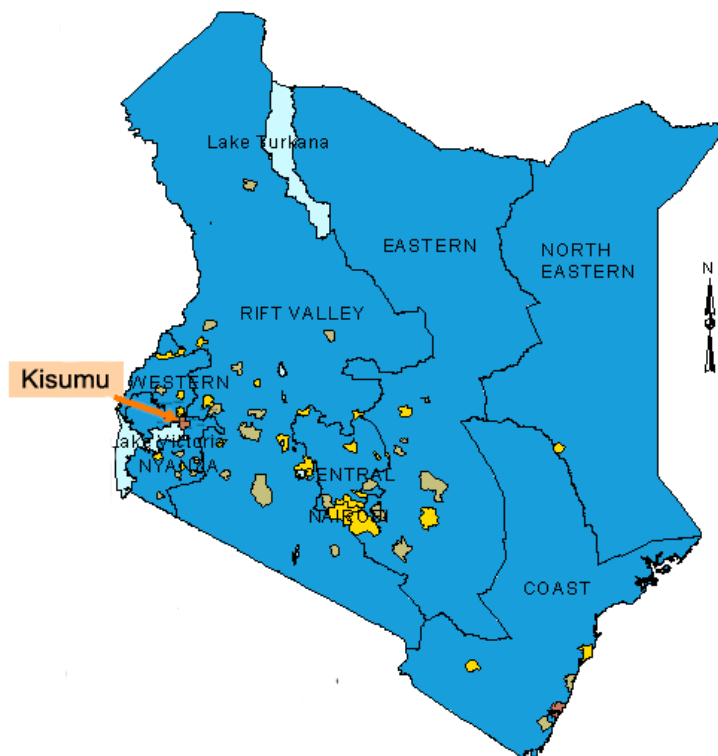
Source: Gaborone City Development Plan, 2001 - 2030

Kisumu

Kisumu is the 3rd largest urban centre in Kenya and occupies a total area 437 km² of which 157km² is water. Situated on the shores of Lake Victoria, it became an important trading and administrative centre; a major port connecting Mombasa with Tanzania and Uganda in terms of trade with the arrival of the railway in 1901 (RoK, 1991). The town has remained a major regional service centre, facilitated by a good road transport system which caters for neighbouring towns and the whole of Western Kenya and neighbouring countries, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire.

Kisumu has witnessed a steady growth since its establishment. Its population increased from 10,899 (1948) to 185,000 (1989). From 1979 to 1989 the total population of the city increased by about 21%. The population is now estimated to be 504, 000². The central business district was formally laid out in the 1960s, but the city has long since outgrown those boundaries. Kisumu, currently experiences the highest average urban poverty levels at 48% against a national average of 29% (Kisumu Municipal Council). Currently about 60% of the workforce lives in slums/informal settlements, and only about 20% of the city's landowners pay taxes on their land. The city serves as a centre for administration, manufacturing and distribution of goods and services to its urban inhabitants and a wide hinterland both within and outside Kenya (RoK, 1991). Despite being endowed with massive potential in natural resource availability, Kisumu still registers one of the highest poverty levels in Kenya exacerbated by a rapidly growing informal sector against a backdrop of collapsing or retrogressing private sector growth. Infrastructure development and service expansion has not matched the rapid population growth registered in Kisumu, posing a great challenge to the city authority (UN Report, 2003).

Figure 3: Locality map of Kisumu



Source: Kisumu Development Strategy, 2003

Urban Policy Evolution in three Post-democratic Cities

Durban

Current urban policy in Southern Africa has been founded on the deliberate intention of integrating cities largely influenced by past apartheid policies. Among the legacies inherited were spatial segregation, socio-economic inequalities and unequal opportunities, of which Blacks suffered the most. Schensul, (2008) writes that “the apartheid city in South Africa was planned and implemented to exclude Africans from the economic and geographic cores of cities”, leaving them with limited movement to ‘declared urban areas’ except for domestic workers who had the opportunity to be employed in white households. However, at the demise of weakened apartheid supremacy, Durban started to experience gradual changes in spatial form, a considerable level of free movement and rapid urbanisation leading to the growth of massive informal settlements on the periphery (Todes, 2003: 618).

At the onset of democratic rule in 1994, South Africa birthed a number of legislations including the Development Facilitation Act (1995); the National Constitution³ (1996) and local government legislation⁴ - these have come to affect the pattern and scope of urban policy in South Africa. At the local level is the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), a statutory document prepared by municipalities which outlines their short, medium and long term urban development strategies. In essence, IDPs are intended to assist municipalities in achieving their developmental mandates and to guide the activities of any institution or agency operating in the municipal area (Oranje et al 2000:19). One of the major challenges facing local government has been to address the inequalities and inefficiencies left by apartheid policies and planning. A new and integrated approach to planning which responds to the needs of local communities is seen as a key to accomplishing reconstruction, overcoming the skewed spatial policies of the apartheid government, and addressing poverty (UNDP-SA, 2002: 1) without ignoring the possibilities and opportunities for global competitiveness.

Today, Durban is “a city that is home to those who park their urban four-by-fours in the driveways of lushly developed multi-million rand mansions in as much as it is called a home by those preparing their evening meal in a four-roomed government-sponsored house or those who wait for promised homes in a one-roomed umjondolo (shack).(Ethekwini Municipality,2004). The democratisation process accompanying the ending of colonialism and apartheid have witnessed drastic changes in the spatial and socio-economic structure of Southern African Cities. The city scale has come to be seen as a crucial site for redistribution and delivery and to overcome fragmentation and inequalities of the inherited city form (Harrison et al, 2003). In the wake of a post colonial / apartheid era, the need to redefine and reimage the new South Africa was through a non-racial non-segregated set of policies that hoped to desegregate and deracialise a fragmented landscape (Saff,1994). Urban planning policy in South Africa thus emphasizes the need for integration and sustainability in all dimensions, but in view of 15years of democracy characterised by state-led and local government planning policies and huge budgets, certain queries still emerge like - the extent to which spatial integration has been achieved; how accessible are basic services to previously disadvantaged populations; are economic opportunities equally available to all racial groups in South Africa; and the extent to which city programmes respond to these queries mentioned above. Generally, the City’s urban policy (i.e. IDP) is based on an exclusive “Eight Point Plan”⁵ within which numerous programmes and projects are entrenched to address integration and inclusion.

Kisumu

The story of Kisumu's urban policy evolution is no different from Durban; the spatial segregation between white and blacks was prominent in that blacks lived on rural and peripheral areas with little access to housing, infrastructure and basic services to create an equitable environment based on comparative advantage. Before independence in 1963, Kisumu occupied an area of 48 km² and was controlled by the colonial government. With Independence people began to move into the town and this was the beginning of challenges associated with housing and infrastructure provision; congestion and other problems associated with rapid urbanization. The formulation of the Kisumu City Development strategy has also been to mitigate legacies and revitalise its ailing industrial sector - all of which are in line with the Kenya's service centre approach. Likewise, this urban policy document is intended to address any form of development which meets the needs of a globalising world. Congruently, the City's Development Plan has been translated to define strategies that would efficiently and sustainably exploit the natural resource base inherent in the area to derive optimal benefits for the local community. Two important National frameworks that provide a reference basis for localised action are the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation respectively (Kisumu Municipal Council).

Gaborone

Unlike an urbanised South Africa during apartheid, Botswana historically was dominated by rural settlements with the few urban areas settled and controlled by colonialists. Master planning was the norm during British rule and even after independence. Among the twelve urban centers and urban villages, each centre prepared a development strategy in accordance with a national master plan. The development plan deals with physical planning, land-use and provision of infrastructure and services. When measured by international size, the urban centres in Botswana are small and the problems encountered in terms of shortage of housing are relatively not as acute as what is experienced in either Kisumu (Kenya) or Durban (South Africa). This perhaps explains why there has not been an explicit urban policy even though urbanisation is acknowledged as exemplified by the budgets allocated to the urban centres and their respective visions as spelt out in urban spatial development plans.

Current planning in Gaborone is being administered through a master plan; this is unique in the fact that the country has adopted a spatial social mix policy in which the planning of a given neighbourhood must cater for all types of social income groups. The Gaborone City Development plan stipulates a coherent set of policies which deals with economic development, social development as well as preparing itself for the challenges of the 21st century and beyond.

Moving Towards Openness

With all three cities intending to achieve openness through similar and divergent approaches, the common feature of to these cities is the history of segregation - though of varying degrees - but the most prominent and recent has been in South Africa where the deepest scars still manifest in modern planning practices. As we take a journey through Durban, Gaborone and Kisumu, evidences of their relative openness is to be made clear from their city policy implementations. It is

important to note that most of these individual programmes to be discussed below are aimed at creating cities where everybody has access to basic services and have freedom of movement and choice as well as finding their positions in the global world.

Formalising the Slums

Housing shortage has become a major challenge in most African countries irrespective of a history of apartheid or colonialism but rather a result of rapid urbanisation and natural growth. Fuelled by rural-urban migration, the growth of slums have become a prominent informal feature of integrating different socio-economic and racial groups in urban centres. Since this is seen as an eyesore to city governments, the exercise of slum clearance has come to take centre stage in most urban policies in developing countries as a way of opening up the city to its poorer citizens. Whilst it seems difficult to accept that informality and informal settlements have come to stay for years to come, dealing with this truth is difficult. In all three cities, the clearance of slums have generated specific programmes to deal with this supposed menace. The integrated human settlement programme (IHSP) as it is known in Durban is part of the city's priority in creating a quality living environment to achieve its vision of a caring and liveable city. The goal of this programme is to promote access to equitable, appropriate and sustainable levels of household infrastructure and community services, and facilitate access to housing. Currently, the city ranking first in the number of informal settlements in its boundary (see Table 1) – with more than 750,000 people live in 500 informal settlements – such a programme is far-fetched. With a target of providing 16,000 low-income houses per year, the IHSDP moves parallel to the national policy for slum clearance by 2015.

Backed by an insufficient national housing subsidy for low income earners, the Ethekewini Municipality remains the only city in South Africa to offer a top-up amount to this subsidy with the aim of creating relatively high quality and sustainable housing environments for its poorer citizens (Ethekewini IDP 2009/10 Review,).

Table 1: Households in Informal Housing

Population Group	Informal dwelling/shack in back yard		Informal dwelling/shack NOT in back yard e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement	
	2001	2007	2001	2007
Black	26 506	36 615	121 166	103 218
Coloured	125	161	291	453
Indian or Asian	525	813	1 390	1 033
White	136	43	251	199
Total	26 292	37 632	123 098	104 903

The same problem is being dealt with in Gaborone through its national upgrading schemes. In 1978, national government commissioned upgrading scheme whose essence was to put in place some form of physical planning that was to inform infrastructure provision. A total of 1600 low income site (sites & service) plots were generated and surveyed. Old Naledi (known to be the only slum area in

Gaborone) had grown organically over the years. With a population of 6000, Old Naledi has often been the first point of call for new migrants without formal employment (DTRP, 2001). This practice is similar to the experiences of informal settlements such as Nyalenda in Kisumu and Lamontville in Durban. The process of upgrading has brought about an end to the haphazard manner in which migrants settled. Because planning for the city had been polarised, based on a distinct spatial segregation of different income groups under colonial rule, Gaborone's new towns have been laid out to accommodate all socio-economic groups without distinction. The upgrading scheme has also helped to minimise segmentation as these settlements, finally giving its inhabitants access to basic infrastructure (DTRP, 2007) and reducing marginalisation.

For Kisumu, municipality boundary expansion in 1972 brought into the town large population of the former rural major settlements of Kogony, Kajulu, Nyalenda and Manyatta. This meant that large tracks of freehold land were added into the municipality and which it can be argued, opened up the town: freehold tenure allows for the individuals to determine the land market transactions and led to the development of low income settlements of Nyalenda, Manyatta and Migosi. Varied housing typologies existed in these areas ranging from extremely poor structures to medium cost houses interspersed with relatively high cost buildings, all built in unplanned fashion. The Kisumu slum-upgrading initiative thus paved the way for basic infrastructural development has been seen as a threat to slum dwellers. The slum-upgrading initiative was to increase service capacity due to the increasing population from natural growth and the adverse effects this had on infrastructure provision and basic services (RoK, 1991; Awuor-Hayangah, 1996). However, the quantitative magnitude of these (low income) housing stock largely developed through private initiative played an important role in making the city open to the poor in spite of the quality of construction.

Managing Informal Trade

Informal trading activities are one of the important economic sectors in developing countries. Thus, it has become imperative that such activities are streamlined to occur in acceptable locations and to be subsequently controlled. In Durban, informality is as new as its democracy although Gaborone and Kisumu have experienced much longer periods of the same since independence in 1963. The city of Durban has come to recognize informal economic activities as a major source of income for the urban poor, likewise in Gaborone and Kisumu. In Gaborone⁶, informal sector trading areas have been designated within the CBD in acknowledgement of the role of the informal sector in the city. Botswana's Department of Town and Regional Planning (2007), in reviewing the city's plan, established that about 60% of persons were employed in the informal sector in the city of which is no different in Kisumu. Although similar to the case of Durban, the city's efforts to formalize and manage this important sector have been met with great resistance.

Consequently, the Ethekwini Municipality, also in 2000, pioneered approaches to collaborating with street traders, which saw the adoption of an "Informal Economic Policy". This policy recognised the right of informal enterprises to exist as well as the need to support and manage the sector. This included participation by informal traders in the planning, budgeting and performance monitoring processes of the city. Some of the steps being taken by the city are to provide a first step up for budding entrepreneurs and traders, a number of local incubator factories and storage facilities have been set up where workshop space or storage is available at a minimal rental (Ethekwini Municipality IDP Review, 2009/10). In Gaborone, Operative policy on Small, Medium and Micro-

enterprises (SMMES) of 1998 spells out strategies for its implementation which includes giving hawkers, vendors and manufacturing businesses with less than 10 employees exemption from obtaining business licences. This has had many positive impacts and has helped prevent conflicts around trading spaces⁷. Prominent informal trading spaces are Warwick Junction (Durban), Main Mall (Gaborone) and the CBD of Kisumu.

The similarities in these approaches to informality is that these cities' policies allow informal sector businesses to locate within actively nodal areas such as the bus/taxi terminus; selected places along transport routes and at the main square within their CBDs. These areas, have been dedicated to informal trading activities and a prominent place for livelihood of the urban poor, making these cities very open to economic opportunities. In contrast to the above, greater tolerance exist in Gaborone and Kisumu for the informal sector as compared to Durban where most formal malls tend to exclude the informal sector. In this case one would argue that in spite of Durban's informal sector policy the city is less open to the informal sector and less tolerant given some of the extant contestations which are ensued in current times.

Steps towards Global Openness

Regardless of how cities were seen as open or closed in their functionality, contemporary cities are certainly not systems with their own internal coherence; city boundaries have become far more permeable and stretched, both geographically and socially with no completeness, no centre, no fixed parts (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 8). Durban and Kisumu has been naturally drawn into the global economy basically by the presence of their ports. In spite of this, not only does Durban seek to compete economically with Johannesburg and Cape Town; and Kisumu with other cities in the Great Lakes region; but they also intend to also find their respective niches in the global world. In the case of Durban, whilst the Johannesburg-Pretoria-East Rand conurbation still remains the choice destination for transnational financial and commerce industry, Durban seems to be spreading its wings across-board various opportunities.

The obvious advantage Durban has with respect to global trade in its port⁸, one of the busiest in Africa. Strategically placed on the world shipping routes, the port plays a pivotal role in the socio-economic life of the city. In addition to this, the City is developing an Eight Billion Rand International Airport and Trade port⁹ ahead of the 2010 World Cup. This is intended to boost the city's Foreign Direct Investment and international tourism sectors. Over the last decade, Durban in its quest to be a choice investment and international tourist destination has managed to alter its spatial image with flagship and tourism related projects. With profundity, Durban has taken much interest in using commodified urban spaces to find their niche in global tourism, making expressions of multiculturalism in the built environment, along with markets, festivals and other events in public spaces, which are presented as picturesque back-drops for consumption (Shaw et. al 2004: 1983).

Taking a comparative advantage approach, the city of Kisumu became one of the potential major growth centres identified (RoK, 1978) by the State. Under this, Kisumu is to be revamped as the principal transport, communication and commercial hub of the Great Lakes region while strengthening the service coverage and delivery capacity (Kisumu, CDS, 2007). This vision of the city is deemed at enhancing the openness of the city both to local, regional and international level in terms of trade. The underlying factor had been to promote economic growth in the city while at the same time increasing the openness of the city at the local level through investment in the provision

of infrastructure aimed at improving the quality of life of its residents. This process, until now is being achieved through the implementation of the Kisumu's City Development Strategy (CDS) which upholds the principles of increased productivity, equity, access, good governance and sustainability. These goals are being pursued through linkages with various agencies both at international and local levels which are viewed as aspects demonstrating relative openness to facilitate the growth of the city. These include Lake Victoria Region Local Authorities Cooperation (LVRLAC); Swedish Lake Victoria Initiatives; the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans (LASDAP); Community Development Funds (CDF) amongst others.

For Gaborone, its quest to global openness is quite bleak. The reason being that, even though the city is being vigorously marketed as a conducive place to invest within the SADC region; and placing emphasis on the provision of adequately serviced industrial land easily accessible to industrialists (DTRP, 2001), it faces competition from coastal countries like South Africa who has locational advantages in terms of ports, larger airports and a greater contact with the global world. Relentless however, one of the objectives of the city's plan has been to strengthen and make virile the economic base of the city through provision of employment; stimulation of economy; and the attraction of direct foreign investment capital. Optimistically, global openness can be attested to by the improvements being made to on the country's international airport which is important given that Botswana is a land-locked country. The trade and Investment Agency which facilitates direct foreign investment has had a responsibility to promote global openness apart from the provision of appropriate infrastructure coupled with the pursuit of good governance and liberalised fiscal policies; all regarded as set conditions conducive for global openness. In spite of this, recent reports show that the existing political and policy environments no longer provide a decisive advantage for Botswana in promoting Foreign Direct Investment because virtually all developing countries either have or are undertaking liberalization reforms (MDG, Status Report, 2004 cited in DTRP, 2007). However, industrialisation policies adopted by the government provide favourable conditions which enhances openness particularly to the investors.

Challenges to Open City Policy Implementation

Resistance and Opposition

For every progressive move come many challenges. In this case, housing the cities' poor has not been any different. For instance, in Durban, the major challenge for low-income housing development, irrespective of the enthusiasm of city policies, has been the difficulty in accessing relatively located good land. For example, projects offering 73,300 housing opportunities had been approved by mid-1998, but most were in peripheral area, reflecting the pre-existing momentum of development, and the weight of informal settlement upgrading (Todes, 2003: 619). This is very different in Gaborone and Kisumu where low-income and affluent residential areas co-exist in same locations, whether good or bad. From the analysis of the degree of openness it is clear that even though these cities does not have explicit '*openness*' policies they ascribe to the key principle of inclusivity. To a large extent Gaborone and are spatially inclusive which have been promoted by the policy of social mix which is implemented when residential neighbourhoods are planned, zoned and approved. For Kisumu, social mix is almost a natural phenomenon, except that the unplanned

manner of development has adverse consequences of which the city council is battling to keep up with.

Whereas the deliberate effort of citizens has yielded a level of integration in Gaborone and Kisumu, same cannot be said for Durban's enormous and conscious policy efforts. Widely written about (Robinson, 2008 Schensul, 2008, Todes, 2003), Durban's efforts to bridge inequalities have been met with resistance and opposition. One of the major challenge has been the conventional "Not in my Backyard" (NIMBY) syndrome. A typical experience was with the Cato Manor Development Project¹⁰ - the Greater Manor Gardens Residents Association (a association of residents on adjacent land) challenged the development in terms of their "*constitutional rights to protect and maintain property values, quality of life and safety and security*" (Todes, 2003; 622). With such response to attempts of creating an open city, the pressures of the urban elite often stand as hindrances to integration. In explaining this oppositional phenomenon, Sutcliffe (1995) calls Durban "a fragmented city" - he described the middle-class as living in a "*city of enlightenment*" - in which case; they had been exposed to privileges under the apartheid government and as a consequence, developed an imposed sense of territoriality. Considering such discourses, the location of public housing still remains a major challenge, furthering the growth of "cities of fragmentation" in most urbanised municipalities in South Africa.

In recent times, a new national housing policy in South Africa, 'Breaking New Grounds'¹¹ seems to have been recognized as the solution to integrating different racial and income groups in housing development. Whilst this is plausible from a theoretical point of view, it is yet to be achieved in reality. Whilst upmarket residential developments for the wealthy few are being dictated by local and global capital, the fuss made of public housing is met with complaints about local government financial sustainability and capacity inefficiencies. Although the activity of private capital is inevitable in Durban's economic prosperity, a balance is necessary to promote the ends of integration and inclusion.

Accessibility to land

Land reform has played out in different forms in most Southern African countries. In Gaborone, given the nature of land tenure which is mostly owned by the state and by the tribal authorities; the responsibility for the allocation of Batswana land has been carried out judiciously irrespective of one's identity or tribal affiliation¹². It can be argued that the role played by tribal authorities which administers the land in the villages surrounding Gaborone has been instrumental in the relative success of the city's containment of growth of squatter settlements. In Kisumu, land is freely available on freehold to all citizens even though the sale of land is dictated by market forces. In contrast, Durban, like any other city in South Africa, has land owned by individuals, body corporates, tribal authorities and the State. However, accessibility to freehold title is almost impossible given that tribal land is not subject to individual ownership; white land ownership is still dominant since the South African land reform programme has been rather unsuccessful than anticipated. This has left previously disadvantaged groups still landless. The city of Durban, in this case is yet to be open if only land availability to some racial groups is not hampered by factors mentioned above. Until then, this aspect of the city remains closed.

Divergence from Integration

Integration happens to be a top agenda in urban policies in Africa, yet increasingly felt in most African cities are the effects of private capital - be it local or international. The surge of global capital has emerged as a powerful tool for the realisation of landscapes which speak a language of choice. Translating spatially, Durban has experienced the production of gated enclaves such as security estates, golf estates and eco-estate. Theoretically, gating has been criticised for creating exclusionary spaces, increasing residential segregation, restricting freedom of movement and exacerbating social divides (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Caldeira, 1999, 2000; Davis, 1992; Low, 2003; Marcuse, 1997a, in Lemanski, 2006: 397). Although the justification of gating lies in the 'fear of others' dictated by crime incidences in South Africa, the concerns regarding these exclusionary territories are exacerbated by fears that they effectively recreate the apartheid city and thwart post-apartheid goals of urban integration and inclusion (Lemanski et. al 2008: 135). Fortunately, this is not the case in Gaborone and Kisumu as 'gating' is least prominent, and of course, these two cities are almost free of the overwhelming rate of crime and polarisation which still play out strongly in most South African cities. Nonetheless, the current threats which Gaborone faces to openness is crime which is believed, is being fuelled by migrants.

Impacts of Globalisation on Urban Policy

Whereas the impact of globalisation is increasingly being felt internationally, the acceleration of this in most cities in Africa is currently overwhelming. All three cities have responded well to global trends such that their urban policy is geared towards economic prosperity to be generated by foreign investments and so forth. Notably, the dictates of global capital is entrenched in the kinds of economic activities which reaps maximum returns; yet the effects of this is the culture of fragmentation and polarisation engulf all major facets of the urban system making differentiation in social, economic and political circles undeniable even as globalisation impacts heavily on urban landscapes. Drawing on thoughts of Macleod and Ward (2002:154), the contemporary city – featuring the escalating extremes of wealth and poverty so lamented by Howard but coupled with an intensified fiscal austerity to meet the rigours of global competition – appears to be manifesting “as an intensely uneven patchwork of utopian and dystopian spaces that are to all intents and purposes, physically proximate but institutionally estranged.”

Evidently, all three cities' urban policy reflects propositions to creating environments which coincide with the satisfying the needs associated with the mantra of globalisation, sometimes at the expense of local pressures. Altogether, the benefits are this are enjoyed by the wealthy few while large figures of employment are flaunted by government officials in the media. Unfortunately, a city such as Durban which bit a greater chunk of the 'globalisation pie' has been greatly affected by the current economic meltdown which hit the world, whereas Gaborone and Kisumu experience same but on a rather subtle note. From this it begins to surface as to what extent openness must be embraced, and at what levels will be appropriate to a city's advantage.

Concluding Remarks

While the original aim of this paper was to establish the relative openness in three cities, based on their respective urban policies, it comes to bear that openness is a concept which cannot be viewed from one angle; it takes on different dimensions. Openness can be looked at from a micro-scale and on a macro-scale. Similarly, the context in which these three post-democratic cities in Sub-Saharan Africa showed that their respective responses to openness took same and divergent approaches. Also, considering the different periods of independence / democracy in these three cities, openness is not bound by time; neither is it bound by the presence of clear-cut policies or the absence of it.

As seen in the case of Kisumu, the level of openness despite the unavailability of policy is enormous compared to Durban whose urban policy has been centred on integration and sustainability. Gaborone, in itself, presents a clearly balanced priority of both local and global openness. Thus, to achieve openness requires meaningful trade-offs. Using Durban as a scapegoat in this analysis, the nightmare for planners in helping to develop and implement urban policy, find themselves caught in a love-hate relationship with global economic prosperity and social equalities (Grant, 2008). It is a fact that if the vision of a caring and liveable city is to be achieved, this would require a balanced act between the modernistic culture of globally influenced policies and city commitments to bring about integration without succumbing to global economic benefits for the few. Pieterse (2004: 2) has observed that one of the central issues that transpire in Southern African literature is the fact that urban integration efforts aimed at changing the apartheid / colonialist city are often based on shaky conceptual foundations which produce unintended consequences, which can be attested to by the current situation in Zimbabwe. Care is thus needed when approaching issues of integration and inclusivity. Whereas the openness of the city may lie in desirability and democracy, its closeness can be in high-income residential enclaves and gated communities which seek to protect "others" from the perceived notion of fear and vulnerability and the some "others" being unable to have a choice except to settle for subsidised housing in unsafe environments. The end result will be the deliberate disintegration of urban integration.

In finding avenues for openness, the following are worth noting:-

- firstly, openness is possible at the neighbourhood level if contemporary style of relatively high and opaque fencing are absent. This, we know, could allow for interaction and remove the stigma of 'fear of others' without compromising efforts of safety and security of cities.
- secondly, the openness of cities depends on how accessible basic services (water, housing, sanitation, land) and even the use of public spaces by its citizens without intimidation from any person or group of people. Once these are achieved, it can be argued that a city is on its way to creating an environment where socio-economic, environmental and political integration is no longer opposed.
- lastly, global openness is dependant on policy and human factors which tend to facilitate the processes of movement and trade. Tempting as it may be, the economic benefits of global relations do not have to take undue precedence over local openness; this, if not checked can be deemed tantamount to a loss of the entire fabric of urbanity, which already engulfs many cities in developing countries.

Taking us to task, Friedman (2002: 237) alludes that “the Open City is a city that is life affirming, that reaches out to others who are not necessarily like us, and that acknowledges our common humanity and the pleasures of a life lived among multipli/cities.” To Durban, Gaborone and Kisumu, we say, attention must be given to everything (whether big or small) which has a tendency of creating a certain degree of openness and inclusion - from the big issues of making accessible basic services or the little space in which the urban poor is allowed to trade can add up to determine the openness of African cities.

Notes

¹ Original source: GDP and unemployment statistics are for 2007 by Global Insight

² <http://www.jkg.kabissa.org/Kisumu.htm>; The MDG Centre Nairobi Environmental Team and MCI, 2006

³ The National constitution was promulgated in 1996. Chapter 2 of the Constitution contains the Bill of Rights with states that these rights are the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. The Bill of Rights extends beyond political and civil rights to include social and economic rights. It included among others, the right of access to housing, health care, water, basic education and a clean healthy environment

⁴ South Africa has a three-tier government system – central, provincial and local government. The Municipal Structures Act (1998) and the Municipalities Systems Act (2000) have a rather direct impact on city level policy formulation and implementation

⁵ EThekweni's Eight Point Plan: Sustaining our natural and built environment; Economic development and job creation; Quality living environment; Safe, healthy and secure environment; Empowering citizens; Celebrating our cultural diversity; Good governance; Financial viability and sustainability.

⁶ Between 2001 – 2007 informal sector activities doubled in the city of Gaborone (from 1328 to 2883) (DTRP, 2007). A survey carried in the city revealed that 60% of the informal sector businesses were owned by women and 67% were operated by owners. 53% of the informal traders had hawkers licences. It was further established that the activities were operated at the following sites: residential plots (38.6%); along roads & footpaths (34.8%); and public places (22.2%).

⁷ Watson, 2006, in State of the Cities Report (SACN) 2006

⁸ The Port of Durban, being South Africa 's main general cargo and container port, handles 31,4 million tons of cargo worth more than R50 billion each year and 44% of South Africa's break-bulk cargo (Transnet, 2009)

⁹ This project when completed will include a modern new international passenger and cargo airport facility; a trade zone; a support zone; an agri-zone; and a cyber port (Finweek, 2009: 43).

¹⁰ Cato Manor, a public housing project located in the urban core of Durban was identified as the “country's prime urban reconstruction opportunity” for the historically disadvantaged who had experienced the worst of impacts of apartheid policies (CMDA, 1995, cited in Maharaj and Makhathini, 2004; 35). Cato Manor has been an area of increased contestation even before it was set to be developed, after almost three decades of being vacant (see Robinson et. al, 2004).

¹¹ The policy stipulates that all private developers must make 20% of the housing available for low-income earners either within the perimeter of a specific project or on adjacent land (Breaking New Ground, 2004).

¹² At the age of 18, every batswana is entitled to apply for a piece of land based on the Botswana National Constitution

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