SOCIO-SPATIAL AND ETHNIC-RACIAL SEGREGATION IN MEGACITIES, LARGE CITIES AND GLOBAL CITIES IN AFRICA

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Introduction

The estimated world population for 2030 is 8.6 billion people, one billion more than the current 7.6 billion (UN 2017). The same study points out that nine countries will account for more than half of this population growth, with five African nations among them (Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Egypt), in addition to three Asian countries (India, Pakistan and Indonesia) and one country in the Americas (The United States). In this work, we present an overview of the megacities, large cities and global cities of seven countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, which, according to the UN, is the continent’s fastest growing region in population terms. These countries, with the cities that stand out on the international scene, according to the analyzed authors.

Still in 2030, two thirds of the world population will live in cities, which will produce 80% of the planet’s GDP, with megacities appearing again in Asia, Latin America and Africa (UN 2017). The increase in the cost of living in these superclusters is certain, as well as in small and medium-sized cities. However, it is in the global and millionaire cities where cutting-edge urbanization occurs, although they are not the fastest growing cities in population terms, according to the UN (2017). Therefore, we bring here examples of these cities that become increasingly segregated.

The urban centers that will grow the most in Africa will be the now small and medium-sized cities, those with less than one million inhabitants, that is, those that concentrate 62% of the urban population of the African

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continent (UN 2017). Once again, it will be necessary to have urban, green and sustainable planning, so that these cities do not become new superclusters without infrastructure, as we will see throughout our examples.

According to UN (2017), the concept of “megacities” refers to those that are very large in population terms, not considering other aspects of these urban centers. The term “global city” is used when we make a qualitative analysis of the city, referring to its degree of influence over other urban centers, in different parts of the world (Decicino 2014).

Thus, we present a text that begins by explaining the origins of what we conceive today, in general, as African societies, then the text cites the countries analyzed, with their respective historical trajectories and examples of their most important urban agglomerations. Hence, we ask: how do the past and the present-day relate to the urbanization process of African cities (large, mega and global), expanding socio-spatial and ethnic-racial inequalities?

**Going back to the origins**

African societies from the 16th to the 18th centuries were hierarchical, centralized, based on the collection of taxes from conquered populations and commanded by militarized family elites (Macedo 2008, 95). The continent’s subsequent structural poverty can be explained by the trafficking of enslaved people, beginning in the 16th century, which generated the greatest forced immigration of humanity and the African socio-cultural dispersion throughout the world, known as the Diaspora. The European interference marked the direction of Africa forever, even reaching the stagnation of its population in the 18th century (Macedo 2008, 96).

The abolition of slavery came from a change in English Christian discourse that, combined with the enlightenment ideas, other French revolutionaries and even post-American independence, expanded humanitarianism to African peoples. There was also the advantage of a permanent consumer population in Africa that could benefit from the raw material before selling it to European and North American markets.

According to Macedo (2008, 97), colonialism and imperialism in Africa sustained the second European industrial revolution of the 19th century, dividing the map of Africa among the invading European nations, without taking into account any secularly established ethnic territoriality. Two major world wars (1914-1945) also exploited African forces, who were fighting on the battlefronts for their European metropolises. In the post-war, the
appearance of another dispute, the Cold War, aligned interests of capitalists and socialists over territories still dominated on the continent, from 1945 to 1960, when the independence movements of the colonized countries began.

The ideological-scientific basis of that domination has always occurred from racism, which the African person was dehumanized in the period of slavery and later was made inferior as a human, even after abolition. Centuries of exploitation and racism have resulted in fragile African states, with successive regimes of exception and dependent on international trade with their former metropolises, except in South Africa (Macedo 2008, 173). However, since the 19th century, as an identity construction of the continent, there has been an insurgency of an African philosophy and pan-Africanism – an ideology that sought to unite the peoples of Africa as a way to enhance the continent’s narrative in the international context.

Below, we present examples of cities in seven African countries, in order to contextualize them with the history of African societies presented above, going through European colonization and their independence and post-independence movements. This historical process, for us, is essential to understand how the phenomenon of socio-spatial and ethnic-racial segregation has evolved in these cities.

Megacities, large cities and global cities in Africa

Nigeria, the “Giant of Africa”

Lagos, Nigeria, is a megacity of 21 million inhabitants (WPR 2019), surpassing Cairo and Kinshasa as the continent’s largest city. Its name is due to the Portuguese colonizers who, in the 15th century, left Lagos (Portugal) and passed through this region when they surrounded Africa during their navigations. Later, in the 19th century, European colonialism placed Nigeria under the rule of England and its indirect government, based on local leaders and with profound ethnic-racial segregation (Khapoya 2008, 143).

The country became independent in 1960, but plunged into civil war. Since then, democratically elected civilian governments and military dictatorships have alternated in command of the nation, with only the 2011 presidential elections being considered free and fair (Nossiter 2011). Currently, the Nigerian government has large international investment to finance large projects, mainly with English and American capital.
Lekki is a city under construction since 2008, located southeast to Lagos on a peninsula of 80 km by 10 km, between the great lagoon and the Atlantic Ocean. By 2015, only the first phase of the project was completed, with the second phase being still unfinished. Lekki is home to several gated residences, agricultural land, a Free Trade Zone, an airport and a sea port, both still under construction. Under the title of “blue and green environmental city”, this global city expects to accommodate more than 3.4 million people, from the middle and upper classes, and a fluctuating population of at least 1.9 million people, that is, of pendular workers living outside Lekki (Baldwin 2019). The first phase of the project was implemented over the region that was previously known as Maroko, a popular neighborhood destroyed in 1990 by the military government of the state of Lagos.

Another global Nigerian city, under construction since 2007, on the edge of the capital city, is the so-called Eko Atlantic, which the name “Èkó”, in Yoruba, refers to the city of Lagos itself. However, like Lekki, Eko Atlantic is not being built for the majority of the Lagos’s population. Tons and tons of sand were used to create a landfill at the mouth of the channel that connects the great lagoon to the ocean, under the discourse of minimizing the effects of the tide on the port of Lagos and of erecting the futuristic “West African Dubai”. Again, another stronghold of the middle and upper classes is being built, with high-tech architecture and the slogan of the most technological city on the continent.

Just 12 minutes-drive away from Eko Atlantic is Makoko (what is left of Maroko), an occupation over the great lagoon, populated by 100 thousand people (Agwu 2015, 12), known as “Venice of Africa”. Remnant part of Maroko, swallowed by Lekki, the resilient Makoko still persists in its forced segregation, even though it is in the financial center of Lagos. It is separated, geographically speaking, for being an enclave with few accesses and, socially speaking, for sheltering people of lower income attracted by the economic opportunity of the great center. However, as in so many other occupations in Lagos, Makoko is also an ethnic-racial stratification, because it served as an alternative to the flight of the Ogun ethnic group from the interior of the country and from neighboring country Benin. The Ogun’s flight was due to the conflicts of the civil war that devastated Nigeria and the poverty resulting from post-colonialism (Macedo 2008).

Abuja has been the capital of Nigeria since 1991, planned to occupy the central Nigerian region. Its cost of living is high and the city currently has 400 thousand inhabitants (Abuja 2019). Compared to other urban centers in the country, Abuja is considered relatively safe, as local security forces are
very careful with warnings coming from the north and south of the country, including the constant threats of terrorist attacks. For this reason, it is in the district of the federal capital that the “Centenary City” is being implemented, an ambitious government project to build a “smart city”, just like Eko Atlantic, however far from the “wretched of the Earth” of Lagos (Fanon 1968, 175).

Map 1: Lagos, where Makoko is located, and the Lekki Peninsula, in whose edge relies Eko Atlantic (in red)


Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

Kinshasa is the Congolese megacity, with 12 million inhabitants, of whom 8 million live below the poverty line (United Nations 2018). One of the causes is that the DRC, which before independence (1960) was called Belgian Congo or Congo-Leopoldville, suffered the most violent process of colonization in Africa. In 1878, this region began to be explored with commercial warehouses on the Congo River, under the order of the Belgian King Leopold II. In the Berlin Conference in 1885, known as the “Scramble for Africa”, among European powers, Leopoldo II received Congolese territory as a personal possession. He governed it to his wishes and with extreme
brutality, including the amputation of enslaved workers in order to force those who watch to work harder (UNESCO 2010, 89-109).

In 1908, the “Free State of the Congo”, so named by Leopold II, ceased to be owned by the Crown. Its unscrupulous colonization, as a business model, was exposed in the Western press and caused astonishment even among other colonizing countries (Khapoya 2008, 144). Thus, the region was transferred to the government of Belgium, changing its name to Belgian Congo.

Even after a colonial overexploitation, mainly mining, and subsequent independence, the DRC suffered from the Mobutu Banga dictatorship for 32 years – a period in which the country was called Zaire. Supported militarily by the USA, this regime sparked a civil war (the largest in the world since World War II) between the country’s various ethnic groups, confined within the same territory once conceived by Belgium. The DRC’s immense mineral wealth is also its curse. Natural resources finance militias, in addition to being smuggled into neighboring countries. Meanwhile, the Congolese people remain one of the poorest in the world, exploited by the rebels in the hard work of mining activity and whose 10% of agricultural production is confiscated (Carranca 2013).

Despite this, a project for the emerging middle class has been under construction since 2008, totally excluded from Kinshasa from the 75% irregular occupation of the land. The project is called La Cité du Fleuve, or “City of the River”, because it is confined to an island, surrounded by the rough waters of the immense Congo River. Social and spatial segregation, in this case, bypass the great land conflict that marks the urban expansion of Kinshasa, since expropriations would not be necessary. However, these expropriations took place on the banks of the river, without any compensation to the removed residents, in order to build access to the island of Cité du Fleuve.

These new housing standards, according to French-Indian-Chinese capital entrepreneurs, will offer Cité du Fleuve residents a global “smart city” with quality water, modern waste management, security and transportation systems, which are rarities for the Congolese society that lives outside this “island of prosperity” (Wahba and Ranarifidy 2018). A new image of the DRC is being built, far from the Congolese ethnic war, hunger and disease, but close to the outflow of mining production that flows down the Congo River, towards the buying countries.

In the eyes of those who see Cité du Fleuve from Kinshasa, the inaccessibility or social immobility to that reality is clear. The militaristic and eclectic architecture of the “City of the River” buildings exclude any possibility of the end of colonialism in the DRC.
Tanzania, in East Africa

Tanganyika, the mainland of present-day Tanzania, was a German colony from 1880 until 1919, when it was handed over to the United Kingdom as a result of Germany’s defeat in the World War I. Zanzibar, the island part, was an independent sultanate, which became a British protectorate at the same time. Tanganyika became independent in 1962 and joined Zanzibar in 1964 to create the United Republic of Tanzania. The country has an equivalence between Christians and Muslims, but also with a minority of traditional religions. More than 100 languages are spoken in Tanzania, so there is no official language in the country, despite Swahili being used in parliament and English in international trade and tourism (Faustino 2016).

The country’s first president governed until 1985 in a regime of the so-called “African socialism”, one of the solutions found at the time for some African countries that were recently created and decapitalized due to many years of European exploitation. The country’s first multiparty election was in 1995. Currently, Tanzania has foreign investments for the construction of large enterprises, mainly with Chinese, Australian, North Korean and North American capital (Namkwahe 2019; Hotham 2013).

Dodoma is the current capital of Tanzania, and has just over 2 million inhabitants (Census 2013). Founded by the Germans in 1907, the city should be “the main village of a nation of villages”, according to the founders’ thinking, “on a human scale and to be experienced on foot” (Friedman 2012).
Despite this, following the colonial model, the city was built segregated from the native village existing in the region, with the reason of being a global Tanzanian city.

Today Dodoma is a city of micropoles (clusters), with several centers of urban attraction, mostly with organic layout, of English inspiration, as are, for example, the current best known London parks. Its basic principles follow the Corbusian garden city model, with green belts separating specialized areas for middle and high income residents, commerce and industry. However, since it became the capital city in 1974, there has been a lot of resistance from the government to transfer the national government entirely. Therefore, only the assembly went to the countryside (Britannica 2019).

According to Beeckmans (2018), this modernist and segregating model of Dodoma was conceived taking inspiration from Brasilia, as a nation building project and to cement the nation identity after independence. The same happened in Nigeria (Abuja), Botswana (Gaborone), Malawi (Lilongwe) and Mauritania (Nouakchott).

The former capital, and still the largest city in Tanzania, is Dar Es Salaam, with 4.3 million inhabitants (Census 2013). This urban center has a development plan that values tourism and sustainability, after Tanzania has experienced a weak integration with global markets, which, in a way, helped to isolate the country from the 2008 recession. The recovery has been happening thanks to the strong tourism, telecommunications and banking sectors (Lago 2013, 44).

Dar Es Salaam has radial urban planning and centralities. According to the United Nations Development Program – UNDP (United Nations 2015), however, the recent growth of the Tanzanian economy has benefited few, leaving behind the majority of the population. The requalification of the city’s waterfront, for example, expelled traditional settlements and verticalized the region. The same will happen along the Msimbazi River, under the pretext of containing floods and implementing a linear park.

Kigamboni City is a global Tanzanian city, whose development plan was proposed in 2010, located in a district south of Dar Es Salaam. The activities within the city are well defined spatially, such as industry, sports, tourism, residence and education, following the modernist model linked to the automobile and great distances. In the residential part, the social distinction happens according to the architectural typology of the houses, from medium to high standards. Similar to the Nigerian Eko Atlantic and the Congolese Cité du Fleuve, Kigamboni City is segregated spatially and socially from the largest city in the country, even though it is adjacent to it.
The appeal to safari, a very lucrative activity for Tanzania, due to its immense inland national parks in the savanna biome, was brought to the coast through Kigamboni City. Thus, the global project expects investments from the international real estate market, since most of the land consists in residential area, designed to house up to 500 thousand people. As a consequence, more than 90,000 people who lived off their activities on the coast, were resettled away from the sea, a constant practice in Tanzania, which colonial authorities repatriated the unemployed and urban residents to the countryside. Therefore, the division that was ethnic-racial in the colonial period (European, Indian and Asian neighborhoods), it is currently defined by income (Moshi, Msuya, and Todd 2018, 18).

What still occurs as an ethnic-racial division in Dar Es Salaam concerns the places where groups of migrants settle when they enter the city. Most of them tend to live in relatives’ homes and this creates a social cohesion that, over time, have an impact on the division of settlements. The neighborhoods start to be based on ethnicity and family ties in the city, as in Kitunda, occupied by populations from the region of Mara (Wakurya), Kimara, by populations of Kilimanjaro (Chagga) and Mbagala, by populations of Lindi and Mtwara (Moshi, Msuya, and Todd 2018, 3).

Arusha is a city in the interior of Tanzania, known as “the green tourist capital”, because it is located close to the Tanzanian savannas and Mount Kilimanjaro, the culmination point of Africa. A large investment in the touristic sector in this region of 1.7 million inhabitants is expected (Census 2013), mainly from the World Bank, the USA and China, which causes great real estate speculation, both in the center and in the periphery (Owens 2014, 2-5).

This city is also an important international diplomatic center, since it houses the East African Community and, until 2015, hosted the International Criminal Court for Rwanda. It is also a multicultural center, with indigenous, Arab-Tanzanian and Indian-Tanzanian populations, as well as a small European portion and an American minority. Religions include Christianity, Islamism, Sikhism and Hinduism (Tanzania 2020).

Large tourist enterprises (including huge golf courses) occupy vast portions of land in Arusha, even larger than consolidated settlements. In addition, there is no more space to build in the city, because its rural areas are exploited by commercial networks. As a result, there are several conflicts with the local population, who feel pressured by the real estate advance, expelling it and making land values more expensive (Owens 2014, 2-5). Rather than having participatory planning, according to Owens (2014, 2-5), the government itself competes with the private sector to take advantage of the touristic potential.
It is not by chance that it is in this region that it is planned to build the global city of Safari City, satellite to Arusha, “more modern and less failed” than the regional capital. Intended for medium and high incomes, this enterprise has a social differentiation well defined by zoning, defining where each income should live. The streets converge to the center, where volumetry frames the sunset on the savannah and takes us to a kind of Thebes gate, a clear reference to the Egyptian African empire as a denotation of power. However, with its 13 km distance from Arusha, exclusive car access and basically “summer for foreigners”, Safari City distinguishes itself as a global city that excludes those “without style” and without capital.

Map 3: Tanzania, national parks and studied cities

Kenya, East Africa

Kenya is formed by 47 different peoples, of which Bantus and Masai are predominant. It was a British protectorate since 1895, with numerous disputes between the English and the traditional peoples, until a subsequent declaration of independence in 1963. Despite this, Kenya only became multiparty in 1991.

Nairobi is the capital, with 4.5 million inhabitants (WPR 2019). The city was founded in 1899 by the British, on the path of the railway that links Uganda to the ocean, and today it is a center of business, culture and international organizations, such as the United Nations Environment Program (UN Environment).

Especially after 1948, Nairobi’s development plan marginalized the low-income population in favor of a functionalist zoning. Kibera, for example, a neighborhood west of the city center and one of Africa’s largest irregular occupations, was left behind. Its formation began when the British authorized soldiers returned from the war to occupy the residual areas of the railway that crosses Nairobi. As in other large African cities, the following development plans were “strategic” and favored neoliberalism to build an “African metropolis”, in favor of reinforcing socio-spatial segregation (Njeru 2012).

Konza Technological City is one of the global Kenyan cities, the “Silicon Valley of Africa”, created in 2013 to compete with other cities, even the country itself, in the search for foreign capital with a technological bias. This phenomenon is common today, especially in the sub-Saharan part of the continent.

The attraction of American, European and Chinese capitals was quick to buy land 60 km from Nairobi, on the way to the port city of Mombasa. However, investors did not count on the ethnic dispute for land, common in the post-colonial process of African countries, which ended up delaying the beginning of the works.

The project ended up frustrated by the competition with another city, just over 1,000 km away, but with an identical proposal that offered better conditions to investors: Kigali, capital of Rwanda. Concerning the project, Konza City proposed afrofuturism, the “smart city”, the sunset in the savannah, sectorization based on an axis, contemporary architecture (high tech and parametric), as well as ecological corridors for biodiversity. This project also includes, in charge of a neoliberal positioning, a green block zone, 10 km wide, in order to curb the formation of new residential settlements attracted by the employment and income opportunities (Datta and Shaban 2017).

Tatu City, another Kenyan global city, is 24 km north of Nairobi. With Kenyan, New Zealand, British and American capital, this city has been developing a decentralized and mixed-use urban project since 2013, however,
to attract only the local agribusiness elite of southern Kenya. Small, private security neighborhoods, with environmental reserves and several limitations regarding the architectural style of the houses, show the flight of the elite because of ethnic conflicts over the land of modern Kenya.

Map 4: Kenya, national parks and main cities

Mauritius Islands are located between Africa and India, being an archipelago formed by Mauritius, Rodrigues and other smaller islands, as well as British and French territories claimed in the region. One of these is right in the middle of the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia, and has a strategic American military base. Built with permission from the United Kingdom during the Cold War, this base forced the removal of nearly 1,200 indigenous inhabitants, who were sent to neighboring countries, including Mauritius, where they currently live in irregular occupations (Tkach and Amanpour 2013).

Current tourist and cargo ship route from all over the world, Mauritius was colonized by the French in the 18th century and by the British in the 19th century, who made their languages prevail in the country, in addition to Mauritian Creole, similar to French. Port Louis is the capital, with more than 150 thousand inhabitants (WRP 2019), many of whom are Chinese and Indians who brought with them the Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic religions.

Port Louis seeks real estate speculation on its waterfront through a caricatured European image. An example is Le Caudan Waterfront, where even the place that was the landing of enslaved Indians in the 19th century became an amusement park. The increased land prices forced the inhabitants of the city’s coast to migrate inland. Many of these, Hindu or Islamic vegans who do not eat pigs, were forced to set up pig and fish breeding farms, which are fed back by pig manure, which therefore also does not serve the consumption of Islamic breeders.

Ebene Cybercity, or Ebene Technological City, is the global Mauritian city 15 km south of the capital. Its construction began in 2001 with the aim of serving as an international link to trade between Africa and Asia, especially with Indian and South African investments in the region. Ebene has a strictly commercial occupation, that is, it does not provide for residences (Schuetze 2016). For this reason, another city is being created right next door, the Côte d’Or City, or “City on the Gold Coast”, a large gated community, which further contributes to the socio-spatial segregation of the middle and upper classes.
Map 5: Mauritius and its main cities

Ghana, “Black Star” of Africa

Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican political activist, editor, journalist, businessman and orator from the early twentieth century, was the pan-Africanist who idealized the company “Black Star”. Committed to the desire to ensure the financial independence of African Americans, Garvey launched several businesses in the United States. There were factories, supermarkets, restaurants, and publishers with jobs for black people, as well as an Ethiopian grape winery and the passenger transport company Black Star Line (a naval link between North America and Africa). Garvey envisioned the return of Africans from the Diaspora and his effort was honored on the flag of Ghana, with a black star.

Inspired by Garveyism, the son of the land of Ghana, N’Krumah was also a pan-Africanist who spared no effort until he saw the Ghanaian nation independent of the British Empire. In 1956, he established a socialist-inspired government, whose name Ghana was named after the great pre-colonial empire of West Africa. Once N’Krumah was deposed in 1966, Ghana had governments that alternated coups d’état until 1992, when the first free elections took place. In 2011, Ghana was one of the fastest growing economies in the world (14%) (Worldbank 2011).

Accra is the capital, with 2.5 million inhabitants (WPR 2019), congested, flooded and polluted with tons of garbage coming illegally from central countries. However, the city has several projects financed by national and foreign capital, mainly British, which are part of the urban development plan.

Among these, Villaggio View (set of buildings near the airport), Gold Coast City (mixed-use building), Aerotropolis (new multifunctional city-airport in the Accra region), Ningo-Prampram (new city, planned by an office Dutch, in the Accra region) and Marina Drive (requalification of the center of Accra). For this, see map 6. Still on the same map, it can be seen that Accra has 3 settlements of ethnic groups, 3 irregular occupations and 3 other settlements that were acquired for regularization. This is the opposite reality to the city’s large enterprises.

This segregation in Accra revolves around the interest of Ghana’s middle and upper classes (30% of the population) to isolate themselves in new business opportunities. Meanwhile, exclusion and inaccessibility are aimed at the lower-income class, the one most vulnerable to the ethnic conflicts that followed the sharing of communal lands in post-colonialism. With no alternative, this portion of the population (70%) is concentrated in precarious settlements, which are sometimes characterized by ethnic homogeneity, as in Ga Mashie, in the center of Accra (ethnic enclave of the Ga-Adangme people, the first occupants of the capital, as seen on map 6).
The devaluation of Accra’s urban fabric by the “unwanted classes”, informal sellers (although constantly removed from one place to another by the government), landslides, floods and congestion, created in the middle and upper classes the desire to escape the city and its everyday problems (*fugere urbem*). For this reason, still on map 6, one can observe the emergence of two other enterprises around the capital: City of Hope and Appolonia. The first is a technological residential and commercial center which imitates the village formation of traditional West African architecture, and that is based on the myth of the six warriors of the ancient Empire of Ghana, to form six luxurious towers. The second, a global city for the middle class, far from the urban center of Accra, but which invests to some extent in improving the pre-existing population, building, for example, a school and a small hospital. Both cities have great national and European private investment.
South Africa, land of the “Big Five”

Known as the “Big Five” land, due to its rich fauna of large animals such as the lion, buffalo, elephant, leopard and rhino, South Africa is the continent’s second largest economy, behind Nigeria. Moreover, it is the country with the best infrastructure in Africa. In addition, it is one of the few African countries where there have been no coups d’état, and currently constitutes a Parliamentary Presidentialism.

South Africa had one of the worst racial segregation regimes in the world, apartheid, which lasted from 1948 to 1994. Apartheid ended at the moment when the noble of its people, Nelson Mandela, became the country’s first black president, after 27 years in prison, due to his commitment to the defense of human rights.

The country was dominated, during colonialism (19th century), by the British and the Dutch, the latter called Bòeres (Dutch or German Huguenot colonists). Throughout this domain, 30% of the (white) population was left with 83% of South African lands, while 70% (black) of the population was left with only 13% of the lands, the so-called bantustan. In 1948, under a racist narrative, the apartheid law came into force, when public, residential, commercial and industrial spaces were totally segregated according to the color of their skin.

In 1970, in the most radical phase of the regime, South African citizenship was withdrawn from all inhabitants of the bantustans, that is, from the black population, who were subjected to living confined in neighborhoods and legally defined lands, where passports were required to enter to “white areas”. Deprived of seeking opportunities in more industrialized areas, the black population was impoverished.

It has been 25 years since the end of Apartheid, however, segregation is still quite evident. In the east of the country, where Cape Town is located (Legislative capital), the population miscegenated between whites and Asians (colored), and the Afrikaans language (derived from Dutch) predominate. In the East and North of South Africa, where the Bantustans took place and where the cities of Pretoria (Executive capital), Johannesburg and Bloemfontein (Judiciary capital) are located, there is a predominance of traditional African languages and a black population. In the high-income suburbs of large cities and valued rural regions, the white populations are predominant with English and Afrikaans languages.
These luxury suburbs are the place where the South African global cities are being built. Between Pretoria (2.5 million inhabitants) and Johannesburg (5.7 million inhabitants), which form the megacity “Jotoria” (WPR 2019), the City of Waterfall, the City of Stey, Hazeldean, Menlyn Maine and Modderfontein are being built.

All of these are projects that accumulate funds from South African millionaires with capital abroad (as in Steyn City and Menlyn Maine), as well as European, Japanese, North American and Chinese capital. These are projects financed for allocations in large shopping centers, hotels, buildings, advanced technology industries (mainly electronics and automobiles), in addition to vast areas of luxury residential condominiums.

In Pretoria, only one of the major planned urban plans is being implemented in an area of the city with a black majority population. It is the CDB (Central Business District). This intervention, which houses the official buildings of the South African government, historical heritage and museums, aims at a cultural and commercial regeneration of the city downtown, integrating public land (sometimes idle) with the financial center of Pretoria. On maps 7 and 8, you can better see the segregation and urban plans of the city.
Maps 7 and 8: Ethnic-racial segregation (and socio-spatial) in Pretoria (above) and Johannesburg (below)

**Source:** Adapted by the author, from *Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) (2011)*
In Johannesburg, as you can see on map 8, there is the biggest remnant of the segregation inherited from apartheid, the Soweto neighborhood. With a homogeneously black population, this region concentrates half of the city’s residents. However, it is disconnected from the rest of the urban fabric, due to a housing void and the lack of clear integration routes on the map. Currently Soweto is considered a middle class region, although 1% of its population lives in irregular occupations.

Cape Town, in the south of the country, has a Development Plan in order to try to integrate the segregated city through traffic, public transportation and networked communities. It also has a Housing Plan, with the purpose of bringing residents with less income to better infrastructure areas in the city center. However, the apartheid heritage is still quite evident in the city’s socio-spatial and ethnic-racial division (map 9).

Map 9: Ethnic-racial segregation (and socio-spatial) in Cape Town

The neighborhoods along the coast of the Atlantic Ocean, most valued due to tourism, are mostly white, as well as the north of the city. In the “core” of the urban fabric, there is still the predominance of colored neighborhoods, of people mixed between whites and Asians. In the most distant peripheries,
as was stipulated by the law, during apartheid, there are practically exclusive neighborhoods of black population. Among these, Nyanga (in blue, on the map), which has 98% of its population of Bantu origin. The segregation, plus the lack of infrastructure, the high unemployment rate (over 50%) and the great HIV occurrence, as a cause of social disorder, made Nyanga one of the most violent neighborhoods in all of Africa (SA News 2018).

Conclusion

As we saw in the introduction, colonialism left profound changes in African cities. Old commercial routes and urban centers were destroyed by European exploitation. The intensely modified culture of the African peoples, added to the Diaspora that, for centuries, dispersed people of African descent throughout the world. As a result, mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa, where the Islamic world was not dominant to make traditional culture and urbanism persist, post-independence cities took the course dictated by their former European metropolises, as in the countries analyzed. Soon overpopulation intensified the urban processes of socio-spatial and ethnic-racial segregation, still implanted in colonialism, in which income and origin dictate where the person was born (or where he migrated) and from where he should not leave. From the 2000s, with the majority of African nations still dependent on the foreign capital of their former colonizers, with the capital invested by the new antagonists China and the USA, cities began to want to emerge on the globalized world scene.

They are “smart”, “sustainable”, high-techs and neofunctional, focused on the emerging middle and upper classes, but following the logic of the dispute for the African market, as competing cities and corporate cities, such as Konza City and Eko Atlantic. Often these city ventures are born with the enhancement of the savannah, the colors of the sunset and the resumption of “traditional forms” and villages, as in Safari City and Modderfontein. This is an attempt to create a new African identity, detached from hunger and poverty, whose images traveled the world in the 1980s and 1990s, to attract eyes to a new Africa, more connected with its origins, at least in appearance. Therefore, the bonds of the new colonialism, that of the capital, involve the current African cities, and show that the emerging urban space does not belong to the “wretched of the Earth”, as Frantz Fanon (1968, 175) wrote, but for those who can pay for it.
References


Socio-spatial and ethnic-racial segregation in megacities, large cities...


ABSTRACT
The aim of this article is to present an observation on the structural phenomena that culminated in socio-spatial and ethnic-racial segregation, which currently occurs in megacities, large cities and global cities in Africa. To this end, a presentation of futuristic issues that cross contemporary African urbanization discussions will be made. Then, historical issues and discourses present in some African countries, which help to explain ethnic, racial, social and spatial aspects perpetuated in urban space, will be addressed. These aspects will include examples from cities in sub-Saharan African countries, where overpopulation and high foreign investment in the real estate market aggravate the segregationist effects.

KEYWORDS
African Cities; Urbanism; Segregation; Socio-spatial; Ethnic-racial; Africa.

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