CHAPTER 16

# Fragmentation and Access to the City: Cape Town and Delhi in Comparative Perspective

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## INTRODUCTION

This comparative paper investigates access to the city by underprivileged social groups in the context of two spatially and socially segmented metropolises, Cape Town and Delhi, and reflects on the question of urban fragmentation and urbanity.

The notion of urban *fragmentation* has been debated in the social sciences since the 1980s. In its most extreme form, urban fragmentation implies an 'absolute break between the different parts of the city, in its social, economic and political dimensions' (Gervais-Lambony, 2001, p. 35).[1] As highlighted by Navez-Bouchanine, the implicit understanding of fragmentation in urban situations:

[E]stablishes a link between, on the one hand, the spatial dynamics related to the process of metropolization and globalization (urban sprawl, mobility), and, on the other, the process of breaking up of urban social unity, as the result of an extreme diversification of urban practices and references, the increasing social inequalities, the socio-economic mechanism of exclusion and modes of social solidarity dissociation which are favoured by spatial break up. (2001, p. 109)

Yet, she concludes her review with a caveat that: a broken up urban landscape does not necessarily imply a fragmented urban society (p. 114). In the late 1960s Henri Lefèvbre (1968) and the French neo-Marxist school (Castells, 1981; Lipietz, 1977) argued that the spatial organization of the city was the projection on the ground of social and class relationships. This analysis has been refined in order to interpret better the complexity of socio-spatial urban structures and divisions,

and to take into account the influence of new contexts such as globalization (Préteceille, 1998). We should also use the more recent concept of fragmentation cautiously to avoid a mechanistic approach that would, conversely, read the social landscape from the city's spatial structure.

We begin this comparative study of Cape Town and Delhi with a preliminary analysis of the characteristics of the functional and physical organization of urban space, on the one hand, and the spatial structuring of urban society and its residential segregation pattern, on the other. We then consider the linkages between them to appraise to what extent these two metropolises should be considered as spatially and/or socially fragmented.

We draw on methods of analysing urban integration (such as measuring different groups' mobility and accessibility to places and urban amenities in the city) to investigate fragmentation as its opposite form. In the process we need to differentiate processes of fragmentation from specific dimensions of segregation. Here, Castells' argument that urban segregation has to be explored not only as difference in residential places, but also, more dynamically, as a capacity to move and access strategic points of the urban transport network (1981, p. 232) proves a starting point. Grafmeyer (1994) also identified 'the unequal access by different social groups to material and symbolic goods supplied by the city' as a dimension of residential segregation.

Yet, how do we distinguish urban fragmentation from urban segregation? Navez-Bouchanine (2001, p. 113) usefully separates the two concepts in the following way: segregation is based on a hierarchical sorting of social groups, not on their autonomy to separate from each other; in contrast, fragmentation implies that different groups have autonomy to withdraw in major spheres and fields such as politics and city management. Obviously, segregation and fragmentation are not exclusive from one another: the two processes can coexist in the same city (Jaglin, 2001). But what is at risk in a fragmented city is its specific social integrating function, in other words, its *urbanity*, the 'system of representation' and 'collective construction that enables conviviality among different groups, among different populations using common spaces' (Navez-Bouchanine, 2001: 114).[2] Navez-Bouchanine proposes that to verify (or nullify) hypotheses of fragmentation calls for questioning 'urbanity' or 'opposing urbanities' in cities to look for possible convergence or divergence.

In this paper we analyse issues of fragmentation and urbanity through

a focus on underprivileged social groups and their residential contexts. We have chosen this focus because these groups are the most visible victims of exclusion processes linked to urban fragmentation. Owing to stringent financial limitations, residential choices and access to urban resources are severely constrained. At the same time, due to social ostracism, legal policies and urban planning, segregation has been more often than not imposed on these groups.[3] Nevertheless, economic and/or social deprivation does not mean that people lack residential or economic strategies—as illustrated in our cases studies.[4] We analyse specific neighbourhood contexts and group agency without, however, obliterating the structural interdependence that shape urban areas. Our investigation of specific local situations will thus be linked to the analysis of the whole urban structure and its relationship with global processes (Préteceille, 1998, pp. 42-3).

Access to the city by underprivileged groups is examined in terms of residential location, access to housing and urban amenities, in relation to access to places of work, education, shopping and socializing. Everyday urban practices and daily journeys of underprivileged groups are, as far as possible, compared with those of better off groups. This paper thus examines the *motility* of these social groups, defined by the capacity to move spatially or virtually, with reference to the context, the access and the appropriation, and therefore to 'the allocation of resources and abilities, hence to the social structure and its spatial distribution' (Kaufmann, 2001, pp. 94-6). The notion of motility provides a relevant analytical framework to bring to the fore social inequalities in access to the city.

Our comparative approach is a preliminary exploration of fragmentation in Delhi and Cape Town. We follow Détienne's (2000) methodology outlined in *Comparer l'incomparable* (Comparing the incomparable). Rather than justifying the relevance of a comparison between Cape Town and Delhi by a few similarities in the development of these two metropolises, we put forward the heuristic value of the comparative approach, and even 'the heuristic violence of what arises as incomparable' (p. 45). However, to produce 'spaces of intelligibility' out of a comparative perspective of several experiences requires the explicit construction of the comparison and the *comparable*. Thus, as proposed by Détienne, 'the comparative approach continually applies two or three questions as a beam in order to scan widely the investigation field whose limits are not fixed yet' (p. 47). Then, 'the comparative approach conducts a logical deconstruction in order to decipher

articulations between two or three elements, and to isolate micro-configurations opening onto differences more and more refined and contiguous. (. . .) The work of the analyst consists of identifying the constraints of the configurations put into perspective. (. . .) The comparable are these sets or 'plaques' of chain relationships engendered by an initial choice' (pp. 50-2). Our analysis will highlight the following questions: What kind of access to the city do underprivileged groups have in a segregated or fragmented city? To what extent are their mobility and urban practices shaped by the social and economic organization of urban space? Beforehand, we identify the constraints linked to the metropolitan spatial configuration, the functional specialization of urban space and its spatial organization.

## TWO FRAGMENTED METROPOLISES?

Although Cape Town and Delhi differ widely in terms of population size, socio-cultural context and history, they present certain common characteristics: both are cities of the South, having undergone major changes and growth in the second half of the twentieth century. For both cities, the organization of space and society is examined in order to investigate their degree of fragmentation or segmentation. Moreover, socio-spatial structuring is a key factor to understand their functioning as cities and their potential for urban and social integration.

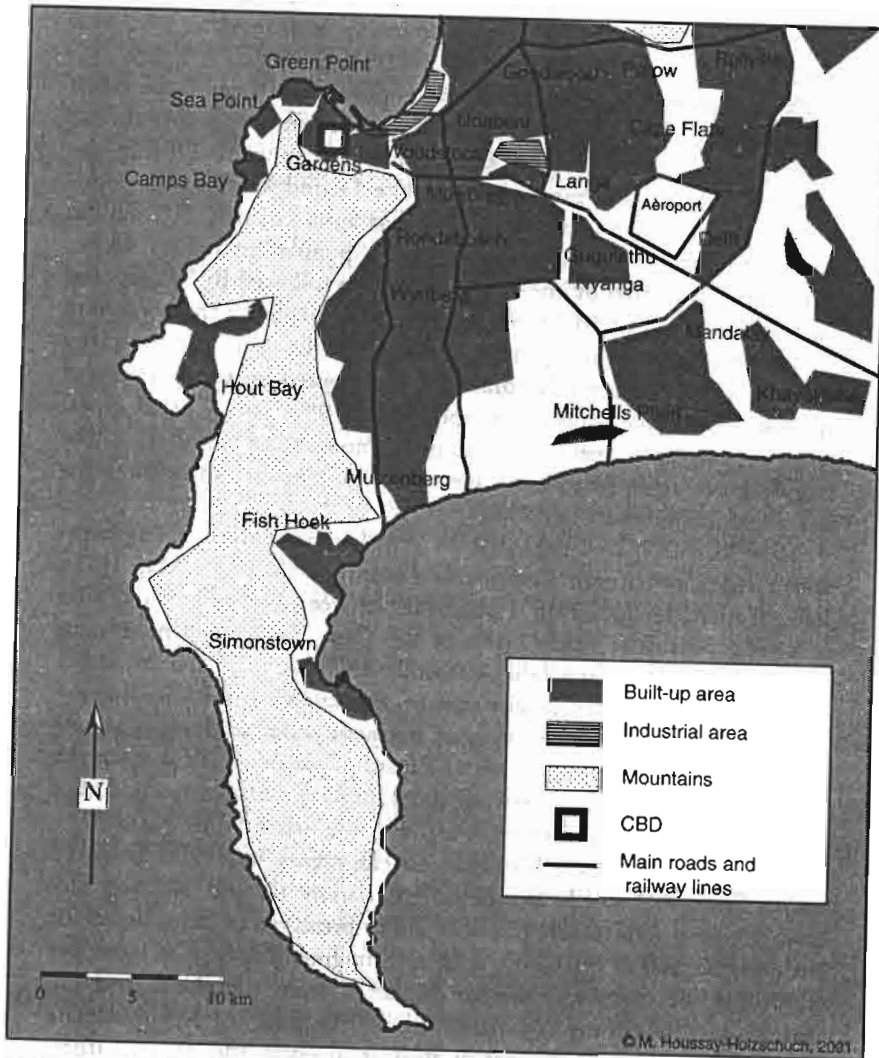### METROPOLITAN CONTEXTS: URBAN GROWTH AND SPATIAL CONFIGURATION

Since its foundation by Dutch settlers in 1652, Cape Town has continually expanded, gradually acquiring more diversified functions. The harbour and refuelling station became a popular stopover on the sea route to Asia. Its strategic situation controlling the Cape of Good Hope—and the route to India before the construction of the Suez Canal—attracted the attention of the British from the beginning of the nineteenth century, eventually leading to their effective colonization of the Cape. As the first European settlement in South Africa and its biggest city before the development of mining in Johannesburg, Cape Town played a double role: a base from which to occupy and colonize southern Africa and an exit point from which to export its riches. Cape Town underwent several phases of development leading to the

construction of an important road and railway system linking the city to the interior, and to the creation of local industries (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen and Worden, 1998 and 1999; Whittingdale, 1973 and 1982).

Extreme diversity characterized the population of early Cape Town (Saunders, 1979) and continues to this day, reflected in residents' diverse geographical origins, languages, religions and cultures. During the twentieth century and especially since the Second World War, population growth accelerated. Cape Town has approximately 3.1 million inhabitants. In 1996, the majority of the population (about 48 per cent) was constituted by the 'coloured'[5] group followed by 'whites' and 'Africans' (about 25 and 21 per cent respectively). Since the beginning of the twentieth century, African migration to the cities and especially to Cape Town was severely controlled and limited by segregation and apartheid laws that were only repealed in 1986. As in other cities, recent demographic growth has occurred more in the periphery of the city, in areas included in the Cape Town municipality since the post-apartheid delimitation in 1996.

Cape Town's spatial organization reveals a great deal of fragmentation, owing to natural, historical and planning elements (Map 16.1). The city has developed on a peninsula between two large bays, later sprawling on to the sandy plains of the Cape Flats. Steep mountains such as the 1,087 m high Table Mountain dominate the Cape landscape. Table Mountain isolates the city centre—also known as the City Bowl—in a natural amphitheatre of great aesthetic value and practical inconvenience: access to the Central Business District (CBD) from the suburbs negotiates a way between the mountain and the ocean. Other areas declared as natural reserves segment the urban fabric further.

Urban planning and historical developments have also favoured social, functional and landscape differentiation: the old, isolated, city centre, whose architecture has been either preserved or demolished for the construction of the CBD, is in itself fragmented, first by transport networks: the motorway system divides it from the ocean and the waterfront; the railway is a major barrier (or 'edge' in Kevin Lynch's terminology). Industrial areas as well as airports add to the urban partition. This structuring of space can also be found in the twentieth-century suburbs on the Cape Flats where transport, industry, residence, preserved natural spaces such as dunes or wetlands, and empty spaces set aside for further development all contribute to spatial fragmentation.

MAP 16.1: FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION AND SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF CAPE TOWN (2000).

Legend:
- Built-up area
- Industrial area
- Mountains
- CBD
- Main roads and railway lines

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In contrast, the foundation of the first urban settlement on the site of present-day Delhi is dated around tenth century BC (Frykenberg, 1986). In order to understand the pattern of urban growth as well as the present socio-spatial organization of this capital city, it is necessary to discuss the establishment of New Delhi by the British at the beginning of the twentieth century as an urban entity radically different and separate from Shahjahanabad, the old city built in the seventeenth century by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan.

The evolution of Delhi during the twentieth century is deeply marked by the history of the country. Following the promotion of Delhi as the capital of the British Indian Empire in 1911, the population of the city rose from 238,000 in 1911 to 696,000 in 1947, with an increasing rate of growth. After Independence in 1947, Delhi became the capital of the newly formed Indian Union and had to face a massive transfer of population following the Partition of India. In the post-Independence period, the population growth of the capital has been remarkably rapid for an urban agglomeration of this size. Population figures rose from 1.4 million in 1951 to 12.8 million in 2001. Migration has played a major role in the demographic evolution of Delhi. Notwithstanding the great diversity of migrants, both in terms of their socio-economic backgrounds and their rural/urban origins, the catchment area of the capital remains dominated by neighbouring states (Dupont, 2000b).

Demographic growth concurred with the spatial expansion of the urban zone. The geographical location of Delhi in the Gangetic plain, and the absence of any significant physical barrier to the progress of urbanization favoured multidirectional spatial expansion (Map 16.2). The widespread growth of the urban agglomeration led to average densities of 163 inhabitants per hectare in 2001 (for an official urban area covering 792 sq. km) with acute variations at a finer scale.

At a city scale, Delhi appears highly fragmented, with abrupt changes in urban morphology, and a mosaic of highly differentiated sections. Physical fractures introduce clear-cut demarcation lines between the urban sectors. The most important one is the Yamuna River with its large bed of agricultural land. The river flows through the metropolis from the north to the south, separating all zones located to the east that are mainly residential neighbourhoods of varied types of settlement, but also include an industrial zone. The Aravelli Hills (or the Delhi Ridge) form another significant natural boundary with its—more or less protected—natural forest, crossing the capital from the south-west to the north.

However, as in the case of Cape Town, historical development and efforts of town planning by the colonial rulers, and later by the independent government, have shaped the urban landscape in a decisive way, and directly contributed to a specific pattern of urban segmentation, even fragmentation.

## THE MODEL OF A FRAGMENTED CITY: FROM COLONIAL THINKING TO URBAN PLANNING

Although experiencing different histories and development chronologies, Cape Town and Delhi share a common legacy, that of a British colonial settlement. Colonial thinking created new urban models that shaped space along ideological and technocratic lines still functional today (Massiah and Tribillon, 1987). Functionalism, control (of land, populations, migration, ownership, etc.) and technocratic efficiency, prohibition of mixed land use and residential segregation between Europeans and 'natives' were some of its guiding principles (Massiah and Tribillon 1987; Swanson, 1977). In Cape Town and Delhi, these principles introduced intense urban differentiation, opposing a European central space with buffer zones separating it from 'native villages' or indigenous towns. This duality was subsequently consolidated by the importation of international planning ideas, specifically functional specialization of space, strict zoning and separation of places of work and residence, all deeply entrenched trends in the philosophy of twentieth century urban management. They were firmly applied in India and South Africa and contributed to the development of fragmented cities (Maps 16.1 and 16.2).

### The Colonial Model

The British model of urbanization in India was based on residential segregation: 'white towns' were separated from native towns; cantonments for army officers and their families were separated from *civil lines*; and distinct housing estates established according to rank in the civil service or the army were built. The planning and building of the new capital of British India, New Delhi, placed under the responsibility of two British architect planners, Edwin Luytens and Herbert Baker, exemplifies this model. The new town was established south of Old Delhi, in a zone where at that time only a few villages were settled. 'The possibility of creating the new city to harmonize visually with the
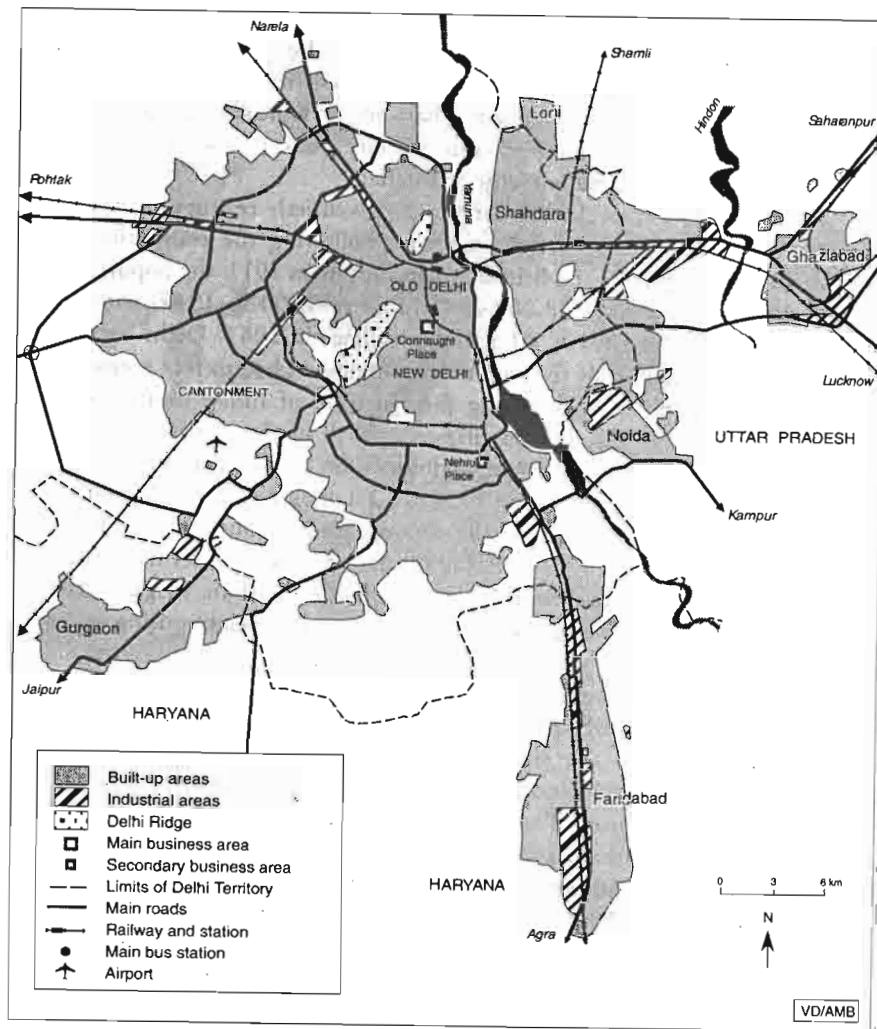
MAP 16.2:  SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF DELHI METROPOLITAN AREA: INFRASTRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION (1996).

old was never seriously considered. New Delhi was conceived as a purely British settlement juxtaposed to the Indian city' (Evenson, 1989, p. 148). The compact indigenous walled city of Shahjahanabad stood on the one side 'with its intricate web of narrow streets and densely packed buildings' (Evenson, 1981, p. 148). On the other side, separated from the former by a large strip of land cleared and landscaped, lay the new colonial town, the spread garden city with its geometric plan, large roads and vast dimensions. The spatial organization of housing for civil servants in New Delhi directly reflected their position in the hierarchy. Moreover, housing for British employees was separate from that of Indian employees, with the latter located farthest away from the Viceroy's palace. The construction of New Delhi also led to a marked functional division of urban space. Whereas the old city was characterized by a mixed land-use pattern, with a combination of residential use and varied economic activities, the main function assigned to New Delhi was administrative and political, including residential quarters for government employees. It included a central business district, Connaught Place, but no industrial function was envisaged for the new town. The contrast between Old Delhi and New Delhi persisted after Independence, and even today there is differentiation in the urban landscape as well as the socio-spatial organization of the capital.

In Cape Town, Ebenezer Howard's model of the garden city caught the attention of the municipality and its planners (Guillaume, 2001). Although the model was a reference, its progressive social content was generally set aside. What appealed to South African planners in the garden city was:

- a perceived anti-urban feeling and an attempt to bring man and nature together, consistent with a common South African analysis of the social degradation induced by city life;
- an application in the urban realm of the concept of 'community', also central to local social thought;
- a possible solution (even if definitely not present in Howard's project) to the 'urban problems' such as whites' poverty, native presence and population control.

This particular brand of the garden city drew on Howard's model to address colonial preoccupations, in particular, that: autonomous and self-sufficient cities became socially and racially homogeneous residential suburbs in the Cape Town metropolis; localization in a natural environ-

ment became isolation through buffer zones where no building was permitted ('the horizontal walls of a defensible city', following Pinnock's analysis, 1989, p. 159); and, 'decent' housing became the world famous 'township matchbox'. Urban fragmentation was again strengthened, and social segmentation inscribed in the urban landscape.

## Urban Planning in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

Urban planning in the second half of the twentieth century followed and even strengthened the same patterns, despite widely varying political contexts in India and South Africa.

In 1948, white South Africans voted the National Party into power and it began to implement its political agenda, apartheid. A global programme to impose and ensure white racist domination over other communities, apartheid has been described as 'a spatial policy, with markedly geographical consequences. Lines were drawn on maps at various scales, and people were evicted and resettled to fit the lines' (Christopher, 1994, p. 6). In large cities such as Cape Town, apartheid systematized earlier policies of segregation:[6] the so-called *locations* were created at the beginning of the twentieth century to house the African population. Forcibly evicted from their homes, Africans bore the brunt of both epidemics and the sanitary syndrome. In Cape Town, after the 1901 outbreak of bubonic plague of which Africans were among the first victims, the location of Ndabeni was created by the municipality, in the hope of saving the rest of the city from the epidemic. With the adoption of the Group Areas Act (GAA) fifty years later,[7] apartheid extended the concept of racially homogeneous residential neighbourhoods to white, Indian and coloured communities. They were to live separately and this social separation was also to be inscribed in the urban space. Using similar planning methods, the apartheid government designed the model of the *township*: a racially homogeneous area, located on the outskirts of the city, devoted to residence only (commercial and productive activities were severely limited if not prohibited outright), poorly equipped, isolated from the rest of the agglomeration by buffer zones, industrial areas and transport infrastructures that constituted physical barriers. The separation of land use was fundamental to planning principles. In consequence, spatial fragmentation was not only practised, but also a guiding line and a proclaimed objective.

India gained Independence in 1947 and Delhi was the place where 'new' concepts of town planning were introduced, and where the first Master Plan was elaborated and implemented after 1962. As the national capital, it was the 'subject of the most comprehensive planning efforts' as 'the visual symbol of a new republic' (Evenson, 1989, p. 184). Dominant ideas in Western planning were directly reflected in decisions regarding the city's urban planning. The Delhi Master Plan was prepared with the assistance of American consultants supported by the Ford Foundation. As in Cape Town, the division of land use in strict mono-functional zones was the basic principle underpinning urban planning. Thus, for K.T. Ravindran (1996, p. 31): 'The result is high commercial concentrations and a fragmented city where people have to commute long distances. [. . .] Zoning has thus been one of the most destructive concepts where the wholeness of the city is concerned.'

The policy of urban and country planning at the regional level was also influenced by the examples of British town planning in the 1950s, in particular the programme of New Towns around London. This was translated into a regional plan prompted by the desire to monitor the capital's growth and to control in-migration into Delhi. It included the promotion of six Ring Towns and later the creation of a new industrial urban centre, Noida.

Today, the Indian capital city is a poly-nuclear metropolis, with several district business centres and commercial complexes, in addition to Connaught Place, the Central Business District inherited from the British colonial period built at the junction of New Delhi and the old city. Administrative functions remain dominant in New Delhi. The southern sector (beyond New Delhi and excluding the south-eastern fringe) accommodates mainly residential areas, but also several flourishing commercial complexes and a major business district (Nehru Place) as well as government offices. On the other hand, the main industrial zones are located in the western and north-western sectors; with an important planned industrial estate in the south-east (Okhla) and another notable industrial zone in the north-east (Shahdara) (Map 16.2). Despite the attempts of the Delhi Development Authority to implement strict zoning, economic activities remain scattered throughout the city, including industrial production that occurs not only in large planned industrial estates, but also in small-scale manufacturing units found in the old urban core as well as in the urbanized villages and in the many unauthorized colonies in the urban periphery.

SPATIAL FRAGMENTATION, SOCIAL SEGMENTATION

In Cape Town as elsewhere in South Africa, planned spatial fragmentation was accompanied by an ideological restructuring of society: in a classical, if regrettable way, apartheid sought to change society by manipulating the environment, especially space. Spatial fragmentation through careful and thorough planning and brutal implementation was intended to divide society along racial lines. The racist hierarchy of the regime expressed itself in the organization of cities: the higher a racial group in the government's hierarchy, the closer to the centre it could live.[8] The same racial hierarchy factored into every dimension of access to the city, affecting access to urban amenities, education, skilled jobs and landownership, for instance. Consequently, socio-economic status was also dependent on race: blacks (African, Indian and coloured) had limited opportunities, especially in terms of access to jobs. As a result, they experienced high unemployment, in part, because of the explicit policies of job reservation by race and inadequate education opportunities that led to poorly paid, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Government-constructed racial differences created massive social division: poverty was far more widespread among blacks than among whites, who not only benefitted from protected and privileged jobs but also profited from state allowances and financial credit. Furthermore, African townships in particular were spatially isolated in marginal under-serviced environments.

The post-apartheid city mirrors this past, still largely characterized by a coincidence between race and class divisions (Maps 16.3 and 16.4). Despite racial desegregation in certain residential neighbourhoods (formerly proclaimed white or newly built areas),[9] the racial map of Cape Town drawn by the Group Areas Act still stands. With few exceptions, former white areas boast a relatively high income, while former African townships suffer enduring poverty. Squatter and informal settlements are inhabited largely by Africans and the socially under-privileged and, like African townships, are located in the urban periphery.

The South African society's highly visible segmentation matches its spatial fragmentation, reflected not only in planning regulations and spatial division, but also in housing. Cape Town's neighbourhoods differ according to housing types, thus the size of the house and plot echoes apartheid racial hierarchy: the 'whiter' the residents, the bigger the house and the plot. Internal arrangement and fittings were also highly
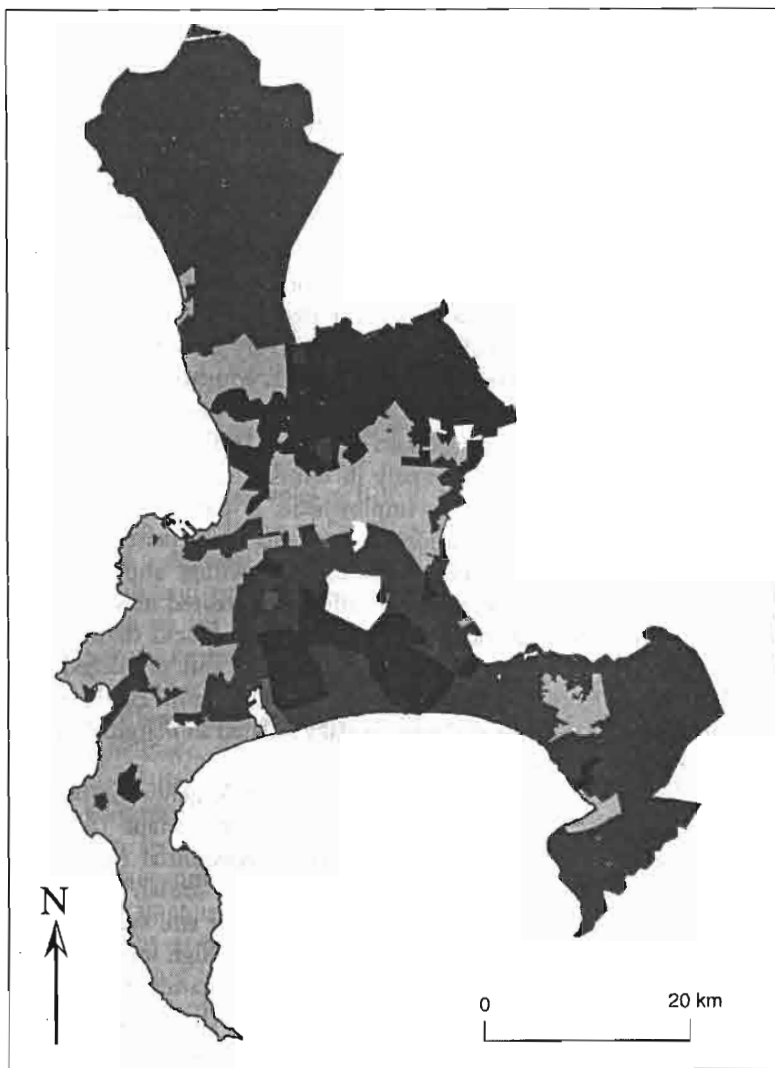
MAP 16.3: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY RACE
IN CAPE TOWN (1996).

White      Coloured

Indian      Africans



High income      Medium income      Low income
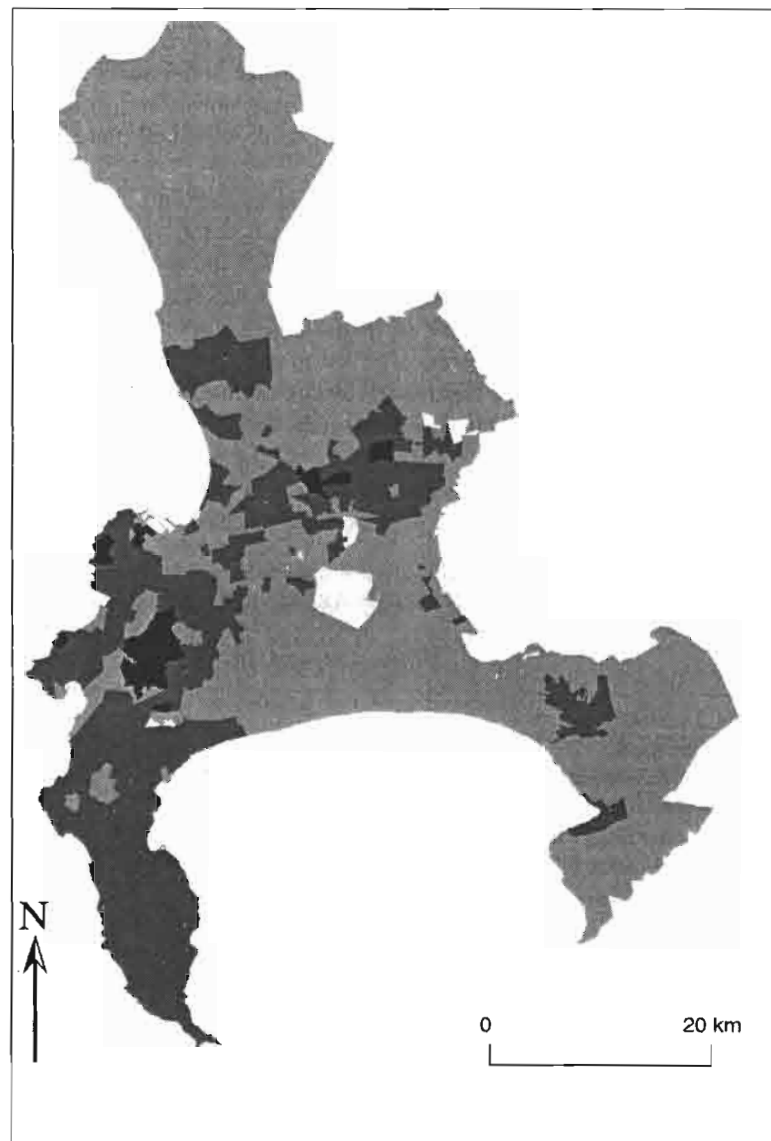
MAP 16.4: SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY
INCOME IN CAPE TOWN (1996).

dependent on race rather than on socio-economic status, since African housing was built by national or local authorities under strict norms, while housing for whites, even when it was state-subsidized, followed the laws of the market, private development, and individual preferences (Table 16.1).[10]

In the post-apartheid era, spatial fragmentation and social segmentation continue. The inertia of spatial structures, together with financial constraints on state resources and its building programmes (Guillaume, 2001; Houssay-Holzschuch, 1999; Oldfield, 2000) explain in large measure the persistence of spatial segregation. Moreover, the increasing fear of criminal violence has led to greater fragmentation, as people, according to their means, try to cut themselves off from the city. The development of gated communities, fortified houses, security surveillance and vigilantism in Cape Town over the past decade strongly evokes memories of experiences in cities such as Los Angeles, Bogota and Rio de Janeiro (denounced by Mike Davis, 1990, among others).

TABLE 16.1. HOUSEHOLD TYPE OF DWELLING BY RACE IN
SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN AREAS, 1999 (%)

|  | African | Coloured | Indian | White | All Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Formal dwelling/house on a separate stand | 53 | 67 | 58 | 75 | 57 |
| Traditional dwelling/hut | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Flat in a block of flats | 4 | 9 | 15 | 11 | 6 |
| Townhouse/semi-detached house | 1 | 11 | 18 | 8 | 3 |
| Unit in a retirement village | 0 | – | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Formal dwelling/house/flat/room in the backyard | 5 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| Informal dwelling/shack in the backyard | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Informal dwelling/shack not in the backyard | 12 | 4 | 1 | – | 9 |
| Room/flat on rent | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Caravan/tent | 0 | – | 0 | – | 0 |
| Other/unspecified | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

*Notes:*  0: Proportion less than 0.5 per cent or too small to record.
–: Nil or not applicable
*Source*: October Household Survey, 1999.

To a lesser extent, a similar trend can also be observed in the affluent neighbourhoods of Delhi.

In the Indian capital today, the urban landscape is marked not only by the divide between Old and New Delhi, but also by the differentiation of the built environment, affected in large part by state intervention in housing development. The government has implemented extensive housing programmes and land development schemes, such as rehabilitation colonies for refugees, housing estates for government employees,[11] Delhi Development Authority flats, co-operative group housing apartments and resettlement colonies for slum dwellers. Each of these types of housing estate not only presents distinct architectural and urban features, but also tends to house specific socio-economic sections of the urban population, thus contributing to a socially segmented residential pattern (Dupont, 2004).
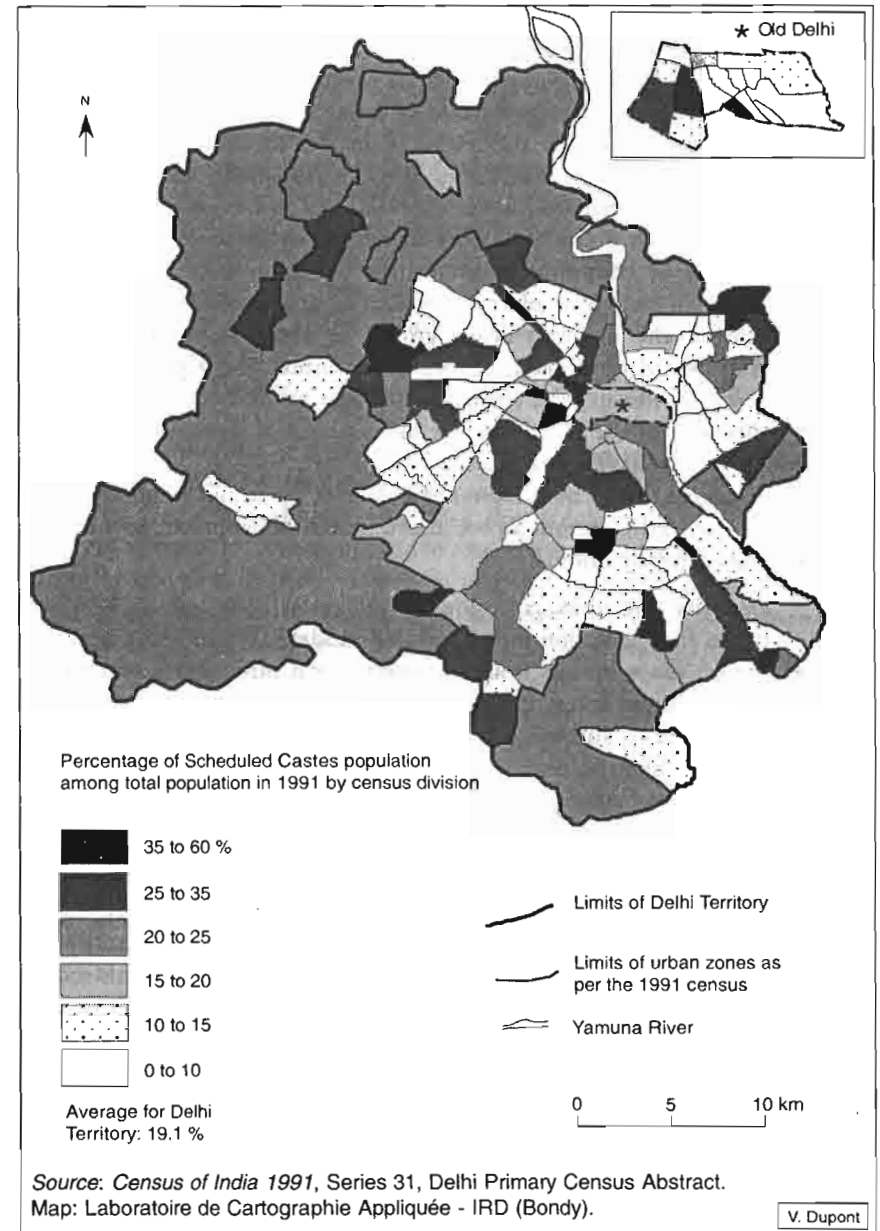
Furthermore, public housing policies have failed to respond to the demand of large sections of the urban population for housing. Consequently, 'unauthorized colonies' have proliferated in the urban-rural fringe on agricultural land. Poorer groups, approximately 3 million people accounting for almost 25 per cent of the total population of Delhi in 1999, have been relegated to squatter settlements and precarious forms of habitat that have continued to expand in all areas of the capital, despite 'slum clearance' and resettlement programmes. These policies entail the relocation of evicted slum dwellers and squatters in resettlement colonies, or sites providing serviced plots of land located on the urban outskirts (Map 16.5). Pursued most actively during the 'Emergency' (1975-7), resettlement policy led to forced evictions of nearly 700,000 persons. This policy regained momentum in the 1999-2001 period.

Beyond the influence of town planning, housing policies—or their inadequacies—and the forces of the real-estate market, other traditional factors of residential segregation such as caste continue to play a role in shaping the social division of urban space.[12] In Delhi, as in other Indian cities, specific neighbourhoods for former untouchable castes, the Harijan *bastis*, still form part of the urban scene. The residential distribution of scheduled caste populations[13] across Delhi in 1991 revealed the persistence of social ostracism as manifested in residential segregation (Map 16.6). Pockets with high percentages of scheduled castes are, however, not concentrated in the same geographical sector of the urban agglomeration; they are rather scattered, with some located
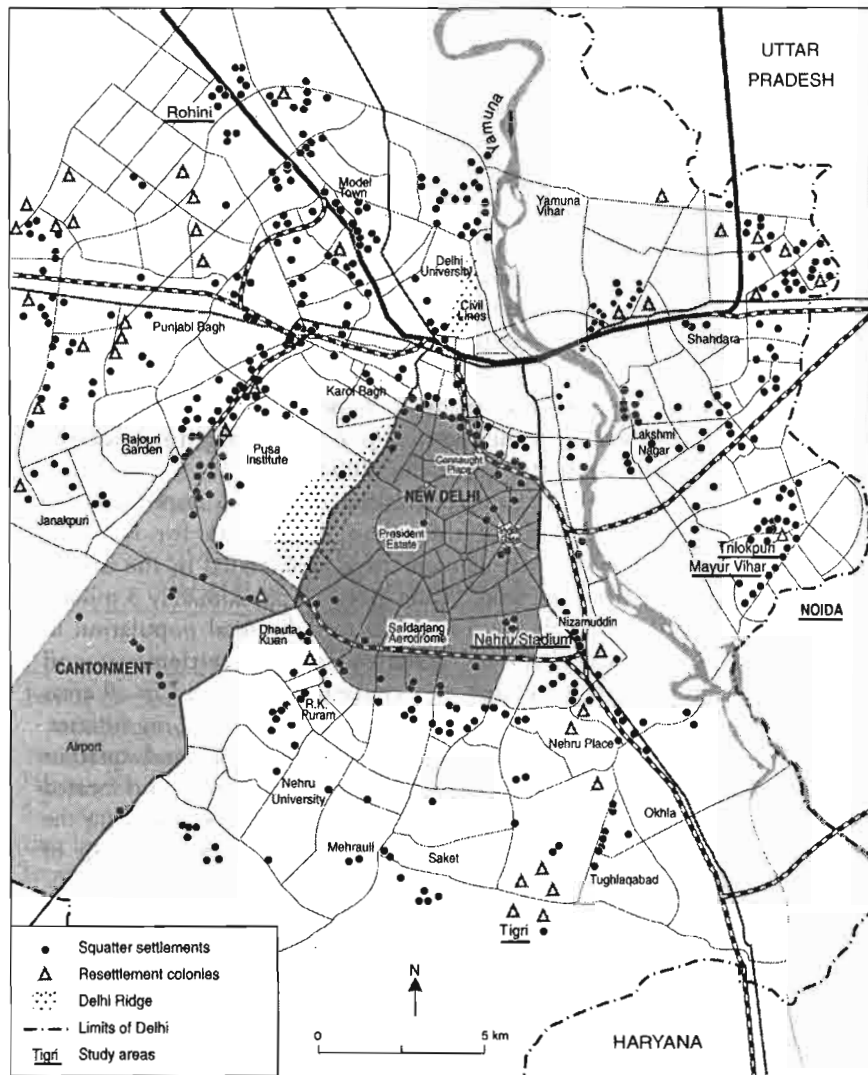
Sources: Census of India 1991, District Census Handbook, Delhi,
Directorate of Census Operation, Delhi.
Slum & Jhuggi Jhompri Department, Municipal Corporation of Delhi, 1990.
Sabir Ali, *Slums within Slums: a study of resettlement colonies of Delhi*,
New Delhi: Council for Social Development, 1990.
Digitised map: UMR ESPACE, Montpellier.

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MAP 16.5: SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS AND RESETTLEMENT COLONIES IN
DELHI URBAN AGGLOMERATION (1990).



Percentage of Scheduled Castes population
among total population in 1991 by census division

35 to 60 %
25 to 35
20 to 25
15 to 20
10 to 15
0 to 10

Average for Delhi
Territory: 19.1 %

Limits of Delhi Territory

Limits of urban zones as
per the 1991 census

Yamuna River

Source: *Census of India 1991*, Series 31, Delhi Primary Census Abstract.
Map: Laboratoire de Cartographie Appliquée - IRD (Bondy).

V. Dupont

MAP 16.6: RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULED CASTE POPULATION
IN DELHI URBAN AGGLOMERATION (1991)

in the central area, including certain divisions of Old Delhi as well as New Delhi, and others in the peripheral zones.

A pattern of local concentrations of lower socio-economic groups *dispersed across the city* is also reflected in the location of squatter settlements (Map 16.5). Therefore, one can find many instances of physical proximity between lower class clusters and middle or upper class residential areas. Such patterns are frequently associated with the development of economic relationships between these respective residents.[14] In fact, it is often a residential and economic strategy developed by the underprivileged groups in order to provide their services to the better-off sections. In such a context, the fragmentation of the urban landscape and residential segregation do not imply social fragmentation, in the sense that the different social segments are not completely isolated from each other.

To conclude this section, Dewar et al. (1990, pp. x-xiii) summarized and characterized Capeton-ian social and spatial development patterns using the following criteria:

* explosive and unmanaged low density sprawl;
* urban fragmentation into a 'cellular' model;
* use of 'space bridges' such as freeways and other forms of high speed, limited access, infrastructure rather than 'space integrators';
* separation of land use, urban elements, races and income groups;
* a highly skewed distribution of work, commercial and social facilities and opportunities along the older 'arms' of the city.

The situation in Delhi presents a less alarming or extreme diagnosis of urban fragmentation. Notwithstanding a citywide socio-economic and functional division between the northern and southern halves, the majority of Delhi is relatively heterogeneous in terms of type of settlements and socio-economic groups of residents. However, it would be misleading to conclude that residential segregation in Delhi is moderate: instead, it is at a subtle level. The socio-spatial organization of Delhi could be characterized by a combination of residential and social segregation at the micro-level along with dispersion at the city level. Despite the implementation of separate land use zoning, small-scale economic activities are also located throughout the city.

Physical fragmentation and residential segregation, evident in the two metropolises, do not, therefore, necessarily imply social fragmentation, as observed in the case of Delhi.

## ACCESS TO THE CITY BY UNDERPRIVILEGED SOCIAL GROUPS

The spatial organization of each metropolis, the distribution of jobs and housing types, as well as historical and socio-cultural factors deeply influence the daily life of city dwellers and their mobility. As we focus on access to the city by the underprivileged social groups we address the following questions: To what extent do the poor have the capacity to move in segmented or fragmented metropolises? Do they manage to find their way across the many urban barriers to access different places and thus a vast range of urban opportunities? The very existence and perception of these opportunities is a strong 'pull' factor in rural-urban migration. Physical and symbolic access to those opportunities allows the formation of a common identity as urbanites, and is a condition for collective social development.

For Delhi, our analysis deals with the mobility of the population living in squatter settlements and in resettlement colonies. The findings are based on a statistical survey of 1,249 households conducted in 1995 in five selected zones, including such types of settlements (Map 16.5), and complemented by in-depth interviews and more recent field visits (Dupont and Prakash, 1999; Sidhu, 1995 and 1997). We draw on an analysis of access to Cape Town's opportunities by Africans living in several townships and squatter settlements to provide a comparative perspective. The findings rely on qualitative research conducted in 1995-7 (Houssay-Holzschuch, 1999). We do not dwell here on the question of access to proper housing and basic infrastructure and services for the poor, which was discussed earlier. We focus on access to places of education, work and shopping.

### CONTEXTUALIZING MOBILITY: TRANSPORTATION

Mobility is vital in widely spread and spatially fragmented cities such as Delhi and Cape Town. Access to transport and effective urban mobility of different social groups have the potential to reduce the effects of physical fragmentation or, on the contrary, to aggravate them. Urban transportation and communication networks have the potential power to integrate the city and the potential capacity to favour objective or at least subjective solidarity between urban dwellers in their uses of the city (May, Spector and Veltz, 1998). Transportation means have a considerable impact on urban development; however, their differential access is also a source of social inequalities. Hence, as Kaufmann (2000,

p. 56) pointed out: 'The diversity of ways of living that results produces parallel cities. The fragmented city that ensues is constituted of worlds whose inhabitants rarely meet, due to a collision of speeds and daily life spheres.'

Acute social and economic inequalities in access to urban transport-ation are commonly observed in metropolises of the South (Diaz Olvera, Plat and Pochet, 1998; Figueroa, Godard and Henry, 1997). Such problems are also common in Delhi and Cape Town. The situation in Cape Town is summarized in Table 16.2.

Public transport in African areas includes buses, trains and group taxis. They are all relatively expensive, forcing people to spend often more than one-third of their wages on transport. Buses and trains are often slow and, as the distances between residences and workplaces are long due to functional specialization and spatial fragmentation, people spend a great part of their day commuting. Group taxis are more efficient, but have long been prone to violence: competition between companies is fierce and conflicts are often resolved by force.

In 1993, walking was a significant means of transport (32 per cent of intra-city trips) in Delhi. Public buses accounted for 62 per cent of trips by vehicle; the rest were distributed equally among cars, scooters or motorcycles, or bicycles and other small carriers (cycle-rickshaws, auto-rickshaws, or horse carts, for instance). The average time spent per intra-city trip was 27 minutes (all purposes combined), 29 minutes for commuting to work, 23 minutes for education, and 28 minutes

TABLE 16.2.   MODE OF TRANSPORT OF METROPOLITAN
COMMUTERS BY RACE IN 1992

|  | Whites | Asians | Coloureds | Africans |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Public Transport (per cent) | 7 | 33 | 53 | 79 |
| *Bus* | *4* | *22* | *10* | *20* |
| *Taxi* | *-* | *8* | *8* | *46* |
| *Train* | *3* | *3* | *35* | *13* |
| Car (per cent) | 87 | 57 | 36 | 9 |
| Walking (per cent) | 2 | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Other (per cent) | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| Average Monthly Cost (ZAR) | 221 | 134 | 101 | 67 |
| Average Travel Time (mn) | 25 | 36 | 44 | 51 |

*Source*: Vines Mikula Associates, 1994, quoted in Selod and Zenou, 1999.

for other purposes.[15] The case studies of selected neighbourhoods illustrate inequalities in access to various modes of transportation and commuting time.

## ACCESS TO PLACES OF EDUCATION

Despite a variety of local contexts, in all the five zones studied in Delhi (Map 16.5) (either located in a central area, within the periphery of the urban agglomeration, or in a ring town outside the capital city) a similar pattern of differential access to education was evident.[16] Most (if not all) schoolboys and girls living in squatter settlements attended a school located in the same zone as their residence, and majority of them went on foot. The corresponding frequencies were always higher for children from squatter settlements than those living in other types of settlement. Correlatively, the average time spent in commuting was less. Last, in all the zones, the wider the socio-economic distance as reflected in the type of settlement and housing, the sharper the contrasts between the indicators related to the place of study, the mode of transportation, and the time of commuting.

For example, the Mayur Vihar–Trilokpuri zone houses a large variety of types of settlements and a wide range of socio-economic strata. Among the children living in squatter settlements or resettlement colonies, more than 95 per cent studied in their zone of residence, over 90 per cent walked to school, and on the average they spent 9 to 12 minutes per trip to commute; whereas in the cooperative group housing societies' apartments (housing the better-off sections of this residential zone), only one-third of the students studied in the Mayur Vihar–Trilokpuri zone, only 16 per cent went on foot and on the average they spent 28 minutes per trip.

The distinctive pattern in access to place of education exhibited by school children living in squatter settlements and resettlement colonies reflected two other differentials: differences in the level of education and differences in the type of school attended.

As expected, most of the school children living in squatter settle-ments attended primary schools (64 per cent to 76 per cent, according to the zone) and not a single student had reached college level. On the other hand, in certain planned housing sectors, among all school children and students, the proportion of those attending higher educational institutions (university or other establishments for higher technical studies) varied from 14 per cent (planned sectors in Noida,

DDA flats in Rohini, for example) to 28 per cent (cooperative group housing societies' apartments in Mayur Vihar). Since there is no university in the zone, those pursuing higher studies had no choice but to travel outside their residential zone to attend a university.

In the case of primary and secondary education, working class children did not attend the same types of establishment as those from better-off families and housing sectors. The former attended government schools, while the latter were enrolled in private schools with a better reputation, and even elitist education establishments located at a distance from the zone of residence. Noida, lying to the east of Delhi is a case in point (Map 16.2). As a new planned town of about 200,000 inhabitants at the time of the survey, it is equipped with many local primary schools and a fair number of secondary schools, including reputed private institutions. Yet, in families living in the planned sectors, 36 per cent of the children attending a secondary school travelled outside Noida to study in Delhi, at the cost of long commuting times (48 minutes on the average per trip), generally travelling by bus. Obviously, such options were completely beyond the financial means of families living in squatter settlements.

The case of Tigri Janta Jeevan Camp, however, revealed that government schools did not necessarily provide better facilities than those the slums dwellers organized for themselves with the help of non-governmental organizations. Tigri J.J. Camp, a very large squatter settlement developed since the 1970s in the southern periphery of Delhi (Map 16.5), comprised approximately 10,000 dwelling units by the mid-1990s, housing nearly 50,000 inhabitants. A number of voluntary non-governmental organizations operating in this slum are very active. A women's association runs a primary school in a newly constructed and well-planned building which includes several classrooms and a courtyard. In 1995, this contrasted with the local government-run primary school that was situated in a park with no formal structure and with children seated on the ground under open tents.[17]

As confirmed by interviews with residents of squatter settlements or resettlement colonies, these case studies illustrate that 'most parents are well aware of the crucial role that school plays in order to climb the social ladder and attain a better status than their own present one' (Milbert, 1997, p. 369). Concern for children's education again came to the fore when Rajiv Gandhi Camp, a squatter settlement centrally located near a new administrative complex and the Nehru Stadium, was demolished in May 2000. The families entitled to resettlement

under the scheme[18] were shifted to Narela, a resettlement colony located at a distance of about 30 km from the previous site, in the rural fringe to the north of the Delhi urban agglomeration. Apart from the major issue of access to employment opportunities in the new relocation sites, the lack of adequate school facilities was also a frequent complaint. Hence, the education of some children had been disrupted, as there was no secondary school, and the only primary school was non-functional due to teacher truancy. For some families who had invested in the education of their children in order to improve their socio-economic status, the lack of access to proper educational institutions in the resettlement site jeopardized their strategies for improving their children's future opportunities.

In the South African context under apartheid, schools were segregated. As a consequence of government policy barring them from skilled jobs and the 1953 Bantu Education Act that placed schools firmly under state control, Africans only had access to low quality education in 'African schools', located in African townships. Teachers were poorly trained compared to those in white schools and the pupil-teacher ratio was much higher. Also, curricula were designed to fit job expectations: carpentry for boys and domestic science for girls who were trained as future servants. Besides, the equipment was poor and the school buildings inadequately maintained. This system of 'Bantu education' was systematically opposed and boycotted by the African population during the apartheid years, leading, among other things to a further disinterest of the authorities. On the other side of the racial barrier, affluent private and public schools for whites were in centrally located neighbourhoods with high standards and high fees.

Under the new dispensation, all restrictions on school attendance have been lifted and state-sponsored schools have been reformed. Parents are free to choose a school for their children, the 'only' limitation being their financial resources: the best schools are often very expensive. South Africans parents from all walks of life are deeply convinced of the benefits of education. When asked during the 1996-7 interviews what their wishes for their own future were, their first and main answer was: 'I wish my children to get a good education'. Education is perceived as the best way to eradicate individual and family poverty and thereby reduce inequalities at a more general level. Many families go to great lengths to ensure that their children attend a 'good school': financial sacrifices are made to pay for both the fees and the transport. In Cape Town, African children from townships often travel more than an hour

to reach their school in the northern or southern suburbs. Their reception varies from place to place: in Rondebosch, for instance, a wealthy, English-speaking suburb where many students and academics live, negative reactions of the local residents were limited. On the other hand, in Ruyterwacht, a former poor white area which today has coloured and white residents, African children were confronted by barricades erected by the angry residents, reputedly fearing crime and degradation of their environment (Teppo, 2000). In both cases, children's daily commuting is important: coming more often than not from a township, they travel to the city to receive better education. The same process occurs at a lower scale for poorer households: many Khayelitsha families, living in a sprawling township of over 600,000 residents on the outskirts of the city, believe that the nearby schools in the coloured neighbourhood of Mitchell's Plains are better, and that the school year is less disrupted by crime or political conflicts (Fakier, 1998). Fees in these schools are also more affordable than those in the northern and southern suburbs. Therefore, African and coloured children attend schools in Mitchell's Plains: the mobility of the former, even if limited, provides for spaces of social desegregation. Townships schools, however, are not deserted: local children, lacking the will or the means to commute, fill up the classes. In squatter settlements, the situation and access to education follows more or less the same patterns.

## ACCESS TO WORKPLACES: A DELHI EXAMPLE

Unlike access to places of education, the differential pattern of access to workplaces across various settlement types in Delhi depends on the local context. Although the position of workers living in squatter settlements everywhere has some distinctive features as compared to workers from other neighbouring housing sectors, the differentials do not always operate in the same way.[19] A first distinction has to be made between, on the one hand, the two case studies circumscribed each to a small area (the zones of Nehru Stadium and Tigri) and, on the other hand, the three widely spread zones (Rohini, Mayur Vihar-Trilokpuri and Noida) (Map 16.5).

In large peripheral zones, differential analysis appears more relevant because it include a wider range of socio-economic strata and provides a greater variety of economic activities, and hence employment opportunities. A recurrent differential pattern emerges for workers from squatter settlements (as compared to workers from other neighbouring

housing sectors): they tend to work more frequently in the same zone, spend less time commuting, and travel more often on foot or by bicycle. As expected, the contrasts are more marked when compared to residents from planned housing sectors.

The new town of Noida, planned from its inception as an important industrial centre, provides a striking illustration. Almost all the inhabitants of the squatter settlements (98 per cent) work in Noida. The attraction of the employment opportunities offered by the new industrial estate motivated them to migrate. As no arrangements have been made by the town authority to house the majority of industrial workers, they have occupied the vacant land in the gaps and the fringes of the industrial zone where they have constructed precarious housing, while others have rented rooms in the urbanized villages (Dupont, 2001). Not surprisingly, workers living in squatter settlements spend on average only 17 minutes per trip to travel to their workplace, 71 per cent of them go on foot and 19 per cent by bicycle. In the planned sectors, only 51 per cent of the resident workers are employed in Noida, the rest commute daily to Delhi (except for a marginal percentage working elsewhere in the metropolitan area). In contrast, the residents of these sectors spend on average 33 minutes commuting to their workplace, and 80 per cent depend on motorized modes of transport.[20]

In the Badli-Rohini zone, the emergence of certain populated squatter settlements was also linked to the development of an industrial zone. In the case of Rajiv Gandhi Camp near the Nehru Stadium, the origin of this squatter camp was directly linked to the opening of construction sites and the recruitment of migrant workers who settled on their work site.

As illustrated by these examples, the location of squatter settlements in Delhi is often the outcome of strategies aimed at settling in the proximity of sources of livelihood: in industrial zones and near construction sites in particular. These case studies further reveal an important dimension of survival strategies among the urban poor. Since they cannot afford high travel expenses, priority is given to physically accessible employment sources, rather than to housing conditions and security of occupancy. This priority order is exemplified by the case of houseless migrant workers sleeping on pavements or in the night shelters in Old Delhi. In these extreme conditions, under drastic financial constraints, housing is entirely forfeited and transport expenses minimized, in order to maximize available income, as also, in the majority of cases, saving and remittances to the family living in the native village

(Dupont, 2000a). The importance of easy physical access to earning opportunities is crucial for understanding the residential practices of the urban poor (Bharat Sevak Samaj, 1958; Gupta, Kaul and Pandey, 1993; Kundu, 1993; Suri, 1994). The failure of numerous attempts to relocate slum dwellers and squatters in settlement colonies outside city centres is often due to inadequate consideration of this fact.

Today, Trilokpuri, a resettlement colony, is well connected by bus to other parts of the city. However, at the time of their relocation in 1976-7, families found uneven land with only a few hand pumps installed at a distance, a few main roads and very few buses serving the area. Unable to withstand such difficult condition, many of the poorer residents sold their plots and returned to central areas to squat on vacant land in places closer to their sources of livelihood, while others went back to their native villages.

The Delhi Slum Wing and other authorities involved in resettlement programmes have failed to recognize the centrality of economic factors to poverty-stricken families' strategies for survival in cities. At their resettlement site in Narela, for instance, earlier residents of Rajiv Gandhi Camp experience a lack of easy access to transportation (in terms of bus frequency, time and cost of commuting) and hence to their previous workplaces. Those engaged in low paying jobs cannot afford the daily cost of commuting, while local employment opportunities are rare. For example, women who were employed as domestic workers in their old neighbourhood have now been deprived of all prospects to pursue the same activity in the resettlement area. These difficulties are compounded by new rules imposed in resettlement colonies: no small business, shop or workshop is permitted on allotted plots. These restrictions virtually amount to the denial of any survival strategies to people who have been impoverished by eviction from their previous living place, and who have been practically cut-off from their former sources of livelihood. It is not surprising that a team of international human right experts who visited this (and other) relocation site concluded that: 'the Resettlement Programme has been implemented in violation of the Constitution of India, namely the right to life under Article 21', by denying the resettled households their right to livelihood (HIC, 2000).

Even if available data does not allow a strict comparison with Cape Town, some elements may be briefly noted. The first is the high unemployment rate of Africans, compared to other groups. According to the 1999 October Household Survey, unemployment in urban areas

in the same year affected almost 41 per cent of Africans, 26 per cent of Coloureds, 20 per cent of Indians and 7 per cent Whites (SAIRR, 2001). At a local level, the situation in African townships may be far worse, despite the vigour and importance of the informal sector in these neighbourhoods. Estimations of unemployment often exceed 60 per cent of the population (Mazur and Quangule, 1995). Mobility is thus dramatically reduced because people do not have the means to commute. Nevertheless, for those residents who have or are looking for a job, commuting to other parts of the city is a necessity (Oldfield, 2000): employment is located in the city centre, in suburbs and industrial areas, while only a few jobs are available in townships. In many households in Cape Town's African townships, women are the breadwinners, working as maids in the more affluent suburbs; in contrast, their unemployed male partners have reduced mobility and access to employment.

## Access to Shopping and Socializing Places: Towards a Post-apartheid Geography of Mobility in Cape Town

During the apartheid era, shopping and socializing places in South Africa were disjointed. Shopping was only done in the city centre or in the White areas, on the way home from work, as commercial development was legally restricted in townships. White commerce benefited from this situation while Black entrepreneurs were forced to operate illegally and informally. Shopping centres in townships were scarce, expensive and generally offered only a limited range of products. In short, laws ensured that shopping created mobility as there was no alternative. For instance, the first supermarket was set up in Khayelitsha township in 1995, a settlement of over 500,000 inhabitants at that time. People shopped in the nearby coloured settlement of Mitchell's Plain. The city centre was also frequently used for shopping (Map 16.7): it drew together commuters' flows, catching a connection between the suburb and the township. All types of transport are available in this centre—trains, buses and collective taxis have their station in the same block, transforming it into a busy hub. The nearby Golden Acre commercial centre was widely used by commuters. The kind of access African people had to shopping places under apartheid is depicted in Map 16.7. Drawn by T, a middle-aged woman from the township of Gugulethu, this mental map illustrates all the major public transport infrastructures present in the centre, on which Africans were largely
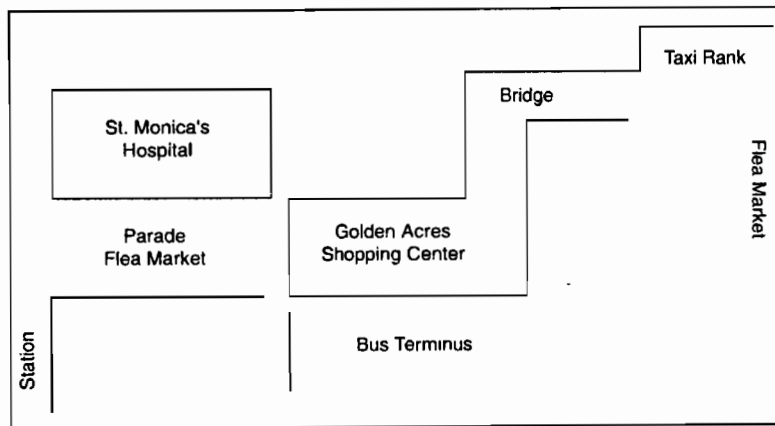
MAP 16.7: A MENTAL MAP OF CAPE TOWN CITY CENTRE, DRAWN IN 1996.

dependent. The space depicted here is a pedestrian's space: from public transport to passageway to commercial centre, one can follow her steps.

In contrast, socializing places in South Africa under apartheid were circumscribed largely to townships (Coplan, 1985): petty apartheid enforced segregation in all public places such as public halls, theatres or movie theatres and clubs. These amenities, often located in the city centre, were seldom accessible to Africans and alternative facilities were scarce in the townships. Also, the local authorities often imposed a public monopoly on the sale and consumption of alcohol, limiting alcohol sales to state-owned township beer halls: a legal multiplicity of bars, restaurants and socializing places was thus impossible. Finally, African areas were constantly subject to police harassment. Therefore, socializing was often difficult or unsafe during the apartheid period: few places could welcome guests legally and many socializing places elsewhere in the city were not open to Africans. Socializing took place instead in private township houses, often transformed into *shebeens*, illegal bars, by their owners. Patrons and owners were at risk of a police raid.

Today, new patterns have emerged as people move freely around the city. Financial constraints continue to influence mobility but people from the township widely use newly accessible facilities. Economic rationality has replaced imposed mobility, such as in the choice of shopping areas. A greater variety of daily products, at more reasonable prices, are available in new township commercial centres. Residents shop in places that are most convenient. For instance, as the Khayelitsha

commercial centre is not centrally located, people from the southern half of the settlement prefer Mitchell's Plain centre. Other shopping places such as the city centre or transport hubs like Woodstock continue to attract many people.

The disjunction between shopping and socializing places also seems to have decreased in significance. An exploratory study conducted in September 2001 revealed that the model of shopping and entertainment mall, often branded as a sign of globalization, has become increasingly important in Cape Town. New malls and entertainment complexes have been built on vacant land, bridging some of the gaps of the fragmented city. Older places, such as the Victoria and Albert Waterfront, attracted new patrons during the 1990s: all communities can be seen striding on the quays on a Sunday afternoon. These malls allow varied shopping—for food or daily necessities as well as more exceptional treats. Socializing is also possible as they offer a variety of entertainment in a safe environment (a sought after commodity in the South African context) and at various hours. The main malls are connected by the public transport system.

In short, access to shopping and socializing places have definitely increased for blacks in Cape Town over the last decade as has access to education. The opening of many places legally has triggered an increase in mobility, even for the less privileged. Though spatial fragmentation and residential segregation continue, mobility can be seen as a way to reclaim the city, to restore to Cape Town some of its urbanity.

In Delhi, the question of access to shopping and entertainment places for residents of squatter settlements and resettlement colonies cannot be stated in the same terms, since they have not been subjected to segregation laws or restrictions as severe as under apartheid in Cape Town. Thus, many informal commercial activities, sometimes at a microscale, have developed in these two types of settlements: small shops—often wooden kiosks or even doorstep stalls—provide basic goods and services, and hawkers push their trolleys wherever the streets allow their passage. Provided they manage to obtain their 'ration card' (an administrative procedure that may prove cumbersome for the newly arrived poor migrant families), the recognized residents of any locality also have access to fair-price shops that supply government subsidized staple commodities.

Unlike black South Africans living in townships or squatter camps in Cape Town, in Delhi workers living in squatter settlements are not necessarily disadvantaged in terms of commuting time to reach their

workplace, a factor that figures centrally in their livelihood and residential strategies. Yet, the new resettlement programme for slum dwellers has circumscribed residents' spatial and economic opportunities, bringing them close to the conditions that disadvantaged poor black South African families faced in Cape Town in the apartheid era. In particular, resettled Delhi residents have been forcibly shifted far from their places of work and setting up of any trade or business on the plots alloted in the relocation sites has been made illegal.

## CONCLUSION: WHICH MODEL OF CITY ON THE ANVIL?

Cape Town and Delhi are two metropoles whose spatial and social patterns can be described as either fragmented or segmented. We have discussed several common factors that have produced this type of urban configuration:

- the impact of the British colonial urban model;
- powerful town planning that shaped both cities, using similar models of reference, and with comparable effects;
- segmented societies that combine social hierarchy and residential segregation—either as an effect of twentieth century imposed racial segregation, or because of traditional social division based on caste.

This socio-spatial organization has developed in the face of rapid urban growth and the spread of acute social inequality and extensive poverty.

However, Delhi and Cape Town diverge in their present evolutions. While post-apartheid social and housing policies implemented in Cape Town aim to integrate the city and reduce spatial and social fragmentation (in particular through the urbanization of previous buffer zones and the promotion of racially mixed residential areas), the recent trend observed in Delhi is likely, on the contrary, to increase urban fragmentation and foster social fractures. 'Cleaning' the city of its squatter settlements may serve the interests of the better-off sections of the city by improving their visual environment, but this process comes at the cost of thousands of families cut-off from their sources of livelihood as well as their social and economic networks. Furthermore, such 'undesirable' citizens are relegated to the rural fringes of the city, in relocation sites where economic activities are not permitted.

At one time, town planners and policy makers of developing cities,

including Cape Town and Delhi, imported Western planning concepts and applied them to local urban contexts without critically assessing them. If Delhi's planners and policy makers had drawn lessons from experiences of other cities of the South, in particular from the disastrous consequences of apartheid planning in South African cities, they would have reformulated their most recent policies in a different way. Comparative urban analysis is not only a heuristic tool for researchers, but also critical for town planners and urban policy makers.

## NOTES

1. All translations from the French are ours.
2. For J. Lévy (1994), urbanity is what differentiates a city from a settlement, specifically the 'putting together a maximum of social objects within a minimal distance' (p. 286).
3. Such findings are not specific to southern contexts such as Delhi and Cape Town. For the French case, see for example, Castells and Godard, 1974; Pinçon, Préteceille and Rendu, 1986.
4. As stated by Godard (1990, p. 9): 'When referring to the concept of strategy, one generally adopts an approach that consists in restoring to the actor his/her share of initiative in the elaboration of his/her own existence'. We subscribe entirely to this approach.
5. The denomination of 'racial' groups in South Africa, especially in post-apartheid South Africa, is an arduous problem as well as a political hot potato. The former apartheid racial classification included

   - 'Whites' (South Africans from European origins), among them:
     - Afrikaners, Afrikaans-speaking descendants of Dutch settlers from the seventeenth century onwards. *Afrikaner* is the Afrikaans word for African and thus includes a political statement, underlining the African identity of this population group.
     - English-speaking South Africans.
     - Other, often more recent, migrants of European origin such as Greeks, Portuguese.
   - 'Indians', South Africans of Indian origin, whose ancestors came as either indentured labourers or free passengers notably at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century (see R. Ebr.-Vally's contribution in this volume);
   - 'Africans' (previously designated as 'Natives' or 'Bantus'), South Africans of African origin;
   - 'Coloureds', an heterogeneous group including people of mixed descent and people not fitting in the above categories.

This classification has been particularly important in the shaping of identities. While condemning the system that designed it, researchers widely use it. Other terms also need to be defined: Indians, Africans and coloureds were collectively designated as 'Non-Europeans', a derogatory term used under apartheid, and, by themselves, as 'blacks'. In this paper, while aware of the political implications of each term, we follow the usual conventions and use the above categories as they are understood in the South African context.

6. Our analysis of the apartheid system is limited to its impact on Cape Town's spatial fragmentation. A fuller analysis and bibliography can be found in numerous publications, see Christopher, 1994; Guillaume, 2001.

7. The 1950 Group Areas Act is one of the legislative pillars of apartheid: it defined racially strict residential zones in the whole country, leading to massive forced removals and the construction of townships in urban areas.

8. A similar principle was applied by the British colonial administration in their planning of New Delhi.

9. See for instance Saff (1998).

10. For further details on housing during apartheid, see Judin and Vladislavic (1998).

11. Since the government employees have been supplied with different categories of housing according to their official status and range of income, this residential model was qualified as 'salaried apartheid' by A. Mitra (1970).

12. For a general discussion, see the contribution by V. Dupont and F. Landy in this volume, and Dupont (2004) for a case study of Delhi.

13. 'Scheduled caste' is the administrative term used to designate the ex-untouchable castes identified for specific public benefits.

14. Such residential patterns can be interpreted as a manifestation of what Schenk (1986, p. 183) has identified as the 'two seemingly contradictory societal forces upon the socio-spatial structure of urban residence : (a) the aim to reside in socially homogeneous areas, and (b) the aim and the need to maintain relations of dependency'.

15. RITES, Household travel survey in Delhi urban area, New Delhi, 1993.

16. The total sample surveyed covered 1,616 students, including 322 living in squatter settlements and 316 in resettlement colonies.

17. However, during our last field visit to this neighbourhood in 1999, this government primary school had been accommodated in a nearby newly constructed building.

18. On the question of 'slum clearance' and 'resettlement policies', see Ramanathan, 2000.

19. The total sample surveyed covered 1,994 workers, including 554 living in squatter settlements and 300 in resettlement colonies.

20. To calculate the average commuting duration per trip, home-based workers were excluded.

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CHAPTER 17

# Can Institutional Integration Help Reduce Urban Segregation?

Urban Policies and the Construction of Local Identities: Some Thoughts on the Johannesburg Experience

CLAIRE BÉNIT

South Africa and India have in common partly institutionalized iniquitous social structures: in the form of caste or *jati* in India, and racial and ethnic classification in South Africa—although apartheid racial classifications have been abolished since 1994, they still explain to a great extent social and spatial dynamics in South Africa. In both societies, attention has focused on an almost endless process of constructing national unity, an exercise in which a powerful state is challenged to create and implement policies to transcend regional, social and historical divisions, in many instances creating permanent and dynamic tension between centrifugal and centripetal forces at the national, regional and local levels.

The metropolis is the perfect laboratory for the study of tension between the individual and the group and the local and the national. In the urban context, the spatial expression of all types of social differences are amplified and made more complex by economic growth typical of big cities. Moreover, cities are places for the creation of new identities, where the interplay between multiple identities becomes possible, because of the anonymity provided in an urban context. In addition, there are specific spatial constraints that impact upon the process of settling in the city,[1] such as the economic opportunities on offer. Finally, metropolitan areas are spaces where problems of urban management are raised with the most acuity, generating issues that often transcend the local level if the metropolis has attained sizeable

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