Anita Venter

SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING POLICY AND HOUSING-POLICY RESEARCH: THEORETICAL DISCOURSE IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

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Anita Venter

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DECLARATION

I, Anita Venter, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the Doctoral Degree Development Studies at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

I herewith cede copyright of the study to the University of the Free State.

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Anita Venter

Bloemfontein

February 2017

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Regenerative futures:
Learning by doing, leading by example
A united heritage awaits!

Summary

The aim of this thesis is to provide an integrated epistemological analysis of the theoretical discourse on housing policy and research implementation relevant to the South African context. **Chapter 1** comprises the rationale for the thesis by emphasising that there is as yet no comprehensive study that encapsulates the theoretical foundations of housing policy research in South Africa. It is further highlighted that three decades of contemporary theoretical developments on housing in Western Europe have largely gone unnoticed in the South African scholarly environment. By drawing on the traditions of post-structuralism, social constructionism and critical discourse analysis, methodological ways of addressing inadequate theory development on housing in post-apartheid South Africa are further explored. **Chapter 2** is devoted to an overview of housing theory and housing discourses in developing countries. The theoretical concepts and approaches discussed in Chapter 2 are related to the Marxist and the neo-Marxist schools of thought, neo-liberalism, development theories and to the notion of political economy. **Chapter 3** is an assessment of housing theory and discourse in Western Europe and contains an extensive overview of the development of theory in the European context. Specific focus falls on welfare state theoretical developments, while the value of comparative and historical methodologies in interpreting welfare state theories is expounded. In **Chapter 4,** the historical development of housing policies both in Western Europe and in developing countries is outlined. Conceptual themes in this chapter centre on the dualities between formal and informal housing discourses, the application of welfare state intervention in providing housing for the poor and for the low-wage working class, and mention is made of the contested, multidimensional ideologies that feature in ownership discourses. **Chapter 5** deals with the relevance of the different theoretical frameworks in re-interpreting the historical narrative and the ideological underpinnings of housing policy development in South Africa. The presence of welfare state theories within the current South African housing policy is illuminated, thereby paving the way for expansion on these theories in future scholarly discourses on housing in the post-apartheid era. In **Chapter 6,** social constructivism is employed to indicate how theoretical concepts on housing policy may be applied in implementation projects at grass-roots level. The case studies endeavour to provide a platform conducive to the evolvement of housing policies that will be more socially and culturally responsive than were those prior to the completion of this thesis. The outputs and contribution of this thesis aim to encourage dialogues about the value of theory, research and implementation. The thesis has generated both academic and creative outputs. The academic outputs include two accredited publications and the creative outputs comprise buildings either completed or in the process of completion. The thesis highlights the relevance of evolving indigenous cultural practices in spawning housing policy discourses for the future. By specifically embracing principles of informality, both self-help building technologies and skills transfer have significant contributions to make as regards addressing housing shortages in the country in geographical locations like the Free State Province and other rural areas.

Opsomming

Die doel van hierdie proefskrif is die daarstel van 'n geïntegreerde epistemologiese ontleding van die teoretiese diskoers oor behuisingsbeleid en die ter sake navorsingsimplementering in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. **Hoofstuk 1** omvat die grondrede vir die tesis deur te beklemtoom dat daar tot op hede geen omvattende studie uitgevoer is wat die teoretiese grondslag van behuisingsbeleidnavorsing in Suid-Afrika weergee nie. Daar word verder beklemtoon dat drie dekades van kontemporêre teoretiese ontwikkelings rakende behuising in Wes-Europa bykans ongemerk in die Suid-Afrikaanse vakwetenskaplike omgewing verbygegaan het. Metodologiese wyses om die ontoereikende teorie-ontwikkeling ten opsigte van behuising in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika aan te pak, word ook ondersoek deur gebruik te maak van die tradisies van post-strukturalisme, sosiale konstruksionisme en kritiese diskoersanalise. **Hoofstuk 2** behels 'n oorsig van behuisingsteorie en behuisingsdiskoerse in ontwikkelende lande. Die teoretiese konsepte en benaderings wat in Hoofstuk 2 bespreek word, hou verband met Marxistiese en neo-Marxistiese denkrigtings, neo-liberalisme, ontwikkelingsteorieë en met die begrip politieke ekonomie. **Hoofstuk 3** is 'n beoordeling van behuisingsteorie en -diskoers in Wes-Europa en behels 'n omvattende oorsig van die ontwikkeling van teorie in die Europese konteks. Die soeklig val spesifiek op welsynstaat teoretiese ontwikkelings, terwyl die waarde van vergelykende en historiese metodologieë ten einde welsynstaatteorieë te interpreteer, verduidelik word. In **Hoofstuk 4** word die historiese ontwikkeling van behuisingsbeleide in sowel Wes-Europa as in ontwikkelende lande geskets. Die konseptuele temas in hierdie hoofstuk is toegespits op die dualiteit tussen formele en informele behuisingsdiskoerse, die toepassing van welsynstaatintervensies in die voorsiening van behuising aan armes en aan die lae-loon werkersklas. Daar is verwysings na die omstrede, multidimensionele ideologieë wat in eienaarskapdiskoerse voorkom. **Hoofstuk 5** handel oor die relevansie van die verskillende teoretiese raamwerke ten einde die historiese narratief en die ideologiese grondslag van behuisingsbeleidsontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika te herinterpreteer. Lig word gewerp op die aanwesigheid van welsynstaatteorieë in die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse behuisingsbeleid wat die weg baan vir die ontwikkeling van hierdie teorieë in toekomstige vakwetenskaplike diskoerse oor behuising in die post-apartheid era. In **Hoofstuk 6** word sosiale konstruktivisme aangewend om aan te dui hoe teoretiese konsepte oor behuisingsbeleid op voetsoolvlak toegepas kan word in die implementering van projekte. Die gevallestudies poog om 'n platform te voorsien wat bevorderlik sal wees vir die ontwikkeling van behuisingsbeleide wat sosiale en kulturele faktore in grotere mate in ag sal neem as wat die geval was voor die voltooiing van hierdie proefskrif. Die resultate en die bydrae van hierdie tesis het ten doel om dialoog rondom die waarde van teorie, navorsing en implementering aan te moedig. Die proefskrif het sowel akademiese as kreatiewe uitsette gelewer. Die akademiese uitsette behels twee geakkrediteerde publikasies terwyl die kreatiewe uitsette geboue behels wat óf voltooi óf in aanbou is. Die proefskrif beklemtoon die relevansie van die ontwikkeling van inheemse kulturele praktyke in die voortbring van toekomstige behuisingsbeleiddiskoerse. Deur in besonder die beginsels van informaliteit te aanvaar, kan sowel selfhelpboutegnologie en vaardigheidsoordrag betekenisvol bydra tot die hantering van behuisingstekorte in die land in geografiese gebiede soos die Vrystaat Provinsie en ander landelike gebiede.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	:	African National Congress
BNG	:	Breaking New Ground
CDA	:	Colonial Development Act
CDS	:	Centre for Development Support
CDWA	:	Colonial Development and Welfare Act
DoH	:	Department of Housing
DoHS	:	Department of Human Settlements
EBA	:	Earthship Biotecture Academy
ECD	:	Early Childhood Development
HIV/AIDS	:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDB	:	International Development Bank
IDT	:	Independent Development Trust
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
IBRD	:	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
LWH	:	Long Way Home
MDG	:	Millennium Development Goals
MMM	:	Mangaung Metro Municipality
MUCPP	:	Mangaung University Community Partnership Program
NL	:	Neo-liberalism
NM	:	Neo Marxism
NBC	:	Natural Building Collective
PIAD	:	Program for Innovation in Artform Development
PAR	:	Participatory Action Research
QPT	:	Qala Phelang Tala
QUT	:	Queensland University of Technology
RDP	:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSA	:	Republic of South Africa
SDG	:	Sustainable Development Goals
SLG	:	Start Living Green
TMS	:	Technical and Management Support
UK	:	United Kingdom
UN	:	United Nations
UNCHS	:	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements Programme
UFS	:	University of the Free State

USA   : United States of America
USAID   : United States Agency for International Development
WWI   : World War One
WWII   : World War Two
ZAR   : Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek

HOUSING POLICY, RESEARCH AND THEORY: THEORETICAL DISCOURSE IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

Venter, 2017

1.1 BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

Housing policy research in South Africa has a strong inclination towards evidence-based and empirical approaches. A number of researchers have noted the limited theoretical focus of publications on housing policy both in South Africa (Maylam, 1995; Parnell and Mabin, 1995; Parnell, 1997; Huhzermeyer, 2001; Oldfield, Parnell and Mabin, 2004) and internationally (Hastings, 2000; Clapham, 2002; Darcy and Manzi, 2003; Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2003). The empirical nature of housing policy research is rooted in the theoretical paradigm of positivism. Positivistic approaches in the social sciences assume the existence of a world of social facts to be uncovered by researchers using quantitative and empirical research methods (for elaboration on positivism, see Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Clapman, 2002; Darcy and Manzi, 2003; Fopp, 2008). The explicit and implicit reliance of many housing studies on positivistic theories of knowledge, which assume the possibility of an objective knowledge of reality, has been well documented (see, for example, Kemeny, 1992; Clapham, 1997; Jacobs and Manzi, 2000). The primary purpose of housing research within the positivist tradition is to establish objective, quantitative facts and to prescribe effective action once problems are acknowledged (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Clapham, 2002). These studies

follow empirical research designs based upon the testing of a hypothesis and quantitative methodologies such as sampling and measurement (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Darcy and Manzi, 2003).

In response to the vast number of a-theoretical publications related to housing policy, a number of international researchers (for example Chris Allen, David Clapham, Toni Manzi and Annette Hastings, to mention a few) started to write more theoretically-inclined publications from the late 1980s onwards (Kemeny, 1992). The main person credited with sparking this upsurge in theoretical writing on housing is Jim Kemeny, whose 1992 book, *Housing and Social Theory,* is arguably the most influential text in shaping theoretically-informed housing publications in Western Europe (Allen, 2005). Kemeny (1992) criticised the fact that the multi-disciplinary nature of housing research often led to weak theoretical developments. Multi-disciplinary approaches can be advantageous in broadening the scope of theorising. However, a multi-disciplinary approach can easily become non-disciplinary, or a-disciplinary, if it does not utilise the potential of theories in the different disciplines, thus failing to make any coherent theoretical contribution to any subject matter. Influenced by the seminal work of Jim Kemeny (1984; 1992), other scholars started to develop a constructionist approach to theoretically-aware housing research. In addition, Kemeny assumed editorship of *Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research* and re-launched the journal as *Housing, Theory and Society* in 1999, in order to provide a platform for researchers to publish conceptually oriented and theoretically informed articles on housing (Allen, 2005). This movement of focused research on housing resulted in the establishment of housing studies as a new subject field in European academia (Kemeny, 1992). Kemeny criticises housing researchers' lack of consideration of the theoretical relevance of their work in the wider societal context (in Allen, 2005).

The research approach to housing policy studies in post-apartheid South Africa (after 1994) can indeed be considered as multi-disciplinary. Both local and international authors have written on post-apartheid housing policy. To maintain a strong intellectual tradition in any discipline, credibility of the scholarly source is generally measured by the number of citations of the source in relation to the age of the publication. The more citations a publication receive, the more visible the scholar is to lead a certain discourse (Garfield *et al.*, 1964). Five interrelated themes are identified in the well-cited scholarly literature. Firstly, a large number of studies focus on historical aspects embedded in developing a post-apartheid housing policy (Maylam, 1995; Goodlad, 1996; Bond and Tait, 1997; Parnell, 1997; Tomlinson, 1998; Wilkinson, 1998; Lalloo, 1999; Mackay, 1999; Seekings, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Tomlinson, 2002). Secondly, themes focusing on the subsidised nature of the housing policy and ownership discourses are abundant in the literature (Crankshaw and Parnell, 1996; Tomlinson, 1999, 2007; Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Gilbert, 2002, 2004; Pillay and Naudé, 2006;

Goebel, 2007; Charlton, 2010; Landman and Napier, 2010; Lemanski, 2011; Lizarralde, 2011). Thirdly and fourthly, literature have focused on informal settlement upgrading (Saff, 1996, 2001; Huchzermeyer, 2003, 2004, 2009; Barry, 2006; Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009; Wilson, 2009) and community participation aspects (Bolnick, 1996; Jenkins, 1999; Oldfield, 2000; Benit, 2002; Millstein *et al.*, 2003; Miraftab, 2003; Baumann, and Mitlin, 2003; Beall and Todes, 2004; Du Plessis, 2005; Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008; Mafukidze and Hoosen, 2009; Bradlow *et al.*, 2011). Finally, a few key sources focus on the informal rental sector in housing (Gilbert *et al.*, 1997; Watson and McCarthy, 1998; Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Lemanski, 2009).

Well cited authors' academic disciplines usually inform their theoretical approach. Authors writing on housing policy academic disciplines include: **architecture and urban planning** (see Watson and McCarthy, 1998; Wilkinson, 1998; Laloo, 1999; Benit, 2002; Huchzermeyer, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2009; Miraftab, 2003; Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Lizarralde, 2008, 2011; Landman and Napier, 2010; Charlton, 2010); **geography and sociology** (Crankshaw and Parnell, 1996; Parnell, 1997; Crankshaw *et al.*, 2000; Oldfield, 2001; Gilbert 2002, 2006; Millstein *et al.*, 2003; Lemanski 2009, 2010), **governance and political economy** (Saff, 1996, 2001; Bond, 1997; Tomlinson, 1998, 1999, 2009; Tomlinson, 2003), **engineering** (Abbott, 2002; Abbott and Douglas, 2003; Barry, 2006; Del Mistro and Hensher, 2009), **environmental studies** (Goodlad, 1999; Mackay, 1999; Jenkins, 1999, 2001; Beall and Todes, 2004; Goebel, 2007) **history** (Maylam, 1995), **law** (Wilson, 2009) and **health** (Govender *et al.*, 2011). Despite the abundance of housing research in South Africa, there is no comprehensive study which encapsulates the theoretical foundations of housing policy research or explore the potential of theoretical knowledge to influence implementation direction in case studies.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE THESIS

The majority of the academic literature on housing policy in South Africa consists of analyses of empirical case studies, historical context or the evaluation of policy. Few studies explicitly examine the epistemological foundations, methodology or theoretical and conceptual frameworks which form the basis of research. When theory is mentioned in the literature, it tends towards the political or economic paradigm. The inadequate theoretical framework present in much policy research has been noted by various authors (see Maylam, 1995; Parnell and Mabin, 1995; Parnell, 1997; Huhzermeyer, 2001b; Oldfield *et al.*, 2004). Thus, in line with Kemeny's (1992) critique, a 'discipline-neutral' theoretical approach tends to dominate the housing discourse in South Africa. Furthermore, focusing on only literature considered well-cited in the scholarly world does present fundamental challenges. In many cases, well-cited sources considered as leading a particular discourse in the academia, are not doing justice to interpreting the historical context of earlier published and often less-cited work. In

addition, theoretical advances made in Europe are underexplored in scholarly work on housing policy in South Africa. Considering the above background, a number of relevant questions should be asked:

- What are the *theoretical paradigms*, debates and trends in Western Europe and/versus developing countries on housing policy?
- What are the *conceptual influences* and historical ideologies that influenced housing policy research paradigms internationally, specifically Western Europe, in developing countries and in South Africa?
- How can theory, research and critical discourse be reinterpreted to be relevant for the South African context? In essence, what is the relation between theory, housing policy research and implementation?

1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to provide an integrated epistemological analysis of the theoretical discourse on housing policy and research implementation relevant to the South African context, thus reinterpreting South African policy from adapted theoretical and conceptual frameworks. In a similar manner that Kemeny embarked on creating an environment for critical dialogue on housing and theory, this thesis aims to engage with the thematic and theoretical approaches related to housing studies. Furthermore, the relevance of theory frameworks in influencing the pathways of implementation pilot studies in South African context are explored.

In order to achieve the research aim, the objectives identified for this study are:

- To identify and review existing theories and methodologies used in international (Europe and developing countries) housing research (chapters 2 and 3).
- To provide a critical discourse analysis of the influences and historical pathways in Western Europe, developing countries, and in South Africa. This research focuses on academic, postgraduate and other literature related to housing policy. The literature is analysed critically according to epistemological content, main arguments, philosophical paradigms, underlying assumptions and theoretical interpretation (chapters 4 and 5).
- To provide a critical discourse analysis and conclusion on the relevance of adapting theoretical and conceptual frameworks in implementation studies (chapters 6 and 7).

1.4 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The inadequacy of single theoretical paradigms and methodologies in fully comprehending the complexities related to housing policy studies has been recognised in both developed and developing

countries (Pugh, 1995; Dodson, 2007). In line with Cedric Pugh's (1995) pragmatic argument, facts of the world can be supported by a variety of competing theories. Although positivism continues to have a powerful influence on housing studies, a number of researchers have been employing social constructionist theories of discourse analysis since the early 1990s (for a few prominent examples see Kemeny, 1992, 1995, 2001; Hastings, 2000; Marston, 2002). Social constructionists working within the field of housing research turned to discourse analysis as a way to respond to the limitations of positivist and empirical methods. In essence, a discourse perspective involves an epistemological break with positivism (Hastings, 2000; Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2004).

This thesis uses the methodological frameworks of social constructionism and discourse analysis to consider how theoretical models used in international publications can be adapted for the South African context. The following sections focus on discourse analysis as a methodological framework for housing policy research. Firstly, the post-structural philosophical suppositions of social constructionism are examined, followed by a discussion of how discourse analysis is relevant in housing research.

1.4.1 Post-structuralism and social constructionism

Discourse analysis developed from the philosophical tradition of post-structuralism and the sociological paradigm of social-constructionism. Post-structuralist philosophy challenges positivist assumptions about causality and argues that simplified solutions based on the foundations of empirical knowledge are not the only or the best answers to social problems. In line with post-structuralist assumptions, social constructionism assumes that social reality is produced through human discourses and interaction. Social constructionism aims to disclose the manners in which either individuals or groups contribute to the creation of a perceived reality, examining the different ways in which social phenomena are created, institutionalised, and made into tradition by society. The epistemology of constructionism argues that knowledge is not something humans acquire, but rather that it is humans that produce or construct knowledge (Berger and Luckman, 1971). A major claim advanced by social constructionist theory is that humans, through their interpretation of language, become part of wider social and policy discourses. Accordingly, social constructionism posits that language is not only a medium for communication but is also involved in constructing and influencing reality (Hastings, 2000). Therefore, language is an essential component in understanding how we conceptualise the world. In the context of social constructionist theory, discourse uses linguistic analysis to shed light on social phenomena (Hastings, 2000).

Social-constructionism emerged in the 1970s as an alternative theory to traditional positivist perspectives and became well established as a dominant theoretical approach in the study of social

problems. It was only from the early 1990s, however, that constructionist approaches were used in housing research (for example see Kemeny, 1992; Hastings, 1996; Allen, 1997; Clapham, 1997; Clapham and Franklin, 1997; Haworth and Manzi, 1999; Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Jacobs et al., 2004; Jacobs, 2006; Fopp, 2008). A constructionist approach to housing policy research provides a theoretical framework for analysing how housing policy is formulated and implemented. Social constructionism in the housing literature bears little resemblance to the social constructionist framework used in the study of interpersonal interactions and phenomenology (Allen, 2005). Constructionism used in the housing context is based largely on discourse analysis and Michael Foucault's post-structural views on power relations. Although these are not the only social constructionist approaches mentioned in the housing literature (for a few exceptions see Fopp, 2008), they are the two approaches that are most often used by housing researchers (Jacobs, 2006).

The following sections first focus on Norman Fairclough's three way classification system of discourse analysis and then elaborate on Michael Foucault's influence on discourse analysis.

1.4.2 Critical discourse analysis- Norman Fairclough's classification system and Foucault's conception of power

Identifying links between discourse, language and societal structures is a difficult but important task in theoretical studies. Furthermore, consideration of power relations is central to understanding the reasons why policies are formed, maintained, discarded or replaced over time (Kemeny, 2002:185). Norman Fairclough developed a widely used analytical framework that combines both language and social conceptions of discourse, pointing out the relevance of combining linguistics with ideological and political critique (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). Fairclough (1992) contextualises discourse analysis in terms of three main dimensions—micro, meso and macro level.

At a micro level, the linguistic structure of text is analysed. Micro level textual analysis is concerned with describing the meaning of the text and can be employed as an empirical critique by examining the textual data in policy documents, academic and non-academic literature. Meso level discourse analysis focuses on the production and interpretation of text, exploring the conditions in which texts were produced. Jacobs (1999) relates meso level analysis to emancipatory research that is committed to understanding the policy process itself. Meso level discourse analysis can lead to dialogue that exposes the deficiencies and contradictions within current policy practices. A macro level analysis examines the broader sociocultural practices and ideologies that influenced the production of text (Hastings, 2000; Marston, 2002; Jacobs, 2006). At a macro level, critical discourse analysis is concerned with hegemony, ideology and the enactment of power (van Dijk, 1998 in Marston, 2002).

Fairclough's concept of micro, meso and macro textual analysis is closely related to theoretical developments in the field of *critical* discourse analysis. The term 'critical' means that relationships between concepts and practices should be made visible (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough (1992) posits that critical discourse analysis can be used as a methodological tool to study social structures. However, the relationship between discourse and social structures is dialectical since discourse is determined by social structures but also influences social structures. Whereas discourse analysis has a linguistic basis, critical discourse analysis stems from a socio-political theory viewpoint and is thus associated with political economy theory (Marston, 2002). (Political economy as a theoretical framework will be discussed in more detail in chapter two.) By combining social construction theory with methodological tools for analysing texts and language, Fairclough made a valuable contribution to the discourse analysis approach in policy research.

Critical discourse analysis frequently investigates hidden dichotomies of power within society. Thus, a key concern of critical discourse analysis from a social constructionist approach has been to deconstruct discourses that reveal hidden structures of domination. Michael Foucault was a prominent social theorist and philosopher (1926-1984) who based his discourse approach on post-structural theories of power relations. A main argument of Foucault (in Jacobs, 2006) is that a complex set of competing ideas and values can be identified through discourse analysis. This is in line with critical aspects of post-structural discourse: exemplifying conflicting meanings and interpretations and illuminating or trying to 'make visible' social objects, subjects and problems that are often ignored in empirical studies (Foucault, 1973 as cited in Dodson, 2005). Foucault's post-structural discourse also elaborates further on social constructs of language, power, and government regimes. For instance, Foucault examines how knowledge is created through language. According to Foucault's perspective on discourse analysis, language plays a crucial role in enacting 'regimes of truth' by which social problems are formulated, explained and acted upon. In turn, these 'regimes of truth' form the basis of our understanding of social reality (Jacobs, 1999, 2006; Jacobs and Manzi, 2000). In addition, Foucault does not consider language to be merely a reflection of power relations. Instead, he emphasises the back-and-forth relationship between language and power, arguing that language practices both shape and are shaped by the network of power relations and regimes (Jacobs, 1999, 2006; Jacobs and Manzi, 2000).

Applying Foucault's methodological approach of language and discourse to the housing policy environment, discourse analysis includes firstly a focus on the specific wording that is used in housing policy statements, secondly an analysis of the different practices within government that lead to different kinds of policy discourses, and thirdly, an analysis on why certain policy ideas are given preference over other policy proposals (Dodson, 2007).

1.5 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This thesis employs mainly the qualitative research approach of discourse analysis, providing a textual interpretation of housing literature in both the developed- and developing world contexts. The chapters focus on a qualitative discourse analysis, relevant for the South African context. Furthermore, the chapters explore the applicability of adapting theoretical concepts in implementation case studies based on the knowledge acquired through a discourse analysis methodology. The last chapter provides an integrated discourse approach to theoretical concerns related to housing and sets an agenda for future research. The study is laid out in the following chapters:

- **Chapter 2** discusses theoretical concepts and approaches associated with housing literature in developing countries. The theoretical concepts include Marxist and neo-Marxist theories, neo-liberal theories and theories that have been influential in developing countries' context. This is followed by an explanation of the concept of political economy.

- **Chapter 3** reflects on key developments in housing theory and research in Western Europe and provides an explanation of how different welfare state theories are used in housing research. Next, comparative and historical methodological approaches to housing research are discussed. This is followed by a synthesis of how the theories, research approaches and research questions can enrich housing policy discourses in developing countries.

- **Chapter 4** concentrates on the ideological and historical housing policy discourses in Western Europe and developing countries. Specifically tracing the historical development of the dominant housing welfare discourses in Western Europe (in particular, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) and reflects on the relation between these discourses and developing countries.

- **Chapter 5** focuses on the historical juncture points and ideological influences that have shaped the post-apartheid housing policy landscape in South Africa.

- **Chapter 6** elaborates on case studies that were influenced by the conceptual questions embedded in the previous chapters' theories. The important historical and path dependent variables are highlighted in understanding the context of the case studies.

- **Chapter 7** provides a summary of the chapters, personal reflection on the content of the thesis, scholarly contribution of the thesis and reflect on activities envisaged for 2017 onwards.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Given the broad scope and interpretation of the term 'theory', this thesis admittedly covers only prominent theoretical paradigms that are mentioned often in the literature and are relevant to the housing discourse. Many other less visible 'theoretical stances' that the author calls 'outlier theories'

have developed over the past two decades but have not been included in this thesis. In addition, given the multi-disciplinary nature of this study, the author's interpretations are open to critical debate. But if the study succeeds in stimulating debate over central theoretical concerns in the South African housing research environment and its relevance in implementation studies, then this thesis will have achieved its purpose.

CHAPTER 2

THEORISING HOUSING: DISCOURSES RELEVANT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Venter, 2017

Social constructionism assumes that social reality, including social theory, is produced through human discourses and interaction. In line with social constructionist thought, discourse analysis is one methodological approach useful in analysing societal structures, in this case societal structures related to the housing policy discourse. Chapter 1 elaborated on epistemological stances related to social constructionism and discourse analysis. Norman Fairclough's three way classification system of discourse analysis was mentioned as a methodological tool that can be helpful in analysing social constructs in the policy environment.

Fairclough's methodology requires a basic textual analysis (micro level), interpretation of the text (meso level), and a broader analysis of social cultural practices, ideologies and power structures that influenced the production of the text (macro level). This chapter uses predominantly the first two levels of discourse analysis to identify the main theoretical constructs that can be found in publications on housing policy in developing countries (micro level and meso level interpretation).

Some of these theoretical constructs are also frequently used, and in many cases better explained, in the housing literature focusing on developed countries. There is therefore a geographical overlapping of theoretical constructs, and although this chapter focuses mainly on developing countries, the interpretation of theory transcends national borders (meso level analysis). The third level of analysis, an examination of power relations, will be discussed in further detail in the chapters that follow.

This chapter first explores Marxist and neo-Marxist theories. After this, specific attention is given to neo-liberal concepts and theories. The third section examines development theories that have been influential in developing countries, followed by an explanation of the concept of political economy. The last section provides a synthesis on all the theories presented in the chapter.

2.1   MARXIST AND NEO-MARXIST THEORIES

Marxist school of thought related to housing is much more theoretically advanced in developed nations than in developing countries. Therefore, this section on Marxist explanations of political economy includes important theoretical constructs related to the developed world in addition to theoretical models used in developing countries. Marxist perspectives on housing are explained first, followed by neo-Marxist thought related to housing. Thereafter ensues a section on prominent neo-Marxist writers who influenced the discourse on housing. The writings of sociologists Max Webber and Manuell Castells and geographer David Harvey receive much attention, as well as a brief discussion of the Marxist thoughts of Rob Burgess, who drew on the work of Castells and Harvey and is relevant to the discourse in developing countries. The last section brings together the information presented before to provide an overall discourse on housing from the Marxist and neo-Marxist perspectives. Lastly is an elaboration of the possibilities of utilising Marxist theoretical constructs as a methodological tool in housing studies.

2.1.1   Marxism

The basic assumptions of Marxist theory related to housing are that housing is a scarce resource and access to housing differs between different class groups (Berry, 1986; Harvey, 1989). Therefore, central in Marxist analysis are the principles of power, labour and class, the latter of which has two dimensions. Firstly, class hierarchy is determined by the way in which production is organised in a society. For instance, in a capitalist production system, class positions are dualised between wage labourers and those that have power and are in control of the production system. The second dimension refers to the existence of self-aware working-class and ruling-class organisations that influence the way in which a society is structured (Somerville, 2005).

The foundations of Marxist concepts of housing can be traced back to the publication of the "Housing Question" in 1872 by Friedrich Engels, co-finder of Marxism (Engels, 1872). In this publication, Engels places housing within the broader social context of *class inequality*. Engels argues that unaffordable rent and poor housing conditions such as substandard quality and overcrowding are directly related to structured inequality between different class groups in society. The concept of housing tenure in relation to class is also critical in a Marxist analysis. Housing tenure, as described by Somerville (2005), is the distribution of housing products to housing consumers and is typically mandated by law. From a Marxist perspective, tenure is discussed in terms of control, and a distinction is made between those who are in control of housing, possessing the ownership rights, and those who are not in control. This in turn topically provides a class-based distinction between homeowners, on the one hand, and tenants on the other.

2.1.2 Neo-Marxism

Neo-Marxist theory elaborates on power and class related aspects by illustrating the dynamic relationship between *economic* and *governance* forces in explaining inequality related to housing. Neo-Marxist scholars in the 1980s also added the concepts of *variability* and *uneven development* to the housing discourse. From a neo-Marxist *economic* perspective, housing with a commodity value is criticised. An individual's place in the housing market is determined by his/her income and position in the capitalist labour market (in Dodson, 2007). The income of an individual influences his/her access to different housing systems (Ball, 1986; Berry 1986). A second economic aspect is the nature of power and the exchange of the housing product. With owner-occupation and private sector renting, the exchange is determined by the market, with either the house itself—or the tenant—being treated as a commodity. In the public renting sector, on the other hand, rent prices are not based on market principles (Somerville, 2005). Allocation is based instead on egalitarian principles or on the basis of need. This state intervention in the provision of housing is considered necessary since in most cases the private market is attracted to more profitable sectors of the economy (Castells, 1977).

A third economic aspect of housing that Marxist scholars focus on is wealth accumulation. For better-off households, housing ownership is a source of wealth accumulation. Wealth can be either accumulated through the market or passed on to the next generations (Somerville and Knowles, 1991). Poorer home owners, on the other hand, generally benefit little from ownership tenure. They either have little opportunity to improve their position, or in low demand neighbourhoods with static or declining home prices, they may actually lose out financially. This concept of tenure is a key discourse running through most publications on housing and is further expanded upon in the next chapters.

A neo-Marxist perspective of *governance* is twofold and contradictory. On the one hand, neo-Marxist philosophy promotes state-led development approaches based on collectivist ideology, as Marxist theory posits that state intervention is necessary to counteract the impact of capitalist development. Therefore, state provision of housing is seen as positive since it leads towards the decommodification of housing (Castells, 1977). On the other hand, class interest can be mediated, determined or sustained by the state (Kemeny, 1992). From the neo-Marxist perspective, the state is not seen as an independent, neutral or benevolent authority in the provision of welfare. Instead, it is seen as consisting of a complex set of institutions and role players (decision makers) that reflect power relations within a society (Kemeny, 1992).

Neo-Marxist thought in the 1980s and 1990s also began to focus on the aspects of *variability* and *uneven development* (Ball, Harloe and Martens, 1988; Duncan and Goodwin, 1988). The concept of variability argues that variations in the provision of housing are due to the fact that the structures of capitalism are not fixed or immutable (Ball *et al*, 1988). Variability derives from specific spatial and historical circumstances because social actors struggle within the framework of the relationship between capital and labour. This contentious relationship between capital and labour leads in turn to uneven development (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988, in Kemeny, 1992). The concept of uneven development entails analyses of how local patterns of economic and social change are located within the context of a global world economy that is mostly converging to a free trade system. Uneven development, from a neo- Marxist perspective, is based on the insight that competitive, free trade behaviour of capitalists gives rise to over-accumulation. This over accumulation of capital leads to uneven spatial development. Uneven development widens the gap between well off developed housing areas and less affluent low-income areas in the marginalized peripheries (Castells 1977; Harvey 1973, 1982, 1992). Max Weber, Manuel Castells, David Harvey and Rod Burgess, discussed in the section that follows, theories incorporates aspects of the geographical impact of uneven development.

References to the thoughts of sociologist **Max Weber** in relation to Marxism and housing can be found in publications in the developed world (for a few examples see Kemeny, 1992; Matznetter, 2001; Clapham, 2002; Somerville, 2005; van Kempen, 2007). Weber's sentiments regarding housing choice provide insight into the complex relationship between housing, inequality and the restriction of choice in a country's housing system (Clapham, 2002; Somerville, 2005). Unlike Marxists, Weberian scholars (in Somerville, 2005) recognise the potential for social mobility in the class system. Clapham (2002) indicates that Weber's focus on choice also reinforces the concept of power in housing studies. In addition, Weber's concept of choice in relation to housing systems has influenced aspects of

welfare state theories in developed countries (welfare state theories are discussed in further detail in chapter three).

Manuel Castells' publications focus mainly on neo-Marxist theory in the urban context (Castells, 1977, 1983), but a number of researchers also mention Castells' influence on the housing policy debate (Berry, 1986; Jenkins, Smith and Wang, 2007). Castells adds three main contributions to the neo-Marxist discourse. Firstly is his focus on the underlying social structures that shape urban systems; secondly is his elaboration on the possibility of social movements to act as agents of change; and thirdly is his contention that the private market is unable to provide adequate housing. Castells (1977, 1983) theorises that class inequality emerges as a result of the social structure and relations underlying the urban system. According to Castells, urban social structures, including housing systems, should be interpreted historically within the context of capital accumulation and uneven expansion of wealth (Berry, 1983). Castells' key concern, stemming from his neo-Marxist approach, is of the phenomenon of social movements joining forces against the capitalistic accumulation of personal wealth (Castells, 1983). Castells defines urban social movements as social entities functioning cooperatively to attain goals related to the collective consumption of resources. Through collective action, community culture, and aspirations to political self-management, transformation of urban and housing systems can be achieved (Jenkins *et al* 2007).

In addition, Castells argues that state involvement in housing is a necessity, because markets alone are unable to provide adequate housing for all. According to Castells, the markets are successful only in countries where earlier state involvement has already eased the housing situation. Because private markets tend to be attracted to more profitable sectors of the economy, state intervention in housing is in many cases the only way to ease housing shortages. Depending on the historical context, state intervention is more successful in some countries than in others (see Castells' 1977 publication *The Urban Question: a Marxist approach* for a few case studies on which Castells based his reasoning). Castells' publications have influenced housing scholars in both developed and developing countries. However, scholars in developed countries focus on different aspects of Castells' theoretical contributions than scholars in the developing world. Researchers in developed countries focus mostly on aspects related to class, the social structures underlying urban systems, and the geography and segregation discourse (Kemeny, 1992, 2002; Kemeny and Lowe, 1998; Davis, 2005; van Kempen, 2007). In developing countries, on the other hand, Castells is frequently mentioned in publications related to Marxism, social movements and urban change (Beall, 2000; Robinson, 2002; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2004; Davis, 2005; Jenkins *et al*, 2007).

The neo-Marxist theorist **David Harvey** is renowned for his radical stance against capitalism and neo-liberal development. Similar to Castells, Harvey writes about subjects such as capitalism, segregation, governance, globalisation, power, imperialism, uneven development, and geographical aspects related to class (Harvey, 1973, 1982, 1992). Harvey's publications focus on the broad discipline of urban studies, but scholars in the housing policy discourse also reflect on his conceptual ideas. Scholars in both developed and developing countries widely cite Harvey's publications, elaborating on his neo-Marxist concepts related to class relations (Visser, 2003; Birch and Mykhnenko, 2009), geographical localities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002), and governance aspects (Peck, Theodore and Brenner, 2010; Pawson and Jacobs, 2010). The literature on Harvey in the developing world also includes aspects of Marxist theories related to imperialism (Burgess, 1977; Bond, 2005; Robinson, 2007), power (Beall, 2000:844) and property rights (Pugh, 1996:179).

In developing countries, neo-Marxist housing theory is associated chiefly with Rod Burgess' critique of assisted self-help housing. The self-help housing concept entails encouraging individual families to build or assist in the building of their own houses with or without public support. (This concept is elaborated further in chapter four). Burgess drew upon elements of theory from Castells and Harvey and adopted basic neo-Marxist principles of inequality, governance and the economy. Although Burgess (1982, 1990) did not necessarily make a new contribution to Marxist theory itself, his scholarly work is nonetheless of importance given his geographical focus on developing countries and his Marxist critique of the self-help housing policies advocated in developing countries. Burgess argues that self-help housing becomes a commercialised commodity reflective of the exploitative class relations in capitalist development (Pugh, 2001). Therefore, self-help housing leads to the development of economic submarkets, and ultimately to class inequality. In addition, Burgess identified government and World Bank assisted self-help housing projects as a 'new imperialist strategy' lacking any real prospect of solving housing problems (Pugh, 1995).

2.1.3   Housing discourse from a Marxist and neo-Marxist perspective

Neo-Marxist scholars expand upon earlier Marxist discourses of *class* and *social inequality* by adding the interrelated principles of *economy*, *governance*, *variation* and *uneven development*. Max Weber's contribution to neo-Marxist theoretical development was the concept of *choice*. Castells and Harvey then enriched neo-Marxist theory with their discussions of the *geographical* context of inequality, the underlying power of *social structures* to influence production and consumption patterns, and the capacity of *social movements* to act collectively as agents of change. The notion of

power is a consistent underlying principle in Marxist thought. Based on the aspects mentioned above, Marxist and neo-Marxist analyses on housing include the following discourses:

- The Marxist focus on class inequality investigates how *power* and *class* results in unequal access to different housing systems and tenure forms. How does class influence an individual's access to housing systems? What are the nature of tenure biases based on power and class?

- A neo-Marxist *economic* perspective studies the exchange relations of housing. Are the exchange relations commodified or decommodified? In addition, income and expenditure patterns are analysed in order to understand the influence of income on an individual's access to housing. The ability of the private market to provide adequate housing to all citizens is questioned and investigated.

- Neo-Marxist considerations of *governance* require a consideration of the role that governments play in sustaining the current status quo of the ruling class through its housing policies. An examination of power relations necessitates an investigation into the very nature of the state, policy decisions made by the state, and their consequences for housing. Who is in control of the housing process? What state interventions are taking place with regard to housing? What is the nature of state-led development approaches to housing? Is development based on market principles or human rights? Does state intervention in housing lead to less or more inequality in a society?

- The *variability* and *uneven development* discourse within neo-Marxist thought focuses first on a growing awareness of 'variability' between different capitalist societies. Secondly, variability in societies is seen as a contributing factor to 'uneven development.'

- A Weberian neo-Marxist approach focuses on *choice* in housing. How does the restriction of choice present in housing systems sustain or lead to social inequalities in a society? What tenure options are available for different classes?

- Castells and Harvey highlight the importance of *geography* in analysing housing inequalities. How do neo-liberalism and capitalism lead to uneven housing development in a specific country? What is the influence of imperialism on unequal distribution of housing in developing countries? In addition, the underlying power of *social structures* that shape unequal urban systems are analysed. What are the nature and power relations of social structures underlying the housing system? Are the social structures concerned with the collective wellbeing of society or individual advancement in the housing market? In addition, Castells focuses on the ability of social organisations to act collectively as agents of change.

How do social movements influence housing outcomes and policy decisions? How can a community and collectivist culture change housing outcomes?

Table 2.1 summarises the main Marxist and neo-Marxist theoretical assumptions advanced in the housing discourse.

Table 2.1: Marxist and neo-Marxist assumptions and ideological concepts relevant to the housing discourse

Theory / Approach		Basic assumption	Ideological concepts	
Marxism		Housing is a scarce resource and access to housing differs between different class groups	**SOCIAL (inequality)**	
		Housing provision in a capitalist system is a system of commodity production. Commodity production is a source of wealth accumulation		
Neo-Marxism	Economy	An individual's place in the housing market is determined by his/her income and position in the capitalist labour market	**ECONOMIC**	**POWER AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS**
	Governance	State intervention in housing is necessary to counteract the impact of capitalist development	**POLITICAL (governance /intervention)**	
	Variation	The structures of capitalism are not fixed or immutable. Variation in the provision of housing is derived from specific spatial and historical circumstances	**GEOGRAPHY HISTORY**	
	Uneven development	The struggling relationship between capital and labour leads to uneven development in housing provision	**SOCIAL (inequality)** **GEOGRAPHY**	
	Weber	Capitalism and commodification of housing leads to restriction of choice of housing tenure systems for poor households	**SOCIAL (Choice)**	
	Castells and Harvey	Class inequality emerges as a result of the social structure and relations underlying the urban system	**SOCIAL- (structure of urban systems)**	
		Markets alone are unable to provide adequate housing for all. State intervention in housing is a necessity, and the success of such state intervention is determined by the historical context of a country	**POLITICAL (governance /intervention)** **HISTORICAL**	
		Through collective action, change related to urban and housing systems can be achieved	**SOCIAL (social movements)**	
		Markets lead to spatially segregated cities and geographies	**GEOGRAPHY**	
	Burgess	Self-help housing becomes a commercialised commodity within the exploitative class relations of capitalist development	**GEOGRAPHY (developing countries)**	

Marxist theoretical concepts provide important explanations of inequality. In addition, Marxism represents a coherent theory of human emancipation, providing reasons why humanity is oppressed and ways by which societies can be liberated (Somerville and Bengtsson, 2002). The next section focuses on concepts of neo-liberalism related to the housing discourse.

2.2 NEO-LIBERAL DISCOURSES

The Marxist theories discussed in the previous section are built on solid theoretical assumptions developed in the social sciences. Similar than neo-Marxist theory, neo-liberal theories are based on solid theoretical assumptions and are mutli-layered, complex, and evolving. This section begins with a consideration of the concept of liberalism on which neo-liberal principles are based. Then comes an overview of the historical context that influenced the development of neo-liberal ideology. Thereafter follows a discussion on the main neo-liberal discourses related to housing policy.

2.2.1 Liberalism

Contrary to Marxist theory that focuses on collectivist ideologies, liberalism advocates the principles of freedom and individualism (Larner, 2000). Liberal theory argues that economic, political and social relations are best organised through the choices of free and rational actors. In the economic sphere, liberalism advocates the unbridled expansion of the market economy in all realms. Politically and socially, liberalism reasons that the state should have limited powers over economic and social matters (Jessop, 2002). However, the contradictory nature of liberalism has been highlighted by a number of authors (Larner, 2000; Cerny, 2004, 2008; Harvey, 2006). As mentioned by the authors, economic liberalism is traditionally associated with free market capitalism. At the same time, though, there are some liberal theorists who propose that the government should actively promote capitalism. Thus, liberalism is an uneasy combination of *laissez faire* economics based on individualism and non-government involvement on the one hand and a promotion of state regulation fostering pro-competitive market principles, supposedly in order to achieve optimal individual actualisation, on the other. Neo-liberal theory is derived from liberal principles and advocates for the deregulation of economic transactions both within and across national borders in order to provide the market with free reign (Jessop, 2002).

2.2.2 Neo-liberalism

The political foundations of neo-liberalism can be traced back to 1944 when representatives from forty four countries met in Bretton Woods (United States of America) for the United Nations Monetary and Financial conference. The conference focused on establishing an international economic framework that would prevent the reoccurrence of the worldwide economic disorder that preceded the WWII. The allied nations adopted a set of economic rules that became known as the Bretton Woods economic system, operational from 1945 to 1971 (Palley, 2004). Highly influenced by the economic thought of the British economist John Maynard Keynes, the main principles of the Bretton Woods economic system were fixed exchange rates and international free trading arrangements. Keynesian economic theory had a major impact on the development of post 1945

welfare regimes. For more than two decades after the WWII, from 1945 to 1970, Keynesian economics was the dominant paradigm for understanding economic activity. Keynes advocated that governments should intervene using fiscal and monetary measures to lessen the adverse effects of recessions, depressions and booms in the economy. Keynesian thought also stressed the importance of full employment for optimal economic growth and material development of a country (Palley, 2004). Thus, the state should take responsibility for the continuous growth of capitalist systems through planned intervention and investment (Jenkins *et al*, 2007). Under Keynesian influence, the economic tools of monetary policy (control of interest rates) and fiscal policy (control of government spending and taxes) were developed, and the concept of a fixed exchange rate was put into place to regulate international trade and finance (Palley, 2004). The post-war period of reconstruction therefore witnessed the creation of welfare states and government-assisted housing. Welfare subsidies, in the form of government investment in public rental housing played a prominent role in the effort to accelerate the construction of housing (Priemus, 2001). Keynesian economics were not only focused on an interventionist welfare state but also on promoting a mixed economy in which both the state and the private sector have important roles to play. According to Keynesian egalitarian economics, both the state and the private sector have a role to play in the provision of welfare services. Scholars building on Keynes' economic model promoted the idea of a mixed economy based on egalitarian liberal principles. Fundamental to egalitarian liberalism is the belief that the economy requires some policy regulations to diminish the importance of class. Although Keynesian economics held sway for a few decades, neo-liberal ideas gradually began to come to the fore due to the intellectual divisions of Keynesianism and Keynesian failure to develop economic guidelines that could compete with the neo-liberal ideologies of capitalist development and free markets (Palley, 2004).

The transformation of neo-liberalism from a marginalised and abstract philosophical and economic theory into a full-fledged political system began with the economic crisis of the 1970s (Cerny, 2004; Harvey, 2006). One important change occurred when the Bretton Woods system of a fixed exchange rate was abandoned in favour of floating exchange rates in 1973 (Harvey, 2006). With the global economic crisis and recession induced by the sudden spike of oil prices, the entire welfare state structure constructed over the previous 30 years came under scrutiny. It was clear that the interventionist welfare state that paid great attention to social policies was no longer working. From a neo-liberal perspective, welfare governance is seen as costly, inefficient and ineffective in poverty alleviation. As an alternative, neo-liberalism argues for the dismantlement of the welfare state in favour of policies that emphasise moving people from welfare into the economy, therefore linking social and market policy (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002; Harvey, 2006; Theodore, Peck and Brenner, 2011). A number of authors (Larner, 2000; Birch

and Mykhnenko; 2009) suggest that it is important to distinguish between neo-liberalism as an *ideology*, neo-liberalism as a *state strategy* (policy) and neo-liberalisation as a *process* (governmentality). This differentiation is described in more detail below.

2.2.3   Neo-liberal theoretical underpinnings

An important starting point in understanding the neo-liberal discourse is the theoretical writings of Friedrich Hayek (1944, 1948) and Milton Friedman (1962). Both Hayek and Friedman based their neo-liberal arguments on the following concepts: the individual is the normative centre of society; the market is the most effective way through which individuals can maximise their own functions; and, state actions that interfere with individual autonomy or market relations ultimately lead to an autocratic society (Brenner, Peck and Theodore, 2008, 2010; Birch and Mykhnenko, 2009). Peck *et al* (2010) describe the neo-liberal theory of the late 1940s through the 1970s as a fusion between free-market utopianism on the one hand and a strategic critique of the prevailing Keynesian world order on the other. Brenner and Theodore (2002) have written that neo-liberalism is based on the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets liberated from state interference represent the optical mechanism for economic development. Therefore, the ideal society is one in which private agents have the civil rights to engage in contractual exchange with other private agents in pursuit of material gain. Clearly, neo-liberal theory is built on inter-connected principles related to the economic, political and social domains (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Pick and Tickell, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002; Cerny, 2004; Harvey, 2006; Theodore *et al*, 2011).

Economically, markets are identified as the most rational means for resource allocation. In addition, neo-liberalism supports the concept of an open world economy of free trade. *Politically,* neo-liberalism emphasises that the state should defer to the free market, except for those functions most fundamental to civil order such as law, defence and policing. Therefore, the welfare state should be dismantled in favour of policies that bolster the market and private sector involvement. Neo-liberalism also advocates reforming systems of governance so that the private sector plays a central role. *Socially*, individualism is elevated, and the market is regarded as the most effective way to enhance individual rights, responsibilities and opportunities. In terms of housing, neo-liberalism encourages individual ownership, with the market seen as the main provider of housing. In addition, neo-liberalism stresses free choice in consumption. Thus, individuals (or at least those with enough resources) determine themselves which housing products suits their needs (Jessop, 2002).

2.2.4 The evolving concept of neo-liberalism: Variegated neo-liberalism

Recent theorists tend to describe neo-liberalism as an evolving concept and a process rather than as a concrete and hegemonic form of capitalist theory. In simplistic terms, the concept of neo-liberalism is generally used to describe the significant shift from welfare-based governance principles to competitive market-driven governance. Yet, as argued by Brenner *et al* (2010), there is not a universally agreed-upon definition or interpretation of neo-liberalism. In addition to Brenner *et al* (2010), a number of other authors also support the notion that there are multiple varieties of neo-liberalism rather than one version (Larner, 2000; Peck, 2001; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Cerny, 2008; Birch and Mykhnenko, 2009; Peck *et al*, 2010). Different conceptualisations of neo-liberalism discussed next are neo-liberalism as a state strategy and neo-liberalism as a process.

Neo-liberalism as a state strategy marks a shift from Keynesian welfare policies towards a political agenda favouring market principles. In other words, Brenner *et al* (2010) describe neo--liberalism as a politically guided intensification of market rule and commodification principles. Different countries produce different neo-liberal policies because of the important role played by political context and governance regime (Brenner *et al*, 2008). Because policies such as deregulation, privatisation and market liberalisation are ideologically divisive, tensions come into play when neo-liberal theory is implemented as a state-led project. The contradictory nature of implementing neo-liberalism as a state strategy has been highlighted by a number of authors (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Tickell and Peck, 2003). Simply put, neo-liberalism calls for less government involvement, but governments that follow neo-liberal principles have to by definition put certain policies in place. Larner (2000) helps to clarify this contradiction by making a useful distinction between government and governance, arguing that while neo-liberalism may be interpreted as less *government*, it does not mean that there is less *governance*. Through its governance authority, the state enables the extension and reproduction of market principles. The state-market relationship therefore entails a contradictory dynamic; the state aims to shift the burden of welfare provision to economic competitiveness, but economic free market principles are never independent from state interference since it is the state that enables the free market principles to function (Larner, 2000; Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Tickell and Peck, 2003).

The transformation from neo-liberalism as an abstract theory towards its institutionalisation in state policy is described in the literature as a movement of either the roll-back or the roll-out of the post-war welfare state (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Graefe, 2005; Dodson, 2007). This distinction between roll-back and roll-out neo-liberalism is clarified in the next sections to highlight the diverse

ways in which neo-liberalism as a state strategy is practiced in developed countries (Peck and Tickell, 2002). The concept of **roll-back** implies that governments should 'withdraw' from the social and economic spheres of governance and shift decision-making to the economic markets. Countries should therefore turn away from forms of intervention based on Keynesian welfare principles and the provision of goods and services should become mainly the responsibility of the private sector (Jessop, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Dodson, 2006:2; Graefe, 2005).

As the roll-back of welfare policies advanced in favour of neo-liberal market policies, neo-liberal applications generated their own contradictions and challenges. The private sector was not able to provide housing to low-income and poor households, for instance, and the success of the roll-back of the state was questioned. As a result, neo-liberal policies were adjusted in the 1980s due to the number of failures and contradictions (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002). By the early 1990s, the roll-back of state involvement shifted to again incorporate a socially interventionist consciousness. Peck and Tickell (2002) refer to this trend as a shift towards the **roll-out** of state activities and neo-liberal policies. Consequently, in some countries, governments began to play a greater role in enabling private sector development. This roll-out saw nations introducing new institutions, policies and socially interventionist governance intended to enable the private sector to fulfil its provider role (Jessop, 2002). Thus, while some aspects of government activity were withdrawn with roll-back neo-liberalism, new types of state activity were then extended under roll-out neo-liberalism. The most recent phase of neo-liberalism is associated with new modes of policymaking concerned specifically with re-regulation and attention towards those marginalised by the neo-liberalism of the 1980s (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Graefe, 2005; Dodson, 2006).

The process and implementation of neo-liberalism as a state strategy is affected by various factors such as the economic structure, political culture, history, and geographical conditions (Ball *et al*, 1988; Brenner *et al*, 2008; Birch and Mykhnenko, 2009). Another relevant factor is social actors in the capitalist system striving to determine their position in the struggle between capital and labour (Kemeny, 1992). Ball *et al* (1988) demonstrate with their case studies that countries embracing neo-liberal strategies in their housing policies can have very different strategies related to profit making; they also attribute variations in the provision of housing to the flexible structure of capitalism. Thus, the variegated neo-liberal concept used in describing differences in housing policy application can be attributed to historical factors, geographical circumstances, and the flexible structure of capitalism (Ball *et al*, 1988). It is clear that neo-liberal philosophy can lead to a variety of processes, interpretations and implementations. Therefore, neo-liberalism should be viewed as a locally contingent process and not as a standard process that gets applied in the same way in different geographical localities (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Keil, 2002).

Table 2.2 summarises the basic assumptions and ideological concepts that are related to the liberal and neo-liberal discourse on housing.

Table 2.2: Liberal and neo-liberal discourse and relevance to housing

Theory / Concept		Basic assumption	Ideological concepts	
Keynesian economics		Interventionist welfare policies on housing necessary to lessen the adverse effects of economic recessions, depressions and booms	**POLITICAL (governance/ intervention)**	**POWER + ECONOMY DIMENSIONS**
Liberalism	**Liberal theory**	Economic, political and social relations are best organised through the choices of free and rational actors	**SOCIAL (individualism)**	
	Laissez faire concept	No state interference in housing		
	Enablement concept	Regulatory state enables housing provision through the market	**POLITICAL (enablement)**	
Neo-liberalism	**Neo-liberal theory**	Open, competitive and unregulated markets free from state interference represent the optical mechanism for economic (and housing) development	**ECONOMY GEOGRAPHY**	
	Economic dimension	Markets are the most rational means for housing allocation		
		There should be a global world economy of free trade and global influence in the housing market		
	Political dimension	Except for functions most fundamental to civil order, state involvement should defer to the market for housing related functions		
		Reformed systems of governance in housing sector	**POLITICAL (governance)**	
	Social dimension	Market is the most effective way to enhance individual rights and housing	**SOCIAL- (markets)**	
Variegated neo-liberalism	Neo-liberalism as a *state strategy*	**Roll-back:** Governments 'withdraw' from the social and economic spheres of governance and shift housing allocation decisions to the markets	**ECONOMY**	
		Roll-out: Government's role adjusted to an enabling role in housing	**POLITICAL (enablement)**	
	Neo-liberalisation as a *process*	Historical and geographical context of a country determines to a large extent the process of neo-liberal policy reforms related to housing	**HISTORY GEOGRAPHY**	

2.3 DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND THEORIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Development is usually described in two distinct ways. Firstly, development is defined as an underlying process of social change based on targeted intervention strategies. With its focus on change, development theory is more concerned with change concepts than the conventional social science disciplines are. Secondly, the process of development is related to the three-way interrelationship between the *state*, promoting Marxist ideologies, *markets* supporting neo-liberal ideologies and *civil society* advocating alternative ideologies (Everett, 1997; Matthews, 2004; Mitlin, Hickey and Bebbingtonl, 2007; Jenkins *et al*, 2007). Few publications on housing incorporate or mention specific development theories, with the exception of the neo-liberal and sustainable development theories. Nonetheless, this section gives an overview of main development approaches

from the 1950s to the 2000s. The following five principal development approaches frequently mentioned in the developing countries context are identified and discussed in this section: *modernisation*; *dependency*; *'basic needs'*; *neo-liberal*; and *sustainable* development. Thereafter follows an introduction of other development approaches that have not yet been very influential but might add value to future discourse. Because it goes beyond the objective of this thesis to provide an elaborative discussion of the development paradigms, each development approach is only briefly outlined in terms of its historical context and main theoretical assumptions, followed by an exploration of its contribution to the housing discourse.

2.3.1   Modernisation paradigm

Modernisation theory was the main development paradigm in the 1950s and 1960s. The basic idea of modernisation theories was that developed countries in Europe provided the best development models for countries in the developing world (Willis, 2005; Jenkins *et al*, 2007). Accordingly, modernisation theories of the 1950s embraced Keynesian economics and government assisted development. Although the initial modernisation paradigm was based on economic growth alone, modernisation theory became more inter-disciplinary by the 1960s and began to include social and cultural aspects modelled on Western values. Therefore, the importance of formal education in enhancing social status was stressed, and the nuclear family rather than kinship networks was propagated as the norm (Jenkins, 2007). By the late 1960s, development policies based on the modernisation ideology seemed to be failing. Despite economic growth in a number of countries, the full expected benefits of modernisation did not materialise. Instead, rapid urbanisation and unemployment became widespread, leading to increasing poverty, a greater dependency on welfare, and widening income inequalities. Some housing-related publications employing modernisation theories focused on the influence of colonialism on housing practices in developing countries (Harris and Giles, 2003; Davis, 2005). Others analysed the manner in which developed world housing systems had been replicated in the developing world (Harris and Giles, 2003). The latter happened because the cultural and social focus of the 1960s modernisation paradigm created a culture change from indigenous housing systems towards formalised housing systems found in developed countries.

2.3.2   Dependency theory

Dependency theory originated in the 1960s and 1970s as a radical response against failures associated with modernisation development. Addressing problems related specifically to 'under-development', dependency theory stresses that structural development in one part of the world is commonly linked to the under-development of another part of the world (Pugh, 1997; Zanetta, 2001; Jenkins *et al*, 2007). The dependency paradigm draws on neo-Marxist theories of inequality and

structuralist critiques of development. Jenkins *et al* (2007) relate the basic principles of the dependency school of thought to the international division of labour, analysed in terms of relations between geographical regions (in this context between developed and developing countries). A transfer of surplus takes place between regions and leads to one region being deprived of its surplus and therefore under-developed. This path of dependency and under-development can be broken only if the under-developed country disassociates itself from world markets through national self-reliance (a structuralist development approach that often requires revolutionary political transformation). Ideally, if this path is followed, the removal of external exploitation obstacles will result in natural development. However, case studies (in Jenkins *et al*, 2007) of countries that adopted dependency development strategies show that the dependency approach was not successful in the long term. In the context of housing, dependency theory associates inadequate housing with the unequal relationship between developed and developing countries. Writers working from a dependency theory backdrop criticise self-help housing and the commodification of housing, a concept from the developed world (see Pugh, 2001). The preferred alternative is a return to decommodified indigenous housing systems. Another layer of dependency theory, in line with Castells (1977), focuses on the ability of collective action to bring about change in a society, and by implication, change in its housing systems.

2.3.3   Basic needs approach

The basic needs approach to development originated in the 1970s after the realisation that prior development strategies often led to social and/or regional inequality. In addition, it was recognized that development strategies promoting economic growth did not necessarily translate into poverty reduction (Jenkins, 2007). Therefore, a key assumption of the basic needs approach is that growth can be generated by development strategies that focus on targeted poverty groups. The basic needs approach was adopted by several international agencies such as the World Bank in the mid-1970s. The basic needs ideology contains elements of enablement principles that are based in neo-liberal theory. Building on this approach, the World Bank was highly influential in setting the stage for housing development. Therefore, the basic needs development approach is a key theoretical concept implicit in many publications on housing even if it is not mentioned explicitly (Jenkins, 2007). (The influence of the World Bank on the housing discourse is discussed in further detail in Chapter 4)

2.3.4   Neo-liberal development approaches

Neo-liberalist influence on government regimes is a key component in understanding global housing policy discourses. (The influence of neo-liberalism on housing development is explored in detail in chapter four; therefore this section provides only a short synopsis of neo-liberalism as a development approach). As discussed earlier in the chapter, neo-liberalist theory argues that markets

are the most efficient way to achieve development changes (Palley, 2004). Since the early 1970s, developing countries have increasingly followed the neo-liberal housing policy agendas proposed by international agencies such as the World Bank and the United Nations (UN). Although neo-liberal theoretical debates in developing countries have followed similar paths as those in developing countries, the way in which neo-liberalism is applied as a state strategy differs. Neo-liberal policies in developing countries are enacted to a great extent through either state-led or state-enabled projects. Neo-liberalism as a state-led strategy was popularised and backed by powerful international organisations during the 1970s. However, macro-economic structural adjustment programmes implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the 1980s resulted in reduced public spending in all welfare sectors, including housing. This reduced capital, along with recommendations by international agencies, meant that governments had to reassess their role in addressing welfare concerns and the provision of housing. Although governments still played an important role in housing delivery, the 1980s neo-liberal phase was characterised by a radical shift from a providing state towards an enabling state. The focus shifted from state-driven housing development towards a housing environment in which the market played the prominent role and the state played only a regulating and facilitating function, consistent with the concept of roll-out neo-liberalism (Jenkins, 2007). Due to the influence of the World Bank, the concept of site and service projects was introduced into the housing discourse in developing countries during the 1970s. The idea is that governments should provide citizens with plots of land that come with basic services. The poor must then build their own houses on these plots. Site and service projects therefore contained the neo-liberal economic aspects of affordability, cost-recovery and replicability (World Bank, 1972).

2.3.5   Sustainable development approach (1990s onwards)

Conventional development theories were relatively unconcerned with the problems of environmental degradation and climate change. However, an environmental consciousness emerged in secondary branches of development discourse in the 1970s (eco-development). Throughout the mid-1970s and 1980s, environmental awareness evolved to include discussions on the negative impacts of economic development on the environment such as pollution and climate change. The sustainable development approach became a prominent development strategy starting in the 1990s onwards. This approach asserts that development practices need to balance the needs of current generations with environmental concerns of the future. Environmental issues are increasingly viewed as transcending political borders, stressing the importance of international collaborations in achieving sustainable development (Jenkins *et al*, 2007). The sustainable development paradigm incorporates a more comprehensive approach to housing than previous development approaches, combining social and environmental aspects with economic development principles. Accordingly, this trend focuses on

whole-sector development and is concerned not only with the economic market principles of building houses, but also with building settlements that are socially and environmentally sustainable. The value of informal markets and upgrading informal settlements is also recognised. (The influence of the sustainable development discourse on housing is further elaborated on in chapter four). The sustainable development approach is linked to enablement principles and self-help housing discourses. The sustainable development approach defined in the context of this thesis contains four contentious dimensions: *environmental*, *social, economic,* and *good governance*. The political economy dimension is built on neo-Marxist principles and postulates that capitalism is the root of environmental problems. Consumerism and the capitalist principle of profit generate inequality in wealth distribution and cause environmental deterioration (Jenkins, *et al*, 2007).

2.3.6   Other significant development positions

Other development theories, not as often highlighted in scholarly literature than the development approaches discussed above, include the following: structuralist developments; grassroots approaches; gender theories on development; Post-Marxist and post development approaches; culture and development; and alternative development. Table 2.3 summarises the main development approaches relevant to housing

Table 2.3: Development discourse and relevance to housing

Theory / Concept	Basic assumption	Ideological constructs	
Modernisation paradigm (1950s and 1960s)	Developed countries in Europe provide the best development models for countries in the developing world	**CHANGE** **SOCIAL (inequality)** **POLITICAL (governance /intervention)**	**POWER+ GEOGRAPHY DIMENSIONS**
Dependency theories (1960s and 1970s)	Structural development of one part of the world is commonly linked to the under-development of another part of the world	**SOCIAL** **(inequality + social movements)** **CHANGE**	
Basic needs approach (1970s onwards)	Growth can be generated by development strategies focusing on targeted poverty groups	**POLITICAL (enablement)** **ECONOMY**	
Neo-liberalism (1970 onwards)	Markets are the most efficient way in which development changes can be achieved		
Sustainable development (1990s onwards)	Development practices need to balance the needs of current generations with environmental concerns of the future	**ENVIRONMENT** **ECONOMY** **SOCIAL (inequality)** **GOOD GOVERNANCE**	
Other development paradigms	Structuralist development; Grassroots approaches; Gender theories on development; Post-Marxist and post development approaches; Culture and development; Alternative development	**SOCIAL** **(inequality + social movements)** **POLITICAL** **(enablement)** **HISTORY** **CHANGE**	

2.4 POLITICAL ECONOMY

Political economy theory emphasises the importance of combining economic and political perspectives (Jenkins *et al*, 2007). The term political economy was originally developed in the 17th century by the French author Antoine de Montchretien (1575-1621) who used the term to contend that governments should have a better understanding of the influence of economics in the governance of a country. The economist Adam Smith elaborated on the idea of political economy in his book *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), arguing that economic principles should be considered when conducting research in a wide variety of social contexts such as history, institutions, public policy and moral philosophy (in Pugh, 1996). Political economy describes the relationship that exists between the state as a political entity and the economic principles that influence the state and state policies (Pugh, 1996). Thus, political economy approaches focus on how societal structures are affected by the interplay between politics and economics (Hoogvelt in Jenkins *et al*, 2007). A political economy framework can be seen as a form of discourse analysis providing a methodological approach valuable for understanding policy change (Jacobs, 2006). In many cases, the literature refers to either the political economy of neo-Marxism (Harvey, 1982) or the political economy of neo-liberalism (Friedman, 1997). Consequently, the most widely used methodological framework for policy analysis is political economy analysis in one form or another. Although political economy is rarely elaborated on as a concept in and of itself in the housing literature, most authors on housing policy incorporate some aspects—and wide-ranging competing interpretations—of political economy in their publications (Pugh, 1996, Jenkins *et al*, 2007).

Political economy theories are also based on enablement theories that include principles of both market development and liberalisation (Pugh, 2001). The multi-layered nuances of political theory that deal with the *level of interaction* between the state and the market are often overlooked and tends to be dichotomised between neo-liberal and neo-Marxist interpretations of market *versus* state or state *versus* market . In essence, political economy theory combines elements of both political liberalism and macro-economic principles, and interpretation therefore falls on a continuum between pro-market and pro-state. As a result, interpretations are compatible with various types of governments and levels of state intervention in housing. For example, political economy interpretations are valuable both in countries with minimal state intervention such as the United States of America (USA) and countries with significant interventions in housing as is the case in Sweden (Pugh, 2001). As stated by Pugh (1995), the purpose of political is to improve interactions between theoretical interpretation and the practice of economics and politics. As such, political economy theory acknowledges that with certain interventions, there can be a concurrence of both market and government failure and/or success.

2.5 SYNTHESIS ON HOUSING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The multidisciplinary nature of housing scholarship is diagrammed in Figure 2.1. Scholars' theoretical interpretations tends to be influenced by their level of knowledge in a specific discipline.

DISCOURSES ON HOUSING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Theories of interpretation- Political economy			Critical discourse analysis Ideology of power
	Sociology	Inequality Social movements Choice	
	Political Science	Governance Intervention	
	Economics	Markets Enablement Individualism	
	Geography Development Studies	Globalisation Historical context Structure - urban systems Change Environment	

Figure 2.1: Discourse on housing in developing countries

In the housing context, scholarly work on housing mainly comes from the social, political, economic and other domains such as geography and development studies. The following section summarises the main ideological dimensions and themes related to the disciplines:

2.5.1   The social dimension of housing

The **social** dimension identified in this study is related to the nature of relationships that exist within society (Kemeny, 1992) and is discussed in all the theoretical paradigms described in this chapter. Social aspects related to the housing discourse include *inequality, social movements*, the *social structures underlying the urban system*, and *choice*. The notion of inequality is based in Marxist theory and is the main concept within the modernisation, sustainable development, dependency, and alternative development approaches. Housing is seen as a scarce resource, and access to housing differs between different class groups. The dimensions of social movements and social structures in the urban system were advanced by neo-Marxist scholars such as Castells (1977) and Harvey (2006) and subsequently influenced housing publications. Through collective action,

change related to housing systems can be achieved. In addition, Castells and Harvey suggest that class inequality (and by implication housing inequality) emerges as a result of the social structure and relations underlying the urban system. The concept of choice is incorporated by both Marxist and liberal theories, albeit from different perspectives. Neo-Marxist scholars claim that the commodification of housing leads to the restriction of choice in housing tenure systems for poorer households. Liberal theory, with its *Laissez-faire* approach of no state interference, focuses on individualism. Accordingly, economic, political and social relations are best organised when individuals have free choice in terms of housing.

2.5.2   The economic dimension of housing

Economic perspectives, discussed more comprehensively in the remainder of the thesis, are advanced mostly from a neo-liberal point of view and critically appraised from the Marxist position. Economic notions are also incorporated in the basic needs and sustainable development approaches. Main principles incorporated in the economic dimension of housing relate to the markets and market enablement. In principle, neo-liberal economics argues that markets, liberated from state interference, are the most rational means for housing allocation. The neo-liberal and sustainable development approaches also advance the idea that markets are the most efficient way to achieve development changes, including housing changes. The counter argument from the neo-Marxist perspective is that housing provision in a capitalist system reflects a system of commodity production and the market leads to housing inequality. The enablement perspective on housing recognises that the state has a role to play in facilitating the markets to realise their full potential. Enablement principles are exemplified by development strategies that focus on targeted disadvantaged groups in the provision of housing.

2.5.3   The political dimension of housing (including political economy)

Given the policy focus of this thesis, the political dimension (including political economy) is a central construct in the theoretical discourse on housing. Political concerns including power, governance, intervention and enablement in housing are key concepts theorised by both neo-liberal and Marxist scholars. The roles of the state and the market and the degree to which the state intervenes or does *not* intervene are also theorised in the housing policy discourse. The interventionist welfare state perspective, derived from Keynesian economic theory, regards state intervention in housing as necessary to lessen the adverse effects of the economy on society. Keynesian economic principles also influenced the modernisation and basic needs approaches to development. Neo-liberal enabling principles, on the other hand, advocate that a regulatory state with reformed systems of governance allow the market to provide housing. Neo-Marxist perspectives on housing in developing countries include the dependency and alternative approaches to development, which criticise the neo-

liberal governance ideologies underlying housing development practices starting in the 1980s. Various government interventions in housing present in developing countries include state-led public housing projects, provision of sites and services, and enabling markets to provide housing to the poor.

2.5.4 Other dimensions related to housing

Other dimensions related to the housing discourse in developing countries are the concepts of *change, geography, history* and the *environment*. Discourses on these aspects are frequently found in the disciplines of development studies and geography and are theorised from both the Marxist and neo-liberal paradigms. The concept of *change* is a distinct feature of the field of most academic disciplines. One important change perspective focused on by the housing discourse is modernisation, in which developed countries' housing models are implemented in developing countries. This therefore represents a change in tenure and housing systems. Neo-liberal advocates usually view the changes as positive, whereas Marxist theorists attempt to set an alternative agenda. The *geographical* and *historical* contexts highlight the dimensions of space, locality, and time in the housing discourse. The historical and geographical contexts of a country determine to a large extent its housing policy reforms. The dimension of the *environment* is central to the sustainable development approach, which advocates that the housing needs of current generations be balanced with environmental concerns of the future.

2.6 CONCLUSION

Figure 2.2 summarises the ideological dimensions of housing as it is reflected on literature focusing on developing countries and other countries in the developed world.
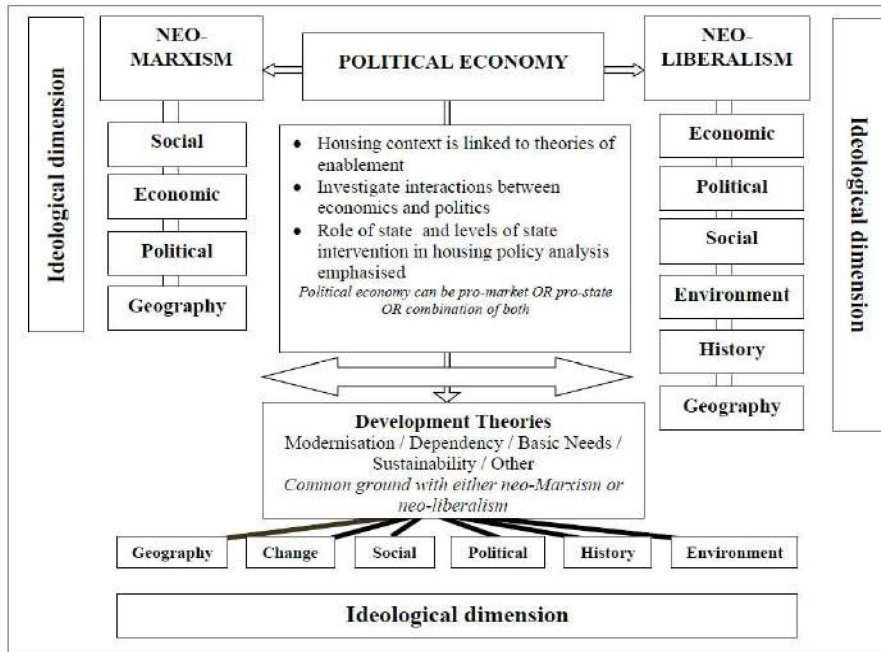
Figure 2.2: Ideological dimensions of housing theory

Key theoretical frameworks described in this chapter on housing policy fall on a continuum of interpretations between neo-Marxist and neo-liberal theoretical assumptions. Central to neo-Marxist ideological approaches are concepts of power and how it relates to class inequalities and the dynamic relationship between economic and governance dimensions. Neo-Marxist theory from the 1980s onwards also included variability, uneven development, choice, geography, social structures and social movements as variables of analysis. Neo-liberal theories highlights the importance of market principles and how the market relates to the economic, political and social domains. Variegated neo-liberalism further explores the relationship between neo-liberalism as a state strategy and that of a process. Development theories discussed in this chapter were the modernisation paradigm, basic needs approach, neo-liberal development and sustainable development perspectives. Thematically all the theories incorporate to one or more ideological dimensions that relates to economic political, social, geography, historical, change or environmental aspects. The next chapter investigate theoretical developments specifically concerned with housing policy in Western Europe context. Particular attention is divided in the underlying conceptual questions theta are embedded in this theories and the value it may have in enriching scholarship in developing countries.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL DISCOURSES ON HOUSING POLICY IN EUROPE

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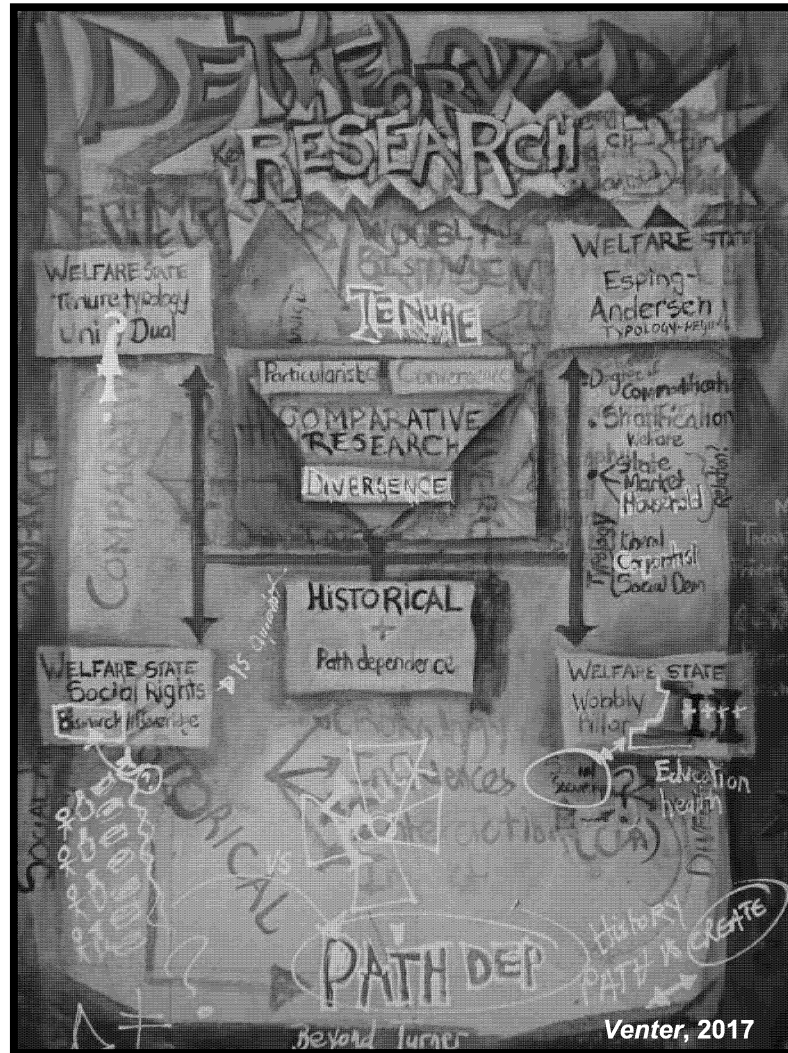
Chapter 2 discussed theoretical concepts and approaches associated with housing literature in the developing world: Marxist and neo-Marxist schools of thought, neo-liberalism, development theories and the notion of political economy. The main theme underlying all of these theoretical frameworks is the notion of *power*. Other related concepts that were discussed include the *social*, *economic* and *political* structures in society, *geography* (location), *change* and the *environment*.

This chapter, on the other hand, reflects on key developments in housing theory and research in Europe. Since it is impossible to cover all theoretical approaches and influences in one chapter, the main focus is on the methodological frameworks that could have relevance to advance discourses on housing theory in developing countries. This chapter first provides an explanation of different welfare state theories used in the housing policy milieu. Thereafter follows a discussion of comparative and historical methodological approaches to housing research. The last section synthesises the theories and contextualises the research approaches and research questions that can enrich housing policy discourses in developing countries.

3.1   WELFARE STATE

Allen (2010: 136) argues that mainstream researchers in housing policy tend to use the hegemony of "the market", and by implication neo-liberal thought, as the main framework underlying their work. Research approaches that challenge the hegemony of the market have conventionally been of secondary concern. Following this trend, this section reflects on welfare state theories relevant to the housing policy discourse. Firstly, the historical context of welfare state theories is explained. This is followed by a description of Esping-Andersen's regime typologies of welfare capitalism. Thereafter, the metaphor of housing as the "wobbly pillar" of the welfare state is discussed. Then comes an elaboration of the Beveridgean and Bismarckian welfare state models. Lastly, the focus shifts to Kemeny's dualist and unitary tenure theories. Figure 3.1 provides a schematic representation of the welfare theories to be discussed in this section.
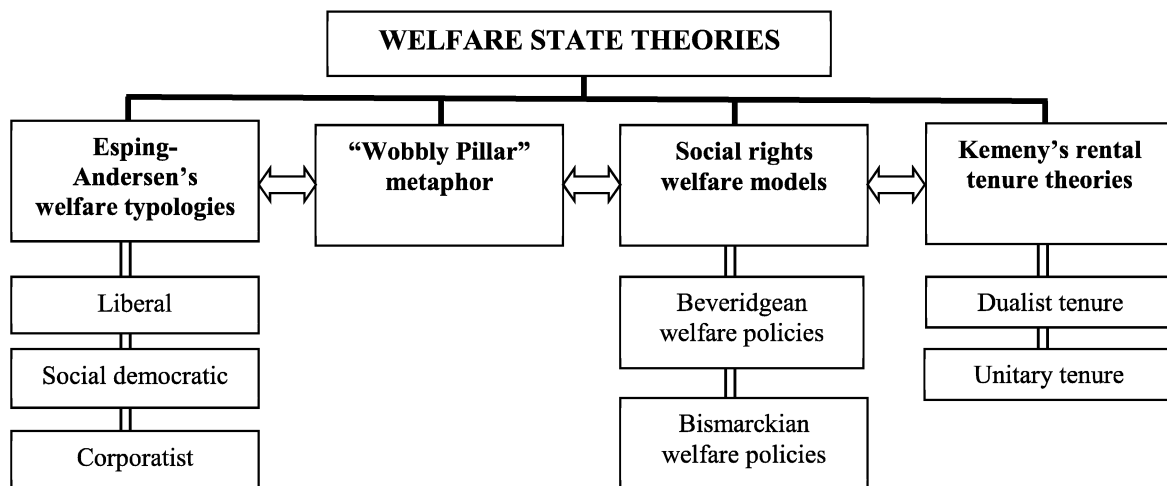
Figure 3.1: Welfare state theories

3.1.1 The historical context of welfare state theories

Kemeny (2002) traces the origin of welfare state ideology back to the enlightenment era of the 1600s and 1700s and the political philosophy of Hobbes and David Hume. According to Hobbes and Hume, society is not possible without the state, and the state is what makes civilised society possible (Kemeny, 2002). That being said, the state is not an autonomous construct, as its existence is dependent on larger societal structures. Social theories related to the state are mostly concerned with power relations. On the one hand, the state is the source of power; on the other hand, there is also power within society to either maintain or challenge the power of the state. A comprehensive debate on this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis. What is of importance, however, is that the role the state should play (or not play) has been a contested discourse in social policy publications from the time of the enlightenment.

Before discussing the role of the state in housing, it is important to first provide an overview of state welfare in general. Nearly every country has at least some welfare policies in place. Welfare policy is defined as the interdependent set of public policies through which welfare is produced and allocated between the state, the market and society (Gough, 2000; Doherty, 2004; Malpass, 2004; Ronald, 2006). Welfare policies are intended to provide collective protection from the irregularities of the private market, especially for low-income households (Malpass, 2005). Housing, health, security, education and social services are some of the welfare services often provided by governments. The role of the state and its welfare policies is central to any housing policy analysis, given that most governments have support systems in place to assist low-income households with housing. Of course, the extent, form and influence of welfare policies vary from place to place (Priemus, 2001; Abrahamson, 2005; Malpass, 2005; Dodson, 2006; Ronald, 2006; Lawson and Milligan, 2007). Until the late 1990s, welfare state research focused less on housing policy and more on other welfare services. Research in housing policy was influenced to a greater extent by economic and political theories. However, the role of the welfare state in housing policy analysis is being increasingly recognised (Kemeny, 2001; Malpass, 2003).

When using welfare state theories, a clear distinction should be made between the concepts of welfare *regimes* and welfare *systems*. Although welfare regimes are defined from various perspectives, most definitions describe a welfare regime as the ideological power relations in a particular society that influence policy outcomes in that country (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Kemeny, 1995). Welfare systems, on the other hand, are the outcome or product of a particular welfare regime, for example the type of housing product available, tenure preferences and the commodification or de-

commodification of welfare services (Kemeny 1992; Hoekstra, 2010). The following sections focus on key welfare theories and methodologies present in the housing policy literature.

3.1.2   Esping-Andersen's typologies of welfare capitalism

In the decades after the WWII, much analysis of welfare states was conducted. Later, the focus shifted to trying to understand the differences between various welfare states (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Since the 2000s, the emphasis has been on the study and consideration of welfare reforms (Palier and Martin, 2007). Esping-Andersen is one of the theorists who examined the differences between welfare states. His typologies of welfare capitalism have been highly influential in social policy research since the publication of his seminal book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (1990). Although Esping-Andersen did not elaborate specifically on housing, several housing researchers have adapted his theories (for a few examples see Barlow and Duncan, 1994; Kemeny, 1995; Matznetter, 2002; Hoekstra, 2003, 2005, 2010). Esping-Andersen (1990) identifies three crucial dimensions that set modern welfare states apart from each other: the *degree of de-commodification* of the welfare system, the *stratification* of welfare provision and the *relation of state activities* to the market and the household in the provision of welfare.

In terms of the first dimension, Esping-Anderson writes that modern social policies (welfare policies) are a reaction to the commodification of labour power. In pre-capitalist and pre-industrialist times, societies were mostly de-commodified. The main sources of welfare were families, the church and feudal systems. But as a result of industrialisation, labour aspects, market aspects and commodification became increasingly important in society and in welfare provision. More and more, the market became the primary mechanism driving society, including social welfare. In reaction to this, social policies were developed by the state as a safety net for those households unable to access welfare through the market, focusing especially on elderly, sick and unemployed people. In simplistic terms, *de-commodification* refers to the degree to which individuals or households can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of market participation. Societies differ in their social policies related to the de-commodification of welfare (Esping-Andersen, 1990). In terms of the second dimension, Esping-Andersen writes that the state influences social *stratification* through its welfare policies, which either sustain existing class inequality or enhance the level of class. Finally, in terms of the third dimension, Esping-Anderson (1990) states that both the public (state) and the private (market) sectors play a role in welfare provision in most societies. The *relationship* between the state and the market in the provision of household welfare is an important variable in defining the structural nature of different welfare states.

Based on the dimensions above, Esping-Andersen's typologies identify the differences between various welfare regimes. He also theorised about the underlying reasons for these differences (1990). According to Esping-Andersen, the *ideal* welfare state can be classified into three different types of regimes, namely social-democratic, corporatist, and liberal welfare states. His theory then attempts to explain the power structures that form the base of welfare systems by analysing the power relationships between the state, the market and society in the delivery of welfare services (Kemeny, 1995). Table 3.1 provides a short summary of Esping-Andersen's three-way typology of welfare regimes.

Table 3.1: Esping-Andersen's three way typology of welfare regimes

Regime type	Liberal regime	Corporatist regime	Social democratic regime
Role in welfare provision	Market has central role in welfare provision	Family / conservative groups have central role in welfare provision	State has central role in welfare provision
	State and family marginal in welfare provision	State is subsidiary and market is marginal in welfare provision	Market and family marginal in welfare provision
Welfare provision	Residual system of targeted welfare	Conservative system of segmented welfare provision	De-commodified / comprehensive system of welfare provision
Commodification	High	Medium	Low
Stratification	Reinforce class distinctions	Reproduce existing class stratification	Enhance equality. Universal access to welfare irrespective of class
Income distribution	Large income differences and relatively high poverty rates	Moderate income differences, variable incidences of poverty	Small income differences and relatively low levels of poverty
Western Europe examples	United Kingdom, Ireland, Switzerland	France, Belgium, Austria	Sweden, Denmark, Finland

Sources: Adapted from Esping-Andersen, 1990; Hoekstra, 2010

As indicated in the table above, the regime types differ in their welfare systems and welfare provision. The three typologies are described in more detail below (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Kemeny, 1992, 1995; Barlow and Duncan, 1994; Matznetter, 2002; Hoekstra, 2003, 2005, 2010; Palier, 2010).

The **liberal state** is characterised by minimal state interference and a high dependence on the market for welfare solutions. In the typical liberal state, the welfare delivery system is residual and is focused exclusively on a selective group unable to provide for themselves through the market. The power ideology embedded in this residual system of welfare reflects liberal theories of minimal state intervention. The state only intervenes as a last resort, and when it does, the main objective is to encourage a rapid return to the market. Liberal theories also discourage state involvement in household private affairs, so there are few family policy measures in these regimes. There are large disparities between income groups and a relatively high poverty rate. In addition, the provision of welfare to only low-income people reinforces class distinctions and causes stigmatisation. The liberal regime is exemplified by countries such as the United Kingdom (UK), Ireland and Switzerland. In terms of housing, liberal welfare regimes are typically associated with owner occupation and private

rental tenure. The emphasis is on housing choice through the market. The minimal welfare housing policies that do exist are based on residual principles, focusing on housing allowances and the provision of rental housing through either the public or social housing sectors. Further state intervention in housing in a liberal regime might entail regulation or enabling the market to provide housing.

In **corporatist states**, institutions such as the family and the church, in partnership with the state, play a primary role in welfare programmes. These institutions, often organised according to religion, class, ethnicity and gender, maintain or preserve pre-existing class stratifications. The corporatist power structure applies conservative systems of welfare in which a strong central state supports the vested interests of selected institutions such as the family. The state welfare system distributes benefits unevenly amongst groups in a way that reflects the relative power of the selected institutions. This results in a segmented welfare system. France, Belgium and Austria are countries classified as corporatist welfare states. In this type of state, the provision of housing is often through specific institutions that serve the interests of their members. Access to housing therefore depends on a household's relationship to the institution providing housing, rather than on the household's participation in the market or rights or benefits conferred by the state. The state usually has a secondary role in welfare provision, with the role of the market being minimal. Income and poverty differences between class groups vary, but are not as large as in liberal welfare states.

On the other end of the spectrum, the state is the main provider of welfare services in **social-democratic states**. Welfare services are predominantly de-commodified and not dependent on a person's income. A large proportion of the population has access to welfare services. The power structures underlying the social democratic regime are comprehensive. A strong labour sector and an all-embracing middle class ensure that socialist equality principles are incorporated in welfare systems. Income differences are not as great in social-democratic welfare states as in liberal welfare regimes, and there are relatively low levels of poverty. Sweden, Denmark and Finland are examples of social-democratic welfare states. Housing is considered a right for citizens of social-democratic states. Therefore, housing policies are usually not focused only on the poorest but are designed to achieve or maintain egalitarian social status. State intervention in the housing market is sometimes extensive, with the intention being to change market outcomes in order to reflect the country's social aims.

3.1.3   The 'Wobbly Pillar' metaphor

Multiple metaphors have been put forward by housing researchers to describe the relationship between housing and other welfare services. Malpass (2004) mentions a few examples, such as

Townsend's (1976 in Malpass, 2004) description of how housing "*hovers awkwardly on the threshold of the status of a social service*". Cole and Furbey (1994 in Malpass, 2004) refer to housing as "*a stillborn social service lodged within a capitalist dynamic of property relations*". Harloe (1995 in Malpass, 2004), on the other hand, argues that housing has "*retained an ambiguous and shifting status on the margins of the welfare state*", while Torgersen (1987 in Malpass, 2004) describes housing as the "*wobbly pillar under the welfare state*". Of these metaphors, the '*wobbly pillar*' is the one most referenced in housing publications (for a few examples see Harloe, 1995; Kemeny, 2001; Malpass, 2003, 2004, 2008; Abrahamson, 2005).

Ulf Torgersen (1987) used the phrase '*wobbly pillar under the welfare state*' to describe housing in relation to other welfare services. With the '*wobbly pillar*' metaphor, Torgersen argues that welfare sectors such as social security, education and health have a number of characteristics in common that are not shared with the housing sector. Instead, housing as a welfare service has more in common with capitalist development. Therefore, it is seen as the '*wobbly pillar*' under the welfare state. Proposing an explanation for this phenomenon, Harloe (1995) theorises that housing is regarded as real estate, and private property rights are a defining characteristic of capitalist societies. Thus, propositions that imperil property rights (including housing welfare policies) face much more resistance than suggestions to de-commodify welfare provision in the sectors of social security, education and health. Unlike some of the other welfare services, housing is not always regarded as a universal right, nor is it provided as a free or subsidised welfare service in all countries. Instead, housing delivery is characterised by various combinations of public, subsidised and private provision (Harloe, 1995; Kemeny, 2001; Kemeny, Kersloot and Thalman, 2005). From a historical perspective, the concept of housing as a welfare service came to the foreground only after the WWII. However, with the emergence of neo-liberal policies starting in the 1970s, housing has become particularly susceptible to the retreat from established state welfare principles.

3.1.4   Social rights: two opposing welfare state classifications

In the discourse of social rights, the Beveridgean and Bismarckian classification systems are often used to highlight the differences between two types of welfare states. While the outcome of both systems is a transfer of welfare, the underlying ideological objectives differ considerably. In essence, the Beveridgean welfare system is founded on the principles of social rights and universal provision of basic welfare services to all. By contrast, Bismarckian policies are conditional and related to a household's ability to provide for its own welfare through the market (Bonoli, 1995). These two types are explained in more detail below.

Beveridgean welfare policies are grounded in the principle that all individuals have the right to universal and egalitarian welfare services. The provision of basic welfare services to all citizens is necessary in order to prevent poverty. The highly influential Beveridge Report: *"An Inquiry into Social Insurance and Allied Services"*, commissioned by the British government and published in 1942, outlines the role that the welfare state can play in protecting its citizens from the harsh impacts of economic hardships. Beveridge identified 'five giant evils' in society that should be addressed by welfare principles: want, disease, ignorance, idleness and squalor. In order to address these evils, Beveridge called for the following welfare actions: social insurance and social assistance, health care, education, employment and housing. Beveridge argues in his report that not all groups in society have access to welfare through the state or the market, and they are thus forced to rely on other resources (1942). To address this, the state should provide basic welfare services not only to a select group, but to all its citizens. Rather than entitlement to welfare benefits being based on income, it should be based on equality and need. In addition to providing basic services, Beveridge proposed that the state's role should be expanded to provide cash payments to marginalized citizens in their time of need. This cash payment is based on an individual's current circumstances and unrelated to his/her prior employment or tax contributions. Beveridgean welfare policies are usually implemented in social-democratic states, where the state is the central institution providing welfare. Benefits are usually fixed and financed through general taxation (Bonoli, 1995). All legal citizens are equally entitled to welfare services, including housing (Abrahamson, 2005). Beveridge associates the 'squalor' component of his 'five giant evils' to poor housing conditions. Examples mentioned in his report include poor building standards, overcrowding, shortage of housing, unhealthy living conditions and housing that is far from places of employment. The principles embedded in the Beveridge Report—provision of basic services to all and provision of welfare allowances for the poor—paved the way for the mass construction of public rental housing all around the world for decades to come. The public housing discourse is elaborated on in more detail in Chapter 4.

More than half a century before the Beveridge report, **Bismarckian** social policies were being implemented in the newly formed German nation. According to Esping-Anderson (1990), these Bismarckian social policies are the foundation of modern welfare policies. Bismarck forged the first coalition between the state and the market with regard to social welfare provision and economic production in 1884 (Bonoli, 2007). Although the original intent of Bismarckian policies was to counteract the rise of socialism while avoiding the risks associated with laissez faire liberalism, Bismarckian policies ended up being conducive to both market efficiency and competitive welfare delivery. Bismarckian welfare systems are often linked to post-war industrial capitalism. They are dependent on the capacity of society to supply full employment (Bonoli, 2007) and are not designed

to provide society with complete welfare security. The level of social protection is firmly based on individuals' affiliation with the labour market through their employment (Abrahamson, 2005; Palier and Martin, 2008). Bismarckian polices divide welfare benefits proportionally according to income, employment, market performance and merit. Traditional Bismarckian policies, similar to the corporatist welfare state discussed earlier, support traditional family roles with male-headed households as the norm. However, given the growing employment insecurity, changing gender roles and increase in single-headed families, Bismarckian welfare systems have been faced with new challenges and pressure for structural reform. When a country experiences economic difficulties, welfare systems based on Bismarckian policies are perceived to worsen economic, social and political problems (Esping-Anderson, 1990; Krueger, 2000; Palier and Martin, 2007, 2008; Palier, 2010). Bismarckian policies do not encourage state intervention in housing. Instead, state provision of housing is only justified if other liberal intervention strategies have failed. Recently, the effectiveness of the Bismarckian approach has been questioned, and structural reforms of Bismarckian policies have been proposed by a number of authors (see Bambra, 2007; Palier and Martin, 2007, 2008; Palier, 2010). The main features and differences between Beveridgean and Bismarckian classification systems are reflected in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Characteristics of Beveridgean and Bismarckian welfare states

Welfare system	Beveridge	Bismarck
Objective	Prevention of poverty	Income maintenance
Central institution	State (public sector)	Private sector and voluntary organisations
Coverage	Citizenship	Employment
Welfare regime	Social-democratic	Corporatist
Criteria for housing entitlement	Right based, needs related	Contribution related
Benefits	Flat-rate	Earnings related
Financing	Taxation	Contributions

* Adapted from Bonoli, 1995; Abrahamson, 2005

As shown in the table above, the main objective of the two welfare models differs considerably. The Beveridgean welfare model aims to prevent poverty, while the main objective of the Bismarckian welfare model is to support those in the labour market that already make a contribution to their own social security. As alluded to earlier, Beveridgean and Bismarckian classification systems can also be analysed in conjunction with Esping-Andersen's three way typology of welfare states. Beveridgean welfare policies, similar to social-democratic states, acknowledge that some groups in society have not been adequately served by the state or the market and therefore have had to rely on other resources (Matznetter, 2001). To address this, the state takes responsibility for providing basic welfare services to all its citizens, and not only a selected group. On the other hand, Bismarckian welfare policies are more in line with corporatist states. The corporatist welfare state, in accordance with

Bismarckian principles, is less focused on the reduction of inequality and poverty and more focused on providing workers with security and conserving the social status quo (Abrahamson, 2005).

3.1.5   Kemeny's rental tenure theories

Influenced by Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typologies, Kemeny developed a typology of rental housing tenures. He contends that there is a close relationship between tenure policies and the social values embedded within a particular society. In his book *From Public Housing to the Social Market* (1995), Kemeny elaborates on the theoretical frameworks of two opposing rental tenure systems: dualist and unitary. Kemeny asserts that dualist and unitary rental systems fall on a continuum between privatist and collectivist ideologies. Privatism refers to individuals working to make a profit from a market, whether it be the labour market or the housing market. The privatist ideology tends to be aligned with dualist rental systems. By contrast, in unitary rental systems, there are relatively few differences between the profit and non-profit rental sectors. Countries with collectivist social values tend to implement unitary rental systems, whereas those that have more privatist roots tend to have dualist rental systems. These differing ideologies are firmly embedded in societal viewpoints of how markets are supposed to operate, and they are the product of the power structures that underlie the social fabric (Kemeny, 1995; Hoekstra, 2010).

A **dualist** renting system is a housing system in which non-profit renting cannot compete with the for-profit renting sector. The state's participation in welfare housing is limited to assisting the marginalised population that is unable to secure housing through market based options, and the public rental tenure is relatively small compared to the private rental market and owner-occupied tenure. The state restricts its involvement in the rental tenure sector because of the privatist belief that state involvement in the market weakens fair competition. However, when the state separates the largely unregulated private rental market from the state-controlled social rental sector, welfare is dichotomised. In the private rental market, rental units are highly priced and usually of higher quality than units provided by the state. Public rental prices, on the other hand, are regulated by the state and are much lower. The quality of these social units tends to be lower than both the private rental sector and the owner-occupied sector (Kemeny, 1995; Hoekstra, 2009, 2010). This separation of the private and state-controlled rental sectors results in a dichotomised society. Because state housing assistance is only available to the marginalised sectors of society, public rental estates tend to have a large concentration of poor and low-income households. Therefore, this type of tenure is stigmatised and is seen as an unfavourable option, while homeownership is usually the preferred tenure choice. In addition, in a typical dualist rental system, the development of public rental stock is discouraged, and

in many cases, existing public stock is being sold at drastically discounted prices. Dualist rental systems are encountered in countries such as the UK, Ireland and Italy.

A **unitary** rental system is a rental system in which the non-profit and profit sectors are in competition to attract tenants. In order to achieve such competition, state intervention is necessary; governments are actively involved in the enablement and regulation of rental markets. Typical interventions by the state include fixing affordable rental prices and providing subsidies to the private rental sector. Kemeny writes that the ideology embedded in unitary rental systems is related to collectivist social values. Countries in favour of unitary rental systems are committed to constructing and regulating markets in such a way that economic and social priorities are balanced. Intervention in markets is seen as necessary, and the state encourages markets to incorporate social collectivist values such as equality. Social democratic and corporatist welfare regimes are more inclined than liberal welfare states to put unitary rental systems in place. As described by Hoekstra (2009), countries with unitary rental systems are characterised by larger rental sectors and better quality rental units than countries with a dualist system. Common practice in a unitary system is either to reinvest profits in renovation or to use them to build new rental stock. In addition, unitary rental sectors provide housing to not only low-income households, but also to households in the middle-income category. The application of unitary tenure models differs, with some countries like the Netherlands investing more in rental stock than other countries which also have unitary welfare principles in place. Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark employ unitary rental models. Table 3.3 shows the main differences between the two tenure systems identified by Kemeny.

Table 3.3: Differences between dualist and unitary housing systems

Tenure system	Dualist	Unitary
Ideology	Privatist	Collectivist
Rental tenure	Dualised rental tenures: private rental tenure for most vs public tenure for the marginalised unable to participate in market-related housing options	Non-profit rental sector on equal par with regulated private rental sector. Broad spectrum of population has access to non-profit rental sector.
Rental in relation to ownership market	Relatively small Strong preference for home ownership	Varied, context and country specific
Rent prices	Large difference between public rent and private rent	Small difference between non-profit and private rent
Housing quality	Large differences between rental and ownership sectors. Housing quality in rental sector, especially the public rental sector, is generally lower than in ownership units.	Small differences between the quality of rental and ownership units and between non-profit and private rental units
Country examples	United Kingdom, Ireland, Italy	Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark

* Adapted from Kemeny, 1995; Hoekstra, 2010

In short, Kemeny's rental tenure theory argues that societies are either more privatised or more collectivised in their social consciousness, and these social values are reflected in the countries' social policies and programmes. The rental market, the public rental market in particular, is usually much smaller in a dualist society than in a unitary society. In addition, dualist societies reserve public rental units for the marginalised poor, and there is a large price and quality difference between public and private rental housing. Unitary societies usually regulate the rental sector more strictly and there is only a small difference between rent prices in the public and private sectors. The public rental sector is not reserved only for the poor, and there is less stigmatisation related to public housing in unitary societies than in dualist societies.

3.3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN HOUSING ANALYSIS

The methodological aspects discussed in this section relates to comparative and historical methodologies

3.3.1 Comparative research methodologies

Since the 1990s, comparative methodologies are being increasingly used in the field of housing research. In essence, comparative analysis identifies and explains similarities and differences across more than one case study or country (Pickvance, 2001). The most important application of comparative research to housing theory is the framework developed by Kemeny and Lowe (1998). Building on themes introduced in Kemeny's book *Housing and Social Theory* (1992), Kemeny and Lowe's framework distinguishes between three comparative approaches: particularistic, convergent and divergent. These three approaches fall on a continuum. At one end are highly particularistic approaches which make little or no attempt at generalizing. At the other extreme are convergent universal approaches which may downplay the differences between countries. In between these two extremes, the divergent approach attempts to discern patterns between groups of countries according to particular criteria. The following section presents an overview of these approaches.

The **particularistic** approach (also known as juxtapositional theory) emphasises the uniqueness of each country, while similarities of policy aspects across countries are seen as exceptions. Advocates of the particularistic research approach assert that social reality can only be understood within a specific geographical context. Therefore, research findings are only relevant to specific locations and cannot be generalised to the broader population. Similar to the positivist paradigm of analysis, particularistic theories tend to utilise empirical research methods, and theorising is either non-existent or indirectly implied. They noted that much of the housing policy research conducted on behalf of international agencies such as the World Bank, the UN and the European Union is particularistic in

nature. These agencies tend to focus on 'indicator' studies in which countries are analysed according to their delivery of housing, the proportion of government funding spent on housing, the type of tenure available or the size of housing units. Countries are generally selected for particularistic comparative studies based on their economic or geo-political circumstances.

The convergent approach is the dominant approach used in research studies on housing and welfare systems. Contrary to the particularistic perspective, **convergence theory** is based on the universalistic assumption that countries which display economic and demographic similarities can apply similar housing systems. Even if countries are at different stages of development due to historical circumstances, they are seen as ultimately converging towards a similar endpoint like that of today's advanced industrialised societies (Kemeny, 1992). He associates convergence with social evolution, reflecting that it is fundamentally linked to an underlying belief in social change, development and progress. Convergence studies have a high level of generalisation, and differences between countries are explained as exceptions to the general rule. Similar to particularistic approaches, convergence analysis typically follows empiricist traditions of research. Convergence theory entails much more than just a simplified analysis of similarities. It assumes that housing policies in countries with similar economic and political governance systems are driven by the same underlying forces, which result in housing systems becoming more alike over time (Kleinman, 2002). This notion is based on European examples that seemed to show that industrialisation and economic growth result in wealthy and developed countries. By implication, then, countries with a common past and similar development trajectories are bound to share a common future and become more homogenised in economic and social terms. Convergence approaches also touch upon the notion of unilinealism. According to Kemeny and Lowe (1998), unilinealism occurs when countries share not only converging trends, but also a common trajectory of change. Although unilinealism remains a largely unexplored concept in housing research, it is useful when examining the converging trends of transitional countries, for example South Africa and countries in Eastern Europe whose governance systems have changed dramatically since the 1980s. Various authors (Clapham, 1995; Kemeny and Lowe, 1998; Kleinman, 2002; Ronald, 2006; Lux, 2007) have pointed out that convergence theory plays a central role in housing studies, particularly those that examine the functioning and evolution of the welfare state. Kleinman (2002) elaborates on the flexibility of the convergence model in comparative studies. For example, convergence theory in the 1950s and 1960s focused on the development of welfare states and the shift towards greater state intervention. Since the 1970s, however, most authors focusing on convergence theories agree that the majority of European and other developed countries are evolving away from state intervention towards private market-based economies. These countries have converged on a reduction in housing subsidies, reforms in public

housing and the diminishing importance of rental housing due to increased emphasis on owner occupation (Ronald, 2006).

Divergent approaches, termed "theories of the middle range" in sociology, fall between the two extremes of particularistic and convergent perspectives. Moving away from theoretical reductions that focus on either the differences or the similarities between housing systems (Kemeny, 2001), a divergent perspective attempts to explain housing phenomena using a diverse range of theories rather than a single theoretical model. With a divergent approach, there is neither a reduction to particularism in which each housing system is unique, nor a generalisation to universalism in which all housing systems are seen as developing in similar directions. Instead, divergence theory attempts to differentiate and explain patterns and typologies of housing systems. Kemeny elaborates on the divergent approach in his seminal books *Housing and Social Theory* (1992) and *From Public Housing to the Social Market* (1995). These publications focus on differences in the social structures between countries. Nations with similar levels of economic development are not automatically viewed as converging in similar directions. Aspects such as political ideologies, regime types and cultural norms are important variables that profoundly influence housing policies and applications. Divergence theory has a prominent role to play in housing research due to its emphasis on diversity and its qualitative, culturally sensitive and historical approach that is grounded on the theoretical foundations of the social sciences. Differences are interpreted as 'variations' on similar themes produced by specific historical circumstances. The focus shifts away from merely explaining differences between countries' housing systems towards developing theoretical arguments directed at systematically understanding and contextualising these differences (Kemeny, 1992, 2001; Kemeny and Lowe, 1998). The three main approaches used in comparative research are shown in Table 3 4   . .

Table 3.4: Comparative research approaches

Approach	Overview
Particularistic	Emphasises the uniqueness of each country
Convergent	Emphasises the similarities between countries. Assumes that countries that display economic and demographic similarities can apply similar housing systems.
Divergent	Moves away from theoretical reductions that identify differences and similarities between housing systems. Differentiates between patterns and typologies of housing systems.

3.3.2   Historical methodology

Historical methodology can contribute to the conceptualisation of housing policy. On a basic level, historical methods entail analysis of documents, since policy decisions are informed by and based on

written documents (Jacobs, 1999). However, some authors have written that historical approaches tend to lack depth because their main focus is on a chronology of events that happened over a certain period of time (Jacobs, 2001; Cole, 2006). In addition, Jacobs (2001) notes that historical research methodologies tend to be neglected in the housing field, and housing researchers tend to overlook the underlying assumptions of discourse in historical narratives. In support of historical methodology, Jacobs argues that it allows for the identification of patterns that might have influenced policy outcomes. Historical analysis can also take into account wider social discourses such as ideological processes, cultural values and economic and political factors that may have had an impact on the production of historical texts. Furthermore, historical analysis can help to assess the impact of policies on a country, differentiating between policies which have had far-reaching impact and those that have had limited or no effect (Jacobs, 2001). Similar to comparative research, historical methodology uses systematic comparisons to analyse processes that happened over time in order to comprehend large-scale outcomes such as revolutions, political regimes and welfare states (Mahoney, 2004). Two paradigms interrelated with historical analysis, namely social constructionism and path dependency, are presented below.

A number of authors have noted the link between social constructionism (as revealed in discourse analysis) and historical analysis (for a few examples see Jacobs and Manzi, 2000; Kemeny, 2002; Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi, 2003). The relationship between the two constructs is dialectic. On the one hand, the socio-historic context influences discourses, but at the same time, discourses influence historical contexts. Historical analysis is an important social constructionist tool that traces how concepts develop over time. According to Somers' (in Kemeny, 2002) concept formation thesis, concepts result from a process of social construction that has taken place over a certain historical period. With time, these concepts acquire their own histories that can be analysed. Kemeny (2002) elaborates on the link between concept formation and historical methodology, writing that historical narratives provide a justification for why certain strategy concepts and policies are prioritised and implemented while others are given less importance. The rhetoric of concept formation also involves a study of power relations to determine why certain concepts are validated and others discredited. This concept formation thesis is akin to Foucault's social constructionist approach to discourse on language, power and governmentality, which also has a significant historical dimension. In Foucault's approach, historical documents are important sources that reveal when specific discourses of policy language were first introduced and translated into practice (Marston, 2002; Dodson, 2007).

The concept of path dependency has been receiving growing attention in the housing literature since the 2000s (Malpass 2000, 2005, 2011; Matznetter, 2001; Bengtsson and Ruonavaara, 2010; Robertson, McIntosh and Smyth, 2010). Closely related to historical methodologies, path dependency

can be described as the underlying causal mechanisms that influence social and political outcomes (Kleinman, 1996; Bengtsson and Ruonavaara, 2010). The term path-dependency refers to the tendency of countries to become locked into a particular pattern of policy development, for reasons that may be accidental or deliberate, ideological or historical. Because it is difficult to change once locked into a pattern, past ways of thinking about problems and solutions strongly influence present situations (Kleinman, 1996; Mahoney, 2000). Path-dependent processes involve a body of historical events that to a large extent determine future directions. According to Sewell (in Robertson *et al*, 2010), minor or major events establish paths at critical junctures (points) in time. Bengtsson and Ruonavaara (2010) elaborate on Sewell's critical juncture concept, suggesting that isolated events, which are not necessarily the product of larger social forces, have the potential to be influential in societal outcomes. Once a path has been established, it plays a significant role in influencing the future sequence of events. Although it is possible for individuals to make different choices, it becomes progressively difficult to change the trajectory once a path is fixed (Mahoney, 2000). Usually, the dependency on a particular path changes only when another critical juncture appears. Since the process of path dependency is historical in nature, it can only be analysed from a historical perspective. Special attention should be paid to the sequence of events that lead to long term outcomes. Bengtsson and Ruonavaara (2010) identify three central elements of a path dependency analysis related to housing:

- Firstly, the critical junctures should be identified. What was the event or events at a certain point in time that resulted in the choice of one historical path instead of another path? What alternative choices existed but were not chosen?
- Secondly, the power mechanisms related to decision-making should be revealed. What decision-making processes occurred after the critical juncture happened? When did the effects of the choices made at the critical juncture become visible?
- Thirdly, what mechanism or mechanisms can be used to explain the effects of the critical juncture on the decision-making processes?

In order to address the three elements mentioned above, they propose that history should be analysed backwards. Historical events, decision making processes and consequences become visible only after time has passed. In addition to a backwards analysis of history, Bengtsson and Ruonavaara (2010) add that counterfactual analysis is another important element. Thus, one should consider alternative paths that would have been possible if the critical event had never happened. The methodological concepts that underlie historical analysis are summarised in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Historical methodological approaches

Methodological concepts		Basic approach	Ideological constructs	
Historical methodology	Textual analysis	Analyse documents	**HISTORY** textual documents	HISTORICAL DIMENSION OF POWER
	Chronology of events	Analyse the chronology of events that happened over a certain period of time	**HISTORY** chronology of events	
	Concept formation	Trace concepts through a process of social construction that has taken place over a certain historical period	**HISTORY** concept formation	
		Study the power relations behind historical concepts to determine why certain concepts are validated and others discredited	**HISTORY** power relations **CHANGE**	
		Determine when specific discourses of policy language were first introduced and translated into practice		
	Influences from wider social discourses	Identify patterns or trajectories within the broader context that might have had an influence on policy	**SOCIAL** cultural, political and economical	
	Impact	Determine which policies have had far reaching impacts and which policies have had limited impact	**CHANGE** impact of policies **POLITICAL** power / governance	
Path dependency	History determines the development path	Trace the body of historical events that determined current trends and are highly likely to determine future policy directions	**HISTORY** Path dependency / chronology of events **CHANGE** critical juncture / counterfactual **POLITICAL** decision making	

3.4 SYNTHESIS OF WELFARE STATE THEORIES

Theoretical discourses on housing were influenced by Marxist, neo-Marxist and neo-liberal ideologies, reflecting the multidisciplinary nature of housing scholarship. Modern welfare state theories related to housing have built on these publications, elaborating on the influence of welfare regimes on housing. The role of the state and the power dimension also continuous threads throughout the housing policy literature. Table 3.6 provides a synopsis of the main conceptualisations, assumptions and ideological constructs embedded in welfare state theories. This table is followed by a review of the main conceptualisations related to welfare state theory.

Table 3.6: Conceptualisations and assumptions related to the welfare state discourse on housing.

Conceptualisations		Basic assumptions	Ideological constructs	
Welfare state theories	Role of the state	The role that the state should play (or not play) has been a contested discourse in housing policy publications	**POLITICAL- regime**	**POWER RELATED TO THE STATE, MARKET AND SOCIETY**
	Welfare policies	Each country has an interdependent set of public policies related to housing in which welfare is produced and allocated between the state, the market and society. The extent, form and influence of welfare policies vary from place to place and should be a main consideration in housing policy analysis.	**POLITICAL- regime GEOGRAPHIC-context specific**	
	Welfare regimes	Class and power relations in a society influence housing policy outcomes	**POLITICAL- regime**	
	Welfare systems	Housing policy outcomes and implementation are embedded in a particular welfare regime	**POLITICAL- outcome**	
Esping-Andersen's welfare typologies	Degree of de-commodification	Welfare policies are a reaction to the commodification of labour. De-commodification refers to the degree to which individuals or households uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independent of market participation.	**ECONOMIC- labour market POLITICAL –regime**	
	Stratification of welfare	The state influences stratification in society. Welfare policies either sustain existing class inequality or enhance class equality.	**POLITICAL- regime SOCIAL-structure of urban system**	
	Role of the state, market and household	The relationship between the state and the market in the provision of household welfare is an important variable in defining the structural nature of different welfare states	**POLITICAL- regime SOCIAL-structure ECONOMIC-market CHANGE**	
Wobbly Pillar metaphor	Housing in relation to other welfare sectors	Welfare sectors such as social security, education and health have a number of common characteristics not shared with housing	**POLITICAL- comparative to other SOCIAL**	
		Housing as a welfare service has much more in common with capitalist development than other welfare services do, and is thus seen as the 'wobbly pillar' under the welfare state	**POLITICAL- welfare provision ECONOMIC**	
	Provision of housing	Each country implements different combinations of public, subsidised and private housing		
	Role of housing	Wobbly pillar or corner stone? The changing role of housing in welfare states is an ongoing discourse	**POLITICAL- change HISTORICAL- change**	
Social rights welfare discourses	Beveridge	Basic welfare services including housing should be provided to all citizens. Entitlement to housing benefits is not income related but is based on equality and need.	**POLITICAL- social rights POLITICAL- regime POLITICAL- governance / intervention**	
	Bismarck	In favour of competitive welfare policies. Social insurance is firmly based on individuals' affiliation with the labour market through employment. State provision of housing is only justified if other liberal intervention strategies have failed.	**ECONOMIC- social rights POLITICAL- regime**	
Kemeny's rental tenure typologies	Tenure	Social values determine power relations and influence housing policy directions	**SOCIAL- ideology**	
	Dualist	Non-profit rental sector is not able to compete with the for-profit renting sector	**POLITICAL – governance / intervention ECONOMIC**	
		Ideologically rooted in the values of privatism	**SOCIAL- individualism**	
	Unitary	Non-profit and profit sectors are in competition to attract tenants	**POLITICAL – governance /intervention**	
		Ideology embedded in collectivist social values	**SOCIAL- collectivist / community**	

3.4.1 Esping-Andersen: analysing power structures in society

Esping-Andersen's typologies are widely used in publications on housing. They are interpreted, adapted, changed and challenged, and new typologies are emerging to fit different countries and contexts (for a few examples see Ronald, 2007). Full engagement with the discourses related to Esping-Andersen's typologies is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, what is important is Esping-Andersen's elaboration on three key concepts: the *degree of de-commodification* of housing welfare systems, social *stratification* related to housing provision, and the *relation of state activities* to the market and the household in the provision of housing. Esping-Andersen's typologies help to conceptualise, differentiate and analyse welfare regimes and power structures in terms of housing policy goals and housing policy implementation. They are also useful in explaining the power structures that underlie different systems of welfare regimes, including liberal, social-democratic and corporatist models. These models fall on a continuum, with different types of regimes having different housing welfare applications. Because each country displays distinct characteristics, and regimes change as social structures in a country evolve, neither the concept of the welfare state in general nor the various models of welfare states is fixed. Esping-Andersen's typologies are not based on housing, but they are still useful in understanding power concepts, welfare states as regime types and the application of welfare systems. There is scope to adapt Esping-Andersen's typologies of welfare regimes to the housing context of 'developing' countries or to formulate similar new typologies (see Gough, 2000).

3.4.2 Housing: "wobbly pillar" or "cornerstone of the welfare state"?

The 'wobbly pillar' metaphor analyses the relationship between housing and other welfare policies. Despite often being viewed as the 'wobbly pillar' of the welfare state, housing nevertheless has an important role to play in relation to the economic and political ideologies of welfare regimes. Some authors (Malpass, 2008) argue that the 'wobbly pillar' metaphor has served its purpose, but the latest trend in policy development provides housing with a far greater role to play in welfare states than it has been given credit for. Malpass (2008) describes how in some countries, housing has evolved to become the economic cornerstone of welfare policies. He goes on to assert that governments in Western Europe are beginning to regard homeownership as a pillar that supports other welfare policies. For example, home ownership can be used as collateral for social security. Clearly, the concept of housing as a pillar in the welfare state has a significant historical background. The pillar analogy can be used to determine the impact that changes in housing policy, increasing rates of home ownership in particular, has had on the relationship between housing policy and welfare policy in general (Stamsø, 2010). Where and when did housing become regarded as a welfare service? And what role does housing have to play in welfare regimes?

3.4.3 Biscmarck and Beveridge: the social rights discourse

Similar to Esping-Andersen's welfare state theories, Biscmarckian and Beveridgean welfare systems are multi-dimensional. Because of this, Bonoli (1995) argues that welfare states cannot be viewed in terms of only one particular welfare system. Instead, a welfare state should be analysed in terms of its degree of application of Bismarckian and/or Beveridgean welfare systems. In line with Bonoli's arguments, Abrahamson (2005) states that the contemporary welfare state is dualised, with one set of policies for affluent and middle class households, and another set of policies for lower-income and poor households. The ideological stances embedded in the opposing Beveridgean and Bismarckian classification systems could be useful in understanding differences in social policy approaches and housing applications between countries. A country's ideological standpoint with regards to social rights influences an individual's or household's access to housing. One relevant set of housing research questions could investigate who is responsible for an individual's access to housing. How much responsibility should the state, the market and individuals have in ensuring access to housing? In what way does a country's social rights belief system translate into its housing policies and housing applications? From a social rights discourse, another set of research questions could examine the influence of the labour market and employment in providing access to housing. How does an individual's place in the labour market and his/her contributions to social insurance, either through the public or the private sector, influence his/her access to housing? Who is eligible to receive welfare housing assistance? And what is the nature of housing assistance in a particular country?

3.4.4 Dualist and unitary: ideologies embedded in tenure discourses

Similar to the Beveridgean and Bismarckian welfare classification systems, Kemeny's tenure theories are based on European examples, so they must be adapted to be relevant in developing countries. Of importance from a research perspective is Kemeny's development of housing specific welfare typologies. Because tenure preferences are shaped by the underlying societal and regime structures, dualist and unitary discourses provide a reflection of societal systems and the ideological trends that influence policy. Thus, Kemeny's tenure theories can be adapted to explore ideological connections between tenure and housing systems. Kemeny's tenure theory also displays similarities with the theory of social constructionism. Accordingly, Kemeny is interested in analysing the way that ideologies of tenure, rental and homeownership are socially produced and reproduced. What is the relation between income and tenure in a society? What is the connection between housing quality and different tenure typologies? What is the correlation between demography, ideology and population distribution and the different tenure options?

3.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 presented an overview of how welfare theories can contribute to the housing discourse and focused on the relevance of historical and comparative analysis in understanding housing policy dynamics. Welfare state theories discussed in this chapter were Esping-Anderson welfare typologies, the 'Wobbly Pillar" metaphor, social rights welfare models and Kemeny rental tenure theories. Methodological considerations that relate to comparative research methodologies elaborated on particularistic, convergent and divergent research approaches. Historical methodologies further elaborated on social constructionism and path dependent concepts. Main aspects identified in this chapter are the role of the state and the influence of power, ideology and regime type on housing applications. Similar than Chapter 2 ideological constructs incorporate variables on economic political, social, geography, historical, change or environmental themes. The value of this chapter lies in the conceptual question posed on understanding housing dynamics and processes better. Specific conceptual aspects highlighted are the degree the state, market and household play or not play in enabling the housing process, social right ideologies embedded in a society value systems, social stratification, housing relation to other welfare sectors, and the geographical and historical context of a country. This next chapter elaborates on specific theoretical constructs of this chapter that related to ideological and historical housing policy discourses in Western Europe and developing countries.

CHAPTER 4

IDEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DISCOURSES ON HOUSING POLICY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Venter, 2017
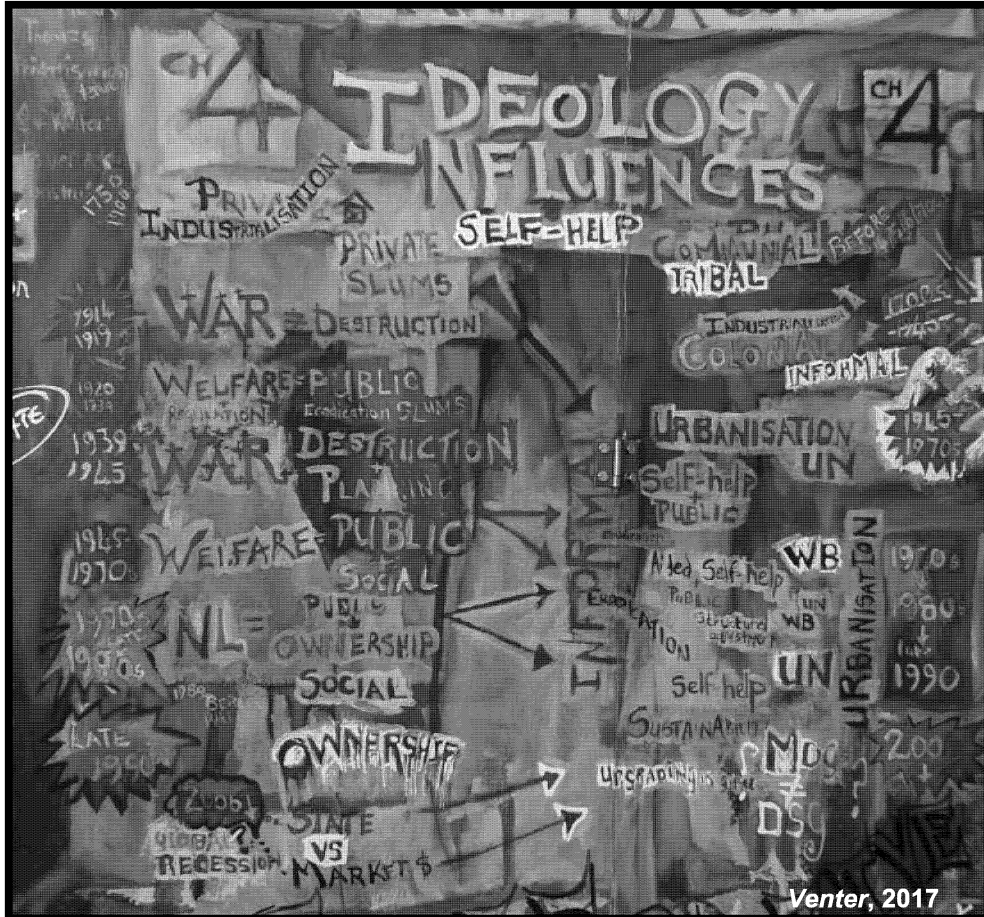
Chapter 2 introduced the Marxist, neo-Marxist, neo-liberal and development paradigms, while Chapter 3 elaborated on these theories and presented an overview of welfare theories related to the housing discourse. Chapter 3 also focused on the relevance of historical and comparative analysis approaches. In particular, attention was given to the historical narrative that influenced tenure discourses and housing policy ideologies in Western Europe. This current chapter expounds on the themes of Chapter 3, concentrating specifically on the ideological and historical housing policy discourses in Western Europe and developing countries. Although the chapter deals with Western Europe in general, most of the discussion focuses on the Netherlands and the UK. These two countries display a few converging trends, but overall, their ideological approach to housing regimes and

housing applications differs considerably. The housing policies and applications of most other Western Europe countries are either similar to the Netherlands or the UK or reflect a combination of the two diverse approaches. Another reason to focus on these two countries is that both the Netherlands and the UK have had an immense influence on housing policy ideologies in South Africa, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5. For the purposes of this chapter, the historical context focuses on Latin America and Africa, to show the impact of colonialism in shaping housing policy directions. Colonisation can be defined as an event in which foreign countries send settlers to new geographical regions in order to establish political control over the territory and / or the indigenous people of an area (Pugh, 1995). In recent centuries, virtually all of Africa and Latin America was colonised by European countries, only gaining independence in the early 19th (Latin America) and mid-20th centuries (Africa). Colonisation has had a huge impact on these continents. Even today, the majority of the population in these developing countries have a much lower income and far fewer public services to rely on than the populations of highly industrialised nations in Western Europe and elsewhere.

This chapter use comparative historical methodology to describe the continuous process of housing policy development. The chapter investigates the concepts that influenced housing policy development by:

- Identifying critical juncture points that necessitated specific policy approaches. In other words, determining what event or events determined that a certain historical path would be followed;
- Distinguishing patterns or trajectories within the broader social context that influenced housing policy approaches; and
- Tracing the evolution of policy concepts throughout the decades to see which policies had far reaching impacts.

The majority of the academic literature focusing on housing policy acknowledges that there are some converging trends that can be identified in the housing policy phases of Western Europe and developing countries. Therefore, comparative analogies are used throughout the chapter to determine particularistic and converging trends in the development of policy concepts in Western Europe and developing countries. It is important to note that the USA and international development organisations such as the UN and the World Bank have also influenced policy discourses in developing countries. The figure below identifies five time periods of housing policy development (see Figure 4.1). The rest of this chapter is structured on the basis of this timeline.

Western Europe	Time line	Developing countries
Setting the stage for the development of the welfare state	Pre-1945 Industrialisation / urbanisation WWI and WWII	Colonial influences
Post-war reconstruction + Welfare state development Social housing	±1945-1970s Post-WW II	International influences + Self-help housing development
Neo-liberal housing reforms begin	±1970s - mid1980s Global economic recession Neo-liberal era	Neo-liberal housing reforms + Aided self-help housing development + Restructuring
Enabling neo-liberal housing reforms continue	± mid-1980s – Late 1990s Enabling neo-liberal era	Enabling neo-liberal housing reforms + Aided self-help housing development
Whole sector housing reforms + Roll-out neo-liberalism	Late 1990s onwards Whole sector development	Whole sector neo-liberal housing reforms + Aided self-help housing + Sustainable development

Figure 4.1: Housing policy phases

With a few exceptions (Harloe, 1995; Harris, 1998; Harris and Giles, 2003), the literature that discusses phases of housing policy development devotes little attention to housing conditions before WWII, as this is generally regarded as the initial point of reference (Harris, 1998). However, in order to contextualise the housing policy phases that occurred after WWII, this chapter first elaborates on colonial influences and the welfare state approach to housing before 1945. After this is a section on housing development between 1945 and the early 1970s, a period characterised by post-war welfarism in Western Europe and international influences in developing countries. Thereafter, housing development between the 1970s and mid-1980s is discussed, along with the concurrent neo-liberal influences. The focus then turns to enablement discourses and the decade between the mid-1980s and

the late 1990s. The fifth phase refers to the period after the mid-1990s, shaped by whole sector housing reforms and the idea of sustainability. Lastly, the ideological and historical discourses on selected aspects of housing policy development are synthesised.

4.1 HOUSING POLICY BETWEEN THE 1700'S AND 1945: EMERGING IDEAS OF HOUSING REGULATION AND THE WELFARE STATE

The first phase of housing policy development in Western Europe is the pre-1945 phase, which set the stage for later welfare state development. During this time period, the housing policies of developing countries were heavily influenced by their colonial rulers.

4.1.1 Western Europe: setting the stage for the welfare state and the regularisation of housing development

This time period was one of industrialisation and increasing urbanisation in Western Europe. Typical housing policy applications during this phase were self-help housing, public housing and social housing. Self-help settlements were a common feature in Europe before the 20th century. *Spontaneous, organised,* or *aided,* these self-help settlements developed with the onset of the industrial revolution in the mid-1700s and the accompanying rapid migration to the cities (Wood, 1937). *Spontaneous* self-help housing is the oldest form of housing development and is typified by informality and the high involvement of households and/or community members. Individuals either construct their own houses with materials that they have access to, or they have others build houses for them. This type of self-help housing in urban contexts is not part of official planning and is usually associated with squatting and informal settlements (UN, 2003). There are several ways in which spontaneous self-help housing can be informal: construction not conforming building regulations, houses being built on land intended for another use or housing being constructed without the permission of the property owner (UN, 2003). Spontaneous and informal housing was often characterised by poor conditions such as overcrowding, unsafe structures and filthy living conditions which contributed to the poor health of urban citizens.

The poor health conditions prevalent in spontaneous self-help settlements and tenement apartments along with the shortage of housing for working class citizens in Europe during the 1800s prompted the development of the first welfare state housing policy concepts in Western Europe (Denyer, 1897). Wood (1937) argues that poor quality housing has always been part of humanity, but it only became a key public concern in developed nations in the 19th century. Starting in the mid-1800s, a number of laws were passed to regulate housing. In particular, laws were passed to eradicate the spontaneous self-help settlements that were commonly referred to as 'slums' (Denyer, 1897; Connor, 1936; Wood,

1937). These settlements were usually near cities and towns and had inadequate access to water and sanitation and insecurity of tenure. Thus, most of the housing policy from the 19th and early 20th centuries was related to aspects of health and slum clearance. The abolishment of slums in turn influenced policy decisions regarding how public funds should be spent on housing (Fisher, 1901; Connor, 1936; Liepmann, 1937). In addition to spontaneous self-help housing, multiple authors (Crane and McCabe, 1950; Duncan and Rowe, 1993; Harloe, 1995; Harris, 1998; Ward, 2004) have noted the importance of *organised* and *aided* self-help housing in Europe prior to 1940. *Organised* self-help housing occurs when building plans are approved and the owner manages the housing process either himself or in co-operation with the private sector, non-profit organisations and / or community members. Although part of the formalised urban planning process, this type of housing is usually characterised by minimal state interference.

Aided self-help, on the other hand, is when the government is involved in assisting households to acquire or build houses. Assistance may include the provision of suitable land, infrastructure and / or even the housing structure itself (Crane and McCabe, 1950). They trace the origins of aided self-help housing to the early 1900s, when a few government programmes were put in place in Europe and North America to assist households in building their own houses. The aided self-help concept became more common after the two world wars (Crane and McCabe, 1950; Crane and Paxton, 1951), when governments all over the world were pressured to intervene in the housing sector. Because there was limited funding to develop public housing, proposals were made for governments to support self-help programmes and provide assistance in aspects that households were unable to manage themselves (Crane and McCabe, 1950). Some examples of developed countries that engaged in aided and organised self-help housing before 1940 are Sweden, Belgium, the UK, Italy, Russia and the USA (Liepmann, 1929; Crane and Paxton, 1951; Ward, 2004).

Although the private market was regarded as the main provider of housing, nearly all European governments engaged in some form of public housing construction before WWII (Barnes, 1923; Grebler, 1936; Harloe, 1995; Malpass, 2011). Public housing can be defined as government provided rental housing that is subsidised in order to provide affordable rental accommodation. The state either rents their housing stock on the basis of selective criteria (mostly to low-income households), or the rental housing is available to a large number of citizens. At this early stage, public housing was mainly reserved for the working class that could not afford adequate housing through the private sector (Grebler, 1936). There was much variability in how deeply involved European countries became in implementing public housing (for a few examples see Barnes, 1923; Liepmann, 1929, 1937; Wood, 1934; Grebler, 1936; Fischer and Ratcliff, 1937). The UK alone constructed

approximately three million public housing units between the two world wars (Liepmann, 1937; Crane and Paxton, 1951), although other countries did not intervene to quite this extent.

The concept of social housing developed during the 1800s (Harloe, 1995). The term social housing is widely used to describe subsidised housing assistance that is managed by either private or semi-private institutions. However, even though social housing is managed by private institutions, the state is nonetheless quite involved, since state assistance is generally required in order to make this tenure system affordable and viable in the long run. Examples of state assistance include the provision of land, subsidies and the regulation of rent. Social housing during the 1800s was initially associated with philanthropic organisations' voluntary actions to help low-income households access decent housing. Beginning in the mid-1930s, social housing became a more formal phenomenon, with non-profit housing associations providing rental units at affordable prices (Malpass, 2011). Many of these early social housing concepts began in Scandinavian countries and featured affordable rent and co-ownership housing (Malpass, 2011). Other than in Scandinavian countries, the social housing sector was not nearly as active as the public housing sector in constructing affordable rental accommodation prior to 1945 (Malpass, 2011). Despite the investment in public housing and social housing as described above, overcrowding and housing shortages nonetheless remained problematic in the first half of the 20th century.

4.1.2 Developing countries: colonial influences and the aided self-help housing discourse

For most of human history, spontaneous self-help housing has been the only option for households. In many developing countries, this remains true even today, as the norm is for families to build their own houses (Harris, 1998). However, colonisation impacted how self-help housing and spontaneous settlements in particular were viewed. Similar to the historical narrative of European countries, industrialisation and increased urbanisation had a profound influence on housing in developing countries. International involvement in the housing policy of developing countries can be traced back to the 1920s, when countries in Europe began to influence housing development in their colonial possessions (Crane and McCabe, 1950; Harris and Giles, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005; Pugh, 2005; Harris and Arku, 2007). The UK in particular had a large influence on its colonial territories in sub-Saharan Africa, the West Indies and South-East Asia. Latin American countries were influenced by their powerful neighbour to the North, the USA. During this phase, discourses of public housing, aided self-help housing and slum eradication that were institutionalised in Western Europe slowly started to find their way into the housing discourses of developing countries. These developments are discussed in further detail in the next sections.

4.2   HOUISNG DEVELOPMENT 1945 AND THE 1970'S

This section focuses on housing developments in Western Europe and developing countries between 1945 and the early 1970s.

4.2.1   Western European countries: institutionalising the welfare state

The time between 1945 and the 1970s is commonly referred to as the golden age of welfare state development. Many countries in Western Europe developed into post-war welfare states, funding welfare services from taxes and insurance contributions (Kemeny, 2001; Priemus, 2001; Malpass, 2004). The dominant economic doctrine was that of the British economist John Maynard Keynes, a system which was based on the ideal of full employment (see Chapter 2 for an elaboration on Keynesian economic thoughts). During both of the world wars, construction of buildings had come to a standstill, while at the same time millions of buildings were destroyed or damaged. When construction commenced again after the end of WWI, the capacity of the private building sector was too low to cope with the housing shortages. Consequently, public expenditure on housing became a high priority for Europe after WWII (Kemeny, 2001; Priemus, 2001; Malpass, 2004). Even during WWII, many governments had already started to plan welfare state actions for once the war had ended. The most well-known example of post-war welfare planning was the Beveridge Report of 1942, which was mentioned in detail in Chapter 3. This report conceptualised the role that the welfare state should play in providing housing and other services to its citizens.

Given the interventionist nature of the state in housing development, this post-war phase is also known as the public housing phase. Public housing legislation that had been developed before WWII was strengthened and redefined during this period (Crane and Paxton, 1951), and governments responded to housing shortages by becoming actively involved in the accelerated construction and management of housing stock (Harris and Giles, 2003). This not only resulted in affordable accommodation, but it also provided job opportunities in the construction sector. However, public housing was never intended to be a long-term housing solution. Instead, public housing was only intended to be a short-term solution for the transitional post-war period (Malpass, 2004). Despite the intention of Western European governments, the welfare phase in housing ended up spanning many decades (Harris and Giles, 2003; Malpass, 2004). Social housing also became an important concept during this phase (Harloe, 1995), although the number of housing developments initiated by social housing organisations was far less than government initiated developments (Malpass, 2011). Resistance against the welfare state began in earnest in the mid-1960s. By this time, the housing shortage had been addressed in developed countries. With a slowdown in economic growth in the late 1960s, the cost of welfare housing was increasingly viewed as an excessive drain on state finances

(Dodson, 2006). The main argument (in Malpass, 2005: 3) against the welfare state was that, as developed countries get richer, the majority of their populations will have large enough incomes and assets to provide for their own welfare needs through the private market without help from the state.

4.2.2 Developing countries: welfare state model and aided self-help development

Developing countries also faced severe housing shortages from 1945 to the early 1970s. As had happened earlier in Europe during the industrial revolution, this phase was characterised by a rapid migration of people to urban areas in search of economic opportunities. This resulted in a greater demand for housing and a large growth in the number of informal self-help settlements (Soliman, 2012). This phase also saw the continuation of international influences in the housing policy directions of developing countries. In both colonised and independent countries, discourses of public housing and slum eradication received greater attention than before WWII. Colonial rulers, the USA and the UN became more involved in global development and housing policy. *This section begins with a discussion of the* influences of the UK, the USA and the UN, all of which attempted to instil Western viewpoints of structured planning in developing countries' housing policies and strategies in order to fulfil their own agendas. Thereafter follows an account of the attempts to eradicate informal settlements.

The foundation of the UK's intervention in its colonial territories can be traced back to the *Colonial Development Act* (CDA) of 1929, which was later replaced by the *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* (CDWA) of 1940. The CDWA acknowledged that British and other colonial governments had an obligation to improve the welfare conditions in their colonies (Harris and Giles, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005). Colonial governments were pressured by the Colonial Office in London to make provision for grants and loans to improve social conditions and promote development. Following European welfare state examples, the UK constructed large numbers of public rental housing units in their colonies in an attempt to deal with housing shortages. The construction of public housing continued in some developing countries well into the late 1960s (see the case study of South Africa in Chapter 5). Despite being fairly widespread, the implementation of public housing in developing countries was criticised from the beginning (Mayo, Malpezzi and Gross, 1986; Pugh, 1991, 1997, 2001; Harris, 2003). Firstly, the concept of government regulated public rental accommodation in which occupants lacked control over their living space was unfamiliar in developing countries, and it met with much resistance. Governments in developing countries were therefore forced to adapt and deviate from the examples of developed countries (Harris and Giles, 2003). Secondly, developing countries did not have the financial capacity to build adequate public housing to meet the large need for low-income housing. With its subsidised rent and high building

standards, public housing was costly to build and proved to be too expensive for developing countries to sustain in the long term. Therefore, public housing ended up benefiting only a small number of low-income households and failed to provide housing to the very poor (Harris and Arku, 2007). Perhaps most importantly, the situation of developing countries was vastly different from that of Western Europe. Public housing in developed countries was intended to provide acceptable rental accommodation for mainstream skilled or semi-skilled working class households, which represented the large majority of European households during the 1950s and 1960s (Priemus, 2001; Malpass, 2004). Whereas the majority of households in European countries had some form of income, making public housing a viable tenure option, the contrary was true in developing countries. The welfare model of public housing applied in Europe was rooted in Keynesian economics, on the basis of full employment. The context of the developing world, with extremely high unemployment, was quite different. Therefore, public housing as a tenure option for the poor in developing countries was practically doomed to failure from the beginning. Further elaboration on the various critiques of public housing in the developing world goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Of importance for this chapter is to note that attempts were made to apply well-conceptualised European welfare state ideologies in developing countries. However, socio-economic conditions and the state of development (and therefore the ability to pay for welfare state policies) were considerably different in developing countries than in Western Europe. Although colonial powers still had some influence from the 1940s to the 1960s, this era marked the end of a long period of direct colonial government interference in housing, as developing countries started to gain independence. From the 1950s onwards, colonial influences on housing policy became more diffused and indirect, as the influence of international organisations and the USA became more pronounced.

Especially after WWII, the USA had a profound influence on the policy directions of developing countries. Although it was never a significant colonial power, US funding and aid agencies had a major influence on international housing development (Arku and Harris, 2005). It is important to note that USA involvement in developing countries was largely politically motivated. Its interest in international development was at least partly based on the belief that better social conditions and housing in developing countries would help secure alliances and guarantee political stability. The USA had technical assistance projects on a modest scale in Latin America since the 1930s, and these were launched worldwide in the decades that followed. Arku and Harris (2005) note that the United States combined technical assistance with countries' own initiatives such as self-help housing. Encouraged by the USA initiated programmes of technical and financial assistance, many countries in Latin America expressed interest in the continuation of self-help housing schemes and began to frame policies that would support this type of self-help support (Harris and Giles, 2003; Harris, 2003; Arku

and Harris, 2005). Harris (2003) noted that by the mid 1960s, almost all countries in Latin America had built elements of self-help into their housing policies. In 1947, the USA established an international housing office within the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Through this office and a succession of other agencies, the USA broadened its aide program from the 1950s onwards. The influence of the USA can be described as neo-colonial. Neo-colonialism in this context can be defined as a process whereby influential entities use economic and political means to extend or uphold their influence over underdeveloped countries or areas (Harris and Giles, 2003; Harris, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005: 896). Other examples of US agencies involved in international housing development are The International Development Bank (IDB) and the USA Agency for International Development (USAID). Especially from the early 1960s, the importance of financial investment in the housing markets of developing countries drew attention in the housing literature (Haar, 1963; Harris and Arku, 2007). The success of USA investment in its Puerto Rico territory is often used to demonstrate the success of financial investment in housing.

The UN has been committed to housing development since its inception in 1945 (Crane, 1950) and is regarded as the foremost international agency that influenced housing in developing countries during the 1950s and 1960s (Pugh, 2001; Arku and Harris, 2005: 895; Harris and Giles, 2003: 169-170). Through its associated agencies and commissions, it provides a platform for dialogue between its 192 member states (Pugh, 2001; Harris and Giles, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005). As a relatively representative body of independent states, the UN expresses concerns about a wide range of development issues, with social and political considerations framing the discourse on housing (Harris and Giles, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005). As decolonisation continued after WWII, the UN became more active in Latin America, Africa and Asia (Harris and Giles, 2003). In order to combat the housing shortage, the UN launched a world-wide action programme in 1961 based on the aided self-help principles embedded in its people-centred approach (Weissmann, 1960). This programme was established and directed by a team of technical experts, including Charles Abrams and John FC Turner. Arku and Harris note that from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, up to 60% of all UN international technical assistance was provided for housing, with much of the funding provided by USAID (2005).

Housing development, in particular aided self-help as conceptualised by the UN, was based on enablement principles. Through technical assistance, the UN' main objective was to enable communities to be in control of their own housing situation, mobilising their own resources to produce or manage their own housing development (Crane, 1950; Crane and McCabe, 1950; Boyd, 1959). These principles were institutionalised with the passing of the Act for International Development, Public Law 535 in 1950. In addition to assistance provided by the UN, it was proposed

that governments should also play an enabling role. Crane and McCabe (1950) contended that governments should use the limited resources available to implement modern interventions and adaptations that strengthen the 'ancient' method of self-help housing. The rationale behind the UN' aided self-help approach is that self-help housing has a greater potential to improve the lives of millions of poor families living in unsatisfactory circumstances when governments provide some assistance (Crane and McCabe, 1950). They wrote that governments could fulfil their enabling role by formulating policies that support self-help housing, providing suitable land and infrastructure for housing development, supplying suitable building material, supporting education, research and building industries to develop new products, enabling institutions to provide financial assistance to low-income families and building international relations to exchange research and technical experience.

During the post-war period, many governments of developing countries believed that the eradication of informal settlements was the most appropriate course of action, in line with the common slum clearance practices of urban development in Europe and North America (Mayo *et al*, 1986; UN, 2003; Davis, 2006; Jenkins, 2007). However, whereas developed nations provided alternative accommodation to residents affected by slum clearance, mostly through public housing, developing countries did not have the fiscal means to provide such alternatives (Jenkins, 2007). Therefore, slum clearance in the developing world largely meant removing people from shacks and returning them to the streets. Both then and now, informal settlements are generally perceived to be an eyesore that hampers urban development, and their eradication is justified as a strategy to minimise health risks and reduce crime (Ward, 1976; UN, 2003; Davis, 2006). However, a number of authors argue that the eradication of informal settlements does not address the root problems of mass urbanisation, poverty and unemployment. Instead, some posit that the destruction of informal settlements is simply a threat used by ruling regimes that have little control over the informal environment (Davis, 2006; Jenkins, 2007).

4.3 THE NEO-LIBERAL DISCOURSE IN THE 1970S AND 1980S

The transformation of housing policy since the 1970s is best understood when viewed against the broader social and economic backdrop. Of the various trends that occurred during this time period, neo-liberalism has had the most influence on the social and economic context, government regimes and global housing policy.

4.3.1 Western Europe: neo-liberal welfare state roll-back

The early 1970s witnessed a fundamental turning away from welfare state principles in terms of housing policy development (for a few examples see Doherty, 2004; Theodore *et al*, 2011; Robison, 2005; Harvey, 2006). With the oil price hikes of 1973 and the resulting global economic recession, the entire welfare state structure came under scrutiny. It was clear that the interventionist welfare state and its extensive social policies were under severe fiscal pressure. The Keynesian model, based on the principle of full employment, no longer worked in a time of recession, mass unemployment and a significant reduction in household income (Abrahamson, 2005). The shift away from Keynesian theory coincided with a move towards neo-liberalism, which by the 1970s was challenging direct state intervention in housing (Marston, 2002; Darcy and Manzi, 2003; Dodson, 2006; Harvey, 2006). Public housing, which was once the preferred policy option, began to be seen as a problem rather than the solution (Darcy and Manzi, 2003; Malpass, 2004). In addition, neo-liberalism promoted dualist societies, which viewed public renting as a symbol of failure, social exclusion and a tenure choice of last resort (Kemeny, 1995). Contrary to the welfare state model, neo-liberalism argues for the dismantlement of the welfare state in favour of policies that emphasise market and private sector involvement (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002; Harvey, 2006; Theodore *et al*, 2011). The term 'roll-back' neo-liberalism is often used to describe the retreat of the welfare state in favour of market related policies (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Graefe, 2005; Dodson, 2006). A number of authors have noted the importance of Margaret Thatcher's conservative government that came to power in 1979 in Britain and Ronald Reagan's presidency beginning in the USA in 1981 in formalising neo-liberal economic policy reforms (Doherty, 2004; Palley, 2004; Kemeny *et al*, 2005; Béland, 2005).

Neo-liberalism resulted in a move towards residualisation (Malpass, 2004). New housing policies based on market models caused public housing to undergo a process of devolution, decentralization and privatisation starting in the late 1970s. This process represented a transformation of tenure systems, from state regulated rental tenure to individual ownership or institutionalised social housing tenure. Much of the public housing stock was sold at a fraction of its market value to private households and social housing institutions. The extent of the residualisation of public housing stock varied from country to country, but most European nations have shifted or are in the process of considering a shift from public housing tenure to a combination of social rental tenure and home ownership (Van Gent, 2010). Governments in Western Europe have increasingly started to provide either subsidies or housing allowances to low-income households, a trend which has had a strong influence on housing policies in many developing countries (Dodson, 2006). In countries such as the UK, new forms of assistance to social housing institutions were introduced in the 1970s and 1980s.

Social housing institutions that were registered with the government could access state funding to either build new rental stock or renovate existing stock (Malpass, 2011). These government grants came on the condition that the social housing company provide affordable rental units. This government support notwithstanding, the sale of public rental stock and the increased involvement of social housing institutions resulted in an overall decline of public investment in housing (Malpass, 2011). The transformation in the 1970s from welfare state provision based on Keynesian principles to new policies grounded in neo-liberal theory is summarised by Jessop (2002) as follows:

- While Keynesian welfare policies were based on the premise of full employment, neo-liberal policies emphasised the unpredictability and innovation of the market.
- With neo-liberalism, social policy became subordinate to economic policy. The importance of the private and labour markets began to be stressed and the unsustainability of welfare polices was highlighted.
- Neo-liberalism expanded policies and strategies beyond national borders. Partnerships and networks were forged with international stakeholders.

4.3.2 Developing countries: institutionalising well known aided self-help concepts

This time period saw a critical juncture in housing policy development in developing countries. In the context of rapid urbanisation and the problems associated with informal settlements, developing countries advocated for greater involvement on the part of international agencies (Pugh, 2001). With the entrance of the World Bank into the development arena, this assistance from the international arena became a reality. The World Bank's approach was influenced by the writings of John FC Turner (1972) and firmly grounded on the self-help concepts developed by the UN. Governments of developing countries had had limited success in providing public housing, so they shifted their focus to site and service housing projects as proposed by the World Bank. Although the concept of self-help housing was well established by the 1970s, it was only after the World Bank entered the housing sphere that developing countries started to formalise the notions of aided self-help and *in situ* upgrading in their housing policies (Pugh, 1997; 2001). The next section focuses on key concepts institutionalised by the World Bank during this phase, devoting particular attention to the historical development of these concepts.

The World Bank, formerly known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was initially established in 1945 to provide long-term loans for reconstruction projects in developed countries. Although the World Bank's primary focus was on developed countries, it also became involved in projects in Latin America starting in the late 1940s (Zanetta, 2001). World Bank involvement in developing countries in Africa and Asia commenced in the mid-1960s. Initially, the

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World Bank's mandate was to invest in large scale infrastructure development. However, when the World Bank entered the housing field in 1972, it became the largest influence on housing policy directions in developing countries (Harris, 1998; Arku and Harris, 2005). Although the UN had developed and advocated various approaches to self-help housing earlier than the World Bank, it was the World Bank with its funding capacity that had the greatest impact upon policy reforms in the developing world (Pugh, 1997). The World Bank-backed concept of site and service housing projects was influenced by established concepts of self-help housing and *in situ* upgrading promoted by prominent writers such as Geddes in the 1920s, Crane in the 1950s and Abrams, Mangin and Turner in the 1960 and 1970s (Geddes, 1918; Crane, 1950; Abrams, 1964; Mangin, 1967; Turner, 1972). In particular, Turner's book *Freedom to Build* (1972) is regarded as the key influence on the World Bank's institutionalisation of aided self-help principles in developing countries (van der Linden, 1986; Pugh, 1990). In line with UN principles of self-help, Turner urged the World Bank to support a different direction in housing development, one in which government policies promoted aided self-help housing (in Nientied and van der Linde, 1985; Pugh, 1991, 1997, 2001; Harris, 2003)

Whereas the UN advocated that households should have greater control over the housing process and that continuous research should be conducted on sustainable building technologies (see Crane, 1950; Crane and McCabe, 1950; Boyd, 1959), these issues were of secondary concern for the World Bank. The World Bank focused instead on the government's role in assisting with the provision of land and basic infrastructure services (site and service schemes). Depending on a government's capacity, site and service schemes range from the provision of surveyed land or surveyed land with some basic services to the provision of serviced land and building materials or fully serviced land with a core house included. In its first decade of support, the World Bank provided partial funding for aided self-help housing based on the principles of affordability, cost recovery and replicability (Pugh, 1991). The importance of the World Bank entering the housing field cannot be understated, as the World Bank with its funding capacity had much more power in influencing developing countries to institutionalise its approach than did the UN in the previous decades. It is important to note that the World Bank did not only provide funding—it also suggested policy reforms. Many governments in developing countries considered these policy proposals and started to change how they viewed the development of informal settlements (in Nientied and van der Linde, 1985; Pugh, 1991, 1997, 2001; Harris, 2003). The World Bank-supported site and service projects and *in situ* upgrading programmes replaced earlier policies of informal settlement eradication. *In situ* upgrading entails the upgrading of informal settlement areas (the provision of services and infrastructure) while households are still residing in the area (Pugh, 1997). Thus, the informal settlement policy responses developed and institutionalised during the 1970s and 1980s were based on the regularisation of the planning

environment. This occurred in two main ways: either upgrading informal settlements by providing basic infrastructure, sites and services and / or legalising the settlements by transferring title deeds to residents who either occupied land illegally or had purchased (informally or formally) unserviced land at a low cost.

Although the World Bank was the international agency most influential in the housing policy of developing countries during this phase, the important contribution of the UN is also frequently mentioned in the literature (Pugh, 2001). The UN' interest in housing and urban planning continued to grow, and its commitment to the urban discourse was reasserted in 1978 with the establishment of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS). Various authors have noted that Turner's influential book *Housing by People* (1976) and the United Nations Habitat conference in Vancouver (1976) signalled the increasing importance of enabling principles in the UN approach to housing policy (Pugh, 1997; Berner, 2001). This enabling approach acknowledged the economic significance of housing for development and displayed many similarities with the World Bank's recommendations (Arku and Harris, 2005). However, the ideological presuppositions underlying the World Bank and the UN approaches are not the same (Keivan and Werna, 2001). Whereas the World Bank places greater emphasis on economics and market development, the UN focuses on enabling poor households to gain access to housing and land markets (UNCHS, 1996). As such, UNCHS incorporates strategies that are much more inclusive of communities and co-operative sectors.

4.4 ENABLING NEO-LIBERALISM FROM THE 1980'S TO LATE 1990'S

This section focuses on the evolving concept of neo-liberalism, reflecting on earlier challenges and failures in the European context. During this time period, the World Bank adjusted its approach in developing countries, and the UN fine-tuned its enablement strategies, aligning some aspects with those of the World Bank approach.

4.4.1 Roll out neo-liberalism

During the 1980s, neo-liberal policies were adjusted to confront a number of failures and contradictions which had resulted from earlier neo-liberal implementations (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Jones and Ward, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002). Welfare policies had been modified to match neo-liberal market principles in the 1970s and early 1980s. However, the ability of the market to provide adequate housing to low-income and poor households soon began to be questioned, and it was proposed that governments should once again be more involved in housing. By the early 1990s, many governments had adjusted their approach to focus on the enablement of private sector development. These governments created new institutions and socially interventionist policies, enabling the private

sector to fulfil its provider role. During this phase, European countries became in essence enablement welfare states (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Graefe, 2005; Dodson, 2006).

Social housing institutions began to play a more important role in the provision of affordable rentals during this phase (Malpass, 2011), although the future of social housing remained an ongoing debate (Harloe, 1995; Kemeny, 1995; Malpass, 2001; Priemus and Dieleman, 2002; King, 2006). In some countries such as the UK, social housing subsidies were reduced, forcing social housing institutions to find private investors to help fund new social housing developments (Malpass, 2011). In his highly cited book *The People's Home?*, Michael Harloe (1995), contended that it would only be a matter of time before the majority of social rental housing, regardless of how it is delivered, financed or regulated, becomes residual and privatised. Contrary to Harloe's claim, however, social rental housing is still quite prevalent in developed countries such as Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany and France due to being more affordable than home ownership (Kemeny, 2001). With the collapse of communism in 1989, the Eastern European housing context entered European housing policy discourses. Commonly categorised as transitional countries, Eastern European states had housing circumstances quite different from their Western European counterparts. With the state being the main provider of housing, ownership and neo-liberal discourses had not been relevant for these countries. However, since the end of communism, converging neo-liberal housing trends have become the norm in Eastern Europe. Similar to their Western Europe neighbours, the sale of public housing to individual owners has become common practice in Eastern Europe (Lux, 2007).

4.4.2   Developing countries: enabling phase of neo-liberalism

In the developing world, the 1980s and 1990s was a time of adjusting earlier neo-liberal strategies. This phase is referred to as the enabling phase. Site and service schemes, institutionalised according to World Bank principles, had achieved various degrees of success. As mentioned by various authors (Cohen, 1983; Nientied and Van der Linde, 1985; Pugh, 1995, 1997; Werlin, 1999; Soliman, 2012), they had in general not had the impact that was anticipated, and housing backlogs continued to grow. By the 1980s, the World Bank no longer promoted self-help or upgrading schemes, and it acknowledged the limitations of its earlier approach. Reflecting on the shortcomings of its previous policies, the World Bank published a milestone policy paper called *Learning by Doing* (Cohen, 1983). This document concluded that the site and service approach was ineffective and many governments had not correctly used funds allocated for development. *Learning by Doing* proposed a shift from a site and service approach towards an enabling approach. The World Bank put forward the idea that governments should have an enabling role, facilitating the provision of housing by the private sector through the incorporation of macro-economic policies. In the housing context, this new approach

entailed a move away from the conventional public subsidised approach towards institutional urban management systems. In addition, World Bank loans to developing countries were now contingent upon the institution of structural reforms. If governments defaulted, either by failing to repay their debt or by failing to make the required structural adjustments, the World Bank imposed strict consequences. In essence, the mandated structural adjustments promoted neo-liberal privatisation of services. The reduced spending on public subsidies resulted in the users of services having to pay the real cost related to the services (Cohen, 2003). The negative effects of structural adjustments on low-income households are well documented, as the cost of housing and services was unaffordable for most of the urban poor. Cost recovery was difficult to attain in the new system, and continuous urbanisation resulted in the rapid growth of informal settlements (Stren, 1994; Pugh, 1995; Zanetta, 2001; UN, 2003).

During the 1990s, the UN's enabling approach became more closely aligned with World Bank policies related to urban sector management (Pugh, 1995; 1997). However, whereas World Bank enablement focused mainly on financial and economic aspects, the UN broadened its previous enabling approach to include social and community aspects (UNHCS, 1987; 1989; 1990). A broad take on enablement incorporates both approaches, asserting that governments should provide the legislative, institutional and financial framework necessary for the private sector (World Bank approach), community-based initiatives and/or individuals (UN approach) to effectively develop the social and financial economy (Pugh, 1995). In addition to promoting the enablement approach, the UN also began to provide greater institutional support to sustainability and environmental aspects in the urban context. In particular, Pugh (2001) mentions the importance of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) and the UNCHS Habitat II Conference in Istanbul (1996), both of which encouraged the incorporation of sustainability aspects in government agendas, including housing policies.

4.5. LATE 1990S ONWARDS: REFORMS AND WHOLE SECTOR POLICY ADJUSTMENTS

The last phase can be described as a continuation of the previous phase's enablement approach. In general, European countries are responding to challenges through neo-liberal reform programmes. In developing countries, the concept of enablement continues to evolve. The UN' policy proposals are taking centre stage and there is an attempt to incorporate different sectors (public, private and community) in urban developments.

4.5.1 European countries: reform programmes

The housing policies of European countries are currently a complex aggregation of reform programmes. Since the acceptance of some Eastern European countries into the European Union and the worsening global economic crisis starting in 2006, major social transformations have occurred in Europe. As a result, the housing policy discourse is argued to be at a new critical juncture point. Most contemporary authors agree that some form of public intervention is necessary to respond to the current housing challenges, which include demographic shifts and an increasing elderly population, the growth in non-nuclear and one-person households escalating the need for housing units, an old housing stock which requires rehabilitation and refurbishment to be more sustainable, migration of people living in poorer European countries to neighbouring countries and a lack of housing investment from the public sector (Malpass, 2011). Full elaboration on all the challenges faced by developed countries goes beyond the scope of this thesis. They are mentioned briefly here to demonstrate that policies and strategies are constantly changing to adapt to the problems of different eras.

4.5.2 Developing countries: whole sector and sustainability discourses

In developing countries, the last phase can be described as the whole sector and sustainable development phase. The UN has continued to propagate its evolving enabling approach. This final section elaborates on the concepts of whole sector development, sustainable development driven by UN commitments and the current manifestations of self-help housing. Whole sector development endeavours towards improved governance across different sectors and attempts to incorporate low-income settlements into the formal planning structure of cities. Thus, whole sector development is characterised by a greater focus on sustainable human development (Ward, 2005). The focus on the market and the enabling of markets to work for the poor remains an on-going concern, as reflected in the writing of Hernando De Soto (2000) and the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). De Soto's book *"The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else"* (2000) elaborates on the property rights discourse, theorising that by formalising title deeds in low income settlements, the housing market will stabilise and the value of houses will increase. As a result, households should be able to either use their property as collateral for credit or enter the competitive housing market and climb the housing ladder (de Soto, 2000). In practise, however, the literature indicates that informal market exchange of housing is on-going, and little progress has been made in using low-cost housing as credit (Gilbert, 2010; Sengupta, 2010; Ward *et al*, 2012; Ward and Sullivan, 2012).

The MDG, approved by 191 countries at the General Assembly of the UN in 2000, are a pledge to increase effectiveness in development assistance and reduce poverty through sustainability principles. Particularly relevant to housing is MDG goal number seven, target eleven, which aims at improving the lives of at least 100 million poor people living in informal settlements by 2020. Most aspects contained in these MDGs are not new, as they reflect similar global commitments made by the UN since the 1970s (Hasan, Patel and Satterthwaite, 2005). However, as argued by Hasan *et al* (2005), what distinguishes the MDGs from previous commitments is the level of agreement between international agencies and national governments to work collectively to achieve these goals. The MDGs, which targets proved hard to achieve, has been replaced by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 (UN, 2015).

The self-help discourse remains an important component of policy development. In particular, consolidated self-help development has started to gain more attention since the 2000s (Ward, Huerta, Grajeda and Velázquez, 2011; Sullivan and Ward, 2012). *Consolidated* self-help refers to the process that occurs a generation or two after original self-help structures were built. By this point, the original self-help house has been passed on through inheritance or sold through the market, either formally or informally (Gilbert and Ward, 1985). These settlements, which started on the periphery, are now in the intermediate ring of city development (Ward *et al*, 2012), and have different characteristics from newly formed self-help settlements. The communities that live in consolidated self-help settlements are well-established. Community governance is an integral part of these settlements (Gilbert, 2010; Tunas and Peresthu, 2010; Yap and De Wandeler, 2010; Ward *et al*, 2012); The name on the original title deed rarely changes, and either the original owner or family members of the original owner still live on the same plot (Gilbert, 1999; Ward *et al*, 2012). Informal transaction of ownership occurs in some cases, but it is rarely documented (Ward *et al*, 2012); and, the original plot has usually been subdivided to accommodate next of kin or informal renters (Gilbert, 1999, 2010; Bredenoord and Van Lindert, 2010; Ward *et al*, 2012).

Importantly, the anticipated enabling role of the state in self-help settlements has not materialised on the scale expected. Common problems related to the role of the state include insufficient land supply and little success in the creation of viable secondary markets (Landman and Napier, 2010; Sengupta, 2010). Self-help properties are usually on the market for months, even years before being sold. In addition, when these properties are finally sold, they are often sold for less than market value (Ward *et al*, 2012).

4.6 SYNTHESIS: THEORISING THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF HOUSING POLICY IDEOLOGIES

Housing policy development between Western Europe and developing countries show convergent but also divergent (geographic specific) path dependent influences in its historical narratives. Table 4.1 shows concepts influencing housing policy development and how it relates to the historical phases discussed in this chapter.

Table 4.1: Dominant housing discourses in Western Europe and developing countries

Housing discourses relevant to the different phases *		Western Europe					Developing countries				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Formality vs informality discourse	Slums / informal settlement housing	▨					■	■	■	■	■
	Eradication of slums / informal settlements	▨					■	■	■	■	
	Informal settlement upgrading								■	■	■
Formalised housing for the poor and labourers	Social housing	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨					■
	Public housing	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨			■	■	
Ownership discourses	Privatisation of public housing			▨	▨					■	■
	Home ownership / title deeds			▨	▨					■	■
	Aided self-help	▨						■	■	■	■
	Consolidated self-help								■	■	■
	Site and service schemes								■	■	■

* 1 = 1700s – 1945; 2 = 1945 – early 1970s; 3 = 1970s – 1980s; 4 = 1980s – late 1990s; 5 = Late 1990s onwards

Key themes discussed in this synthesis are discursive dualities between formal and informal discourses, welfare state housing for the poor and low-wage labourers, and ownership conceptualisations.

4.6.1 Formality vs informality discourse

The oldest concept related to housing is that of self-help housing and the creation of spontaneous settlements. Spontaneous settlements inherently imply the acceptance of informality principles. The geographical context and regime ideologies of a country determine the degree formal and informality housing processes are embraced in its policy approaches. Historical narratives in developing countries on the development of housing policies are filled with conflicting unresolved dualities between formal systems proposed and informal housing realities on the ground. The concept of why state intervention in housing are necessary can be traced back to the mid-1700s with the onset of the industrial revolution. Housing shortages increasingly became problematic in urban areas that were not designed to cater for the large number of people that migrated to the cities in search of economic opportunities. The influx of people to urban areas, with limited infrastructure to cater for the inflow, resulted in poorly constructed, often informal, houses characterised by overcrowding and

poor health conditions. Thus, health and safety concerns provided a platform to develop welfare state policies. Thus, welfare state intervention on large scale slowly became an institutionalised concept in Western Europe from the mid-1800s onwards. While informality aspects could be curbed with relative success in Western Europe with a focus on the eradication of 'slums', the same cannot be said for developing countries.

Informality narratives, and the merit of welfare state intervention in developing countries, are a disputed discourse throughout the decades. Three different approaches to informality are highlighted in this chapter to show the contextual dilemmas of adapting path dependent concepts of developed countries to the developing world. The UK, with its development acts, imposed ideals of rental tenure through construction of formal public housing on its colonial territories. Contrary to the formalisation approach of the UK, aid organisations from the USA and UN integrated informality aspects in its intervention strategies in developing countries. Key themes highlighted in this chapter that relate to informality discourses are: organised and aided self-help housing; technical assistance; owner and community managed processes; government enablement that includes financial aid to stimulate markets, providing land, infrastructure and/or provision of basic housing unit, formulation of policies that support self-help; in situ upgrading; recognition of the sustainability of indigenous building technologies; and whole sector implementation strategies. The informality discourse are still a contested subject matter and acceptance thereof country specific. The importance of international organisations such as the World Bank and the UN of steering policy directions in developing countries are highlighted throughout the chapter. Narratives of the value of self-help and acceptance of informality keep on re-surfacing through decades of literature. Where the World Bank promoted economic principles based on affordability, cost recovery and replicability, the UN highlights social, political, community and environmental aspects in its housing approaches. The latest phase, in the era of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the potential of informal settlement upgrading are yet again advocated. Thus, the informality discourse continues, though the acceptability of informality seems problematic in a world dominated by formality path dependent ways embedded in developed countries neo-liberal market

4.6.2   Formalised housing for the poor and labourers

Intervention in housing welfare, and subsequent public housing discourse, were spurred by the industrial revolution and the migration of people to urban areas. Intervention from the state were either to enable private institutions to operationalise affordable housing, or after the world wars, the state itself became involved in setting the stage for housing policy pathways. Public (state managed) and social (private institution enabled) housing at first were intended for labourers who could not

afford other accommodation. Tenure was based on the assumption of employment, and a households ability to pay rent. However, the feasibility of state intervention to continue in its welfare approach and a households ability to pay rent were questioned from the start. Although neo-liberal economic intervention were proposed as the 'ideal' way forward in housing development from the 1970s onwards, realities on the ground differed in both developed and developing countries. The concept of formalised public housing might have been intended to be for labourers with low wages in the late 1940s to 1970s, but the concept evolved to be inclusive in many countries for unemployed households dependent on government grants. Public housing discourses currently revolves around enabling social housing organisation to manage the process or being sold off to households for a fraction off the cost. However, the type of welfare intervention in housing, be it for low wage labourers or unemployed, are highly dependent on a specific countries welfare regime approach.

4.6.3   Ownership discourses

Ownership discourses are interconnected with formality and informality ideologies of what the concept of security of tenure entail. Formal viewpoints, or rather 'legalised' institutionalised concepts of ownership assume that title deeds provide security of tenure for a household. In addition, from a neo-liberal perspective, title deeds provide an opportunity for a household to engage in market principles which, in an ideal economic environment, could lead to increased investment in housing and/or improved living conditions. Yet, these neo-liberal assumptions are challenged when analysed from a historical perspective. Literature shows that title deeds to poor households could lead to increase of investment in housing over time and incremental improvements. But, many studies also show, formalisation of title deeds do not stop informality processes and often lead households back to a road of poverty. Households selling their asset often resulted in them becoming path dependent on welfare systems or active engagement in informality aspects related to security tenure. Social elements also comes into play with title deeds, where inheritance, and the concept of family property ownership can outweigh the importance of economic principles. In developing countries the concept of ownership becomes further complex where community systems influences perceptions of 'ownership' of property and not necessary the legalised document or name on a title deed. The dualities that arises between formal (*de jure*) and informal (*de facto*) perceptions of ownership are a multi-dimensional subject matter. Case studies on 'security of tenure' in developing countries show that community governance in determining pathways in ownership discourses in the informal sector are not well understood and still flourishing despite state approaches being prone to rather promote formalisation processes.

4.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter provides a historical narrative on the evolvement of housing policies over the centuries and highlighted critical junctures that influenced housing policies pathways. Particular attention was given to show the process of how concept and problem formulations evolve over time. The value of whether concept formations have determining influences in policy directions can only be assessed through historical reflection decades or even centuries after the idea originated. This chapter identified five interconnected phases in housing policy development in Western Europe and developing countries which set the stage for contemporary housing policy directions. Critical junctures and historical influences in the phases highlighted were the following:

- Critical junctures in the first phase (pre-1945), which necessitated the concept formation of housing regularisation and welfare state housing intervention, were the onset of the industrialisation in the 1700s and the two world wars ended 1918 and 1945 respectively. Industrialisation and rapid urbanisation caused large scale housing shortages. Housing were characterised by unhealthy and unsafe living conditions which opened the platform for formalised state intervention. In developing countries context, Western Europe formalised housing concepts on health and safety concerns influenced the ideological context in which housing were viewed in its colonial territories.

- The second phase (±1945-1970s), can be seen as the institutionalisation phase of welfare state concepts with public housing and rental tenure discourses influencing policy directions. The ideological constructs of welfare state intervention were further extended to Western Europe and USA colonial territories where welfare state strategies were adapted to reflect a certain colonial regime ideologies in its development approaches. The impact of these welfare state strategies varied in developing countries and were geographical specific, depending on the relation between colonial countries, independence status and colonial influences on its territories during a specific historical timeframe. During the second phase the role of international aid organisations in steering policy directions in developing countries, were highlighted. In particular, self-help themes became a continuous variable in housing policy discourses in all the subsequent phases that followed.

- During the third phase (±1970s - mid1980s), the global recession of the early 1970s became the main critical juncture where neo-liberal ideological concepts advanced to become state-led policy implementation strategies. The World Bank entered the housing field in the 1970s and firmly propagated market principles and neo-liberal housing reforms. Despite the World Bank progressing from its own approach in the 1970s towards enablement priciples, the neo-

liberal strategies developed during this time-frame by the World Bank set path dependent ways forward decades after the policies became institutionalised.

- The fourth phase (± mid-1980s – late 1990s) showcase how concepts changes and adapts over time. Although this phase is also described as a neo-liberal phase, neo-liberal strategies incorporated welfare state concepts by recognising the value of state intervention to create an enabling environment for applying policy strategies in cases where the market failed to reach.

- The last phase (late 1990 onwards) further extends the concept of enablement. Themes of sustainable development, proposed by the UN since 1945 started to resurface. Dominant discourses currently explore the value social and environmental strategies have, on par with economics, to create policy directions which looks beyond 'housing' and takes into account the wider context of whole sector urban development.

Lastly, the synthesis provided an overview of main ideological themes relating to the dualities between formal and informal discourses, welfare state intervention in providing housing for the poor and low-wage labourers, and elaborated on the contested multidimensional ideologies related to ownership discourses. The next chapter show how the ideological concept formations and the international historical context influenced housing policy discourses in South Africa.

CHAPTER 5

THE PAST INLUENCING THE PRESENT:

HOUSING AND WELFARE POLICIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Venter, 2017

Chapter 2 elaborated on the social, economic and political dimensions of theories relevant to the housing discourse in developing countries, concentrating particularly on the concept of power. This was followed by Chapter 3, which reflected on theoretical developments in Western European housing policy discourses over the last few decades, highlighting how these methodological approaches have relevance for housing scholarship in developing countries. Using a comparative approach, Chapter 4 traced the historical development of the dominant housing welfare discourses in Western Europe (in particular the Netherlands and the UK) and in developing countries. This current chapter endeavours to identify the historical juncture points and ideological influences that have shaped the present day housing policy landscape in South Africa. Using Kemeny's tenure theory as a point of departure, this chapter demonstrates that there is a close relationship between the social values embedded within a particular society and the path-dependent tenure policies that are adopted (Kemeny, 1995). Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime typologies are also used to analyse how different regimes responded to social stratification and commodification of the housing welfare system.

A thread running throughout this chapter is the significance of colonial and apartheid welfare approaches for understanding housing policy nuances in post-apartheid South Africa. The first section

provides a historical background of colonisation and the different tenure approaches to welfare applied by the Dutch and British colonists prior to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This early colonial period is often overlooked or just briefly referred to in the housing literature. Thereafter follows a discussion of the pre-apartheid regimes from 1910 to 1948, showing how the tenure responses of the previous centuries evolved into legislation that endorsed segregation. The decades of the apartheid regime, from 1948 to 1993, have already been substantially documented. Therefore, the section focusing on the apartheid period provides only a brief synopsis of historical junctures and housing welfare responses, a few of which are still in place today. The section dealing with the post-apartheid phase devotes attention to the housing policies and programmes that have burgeoned forth after centuries of segregation. This is followed by a synthesis of the important historical narratives that influenced the welfare policies and programmes in place in South Africa today.

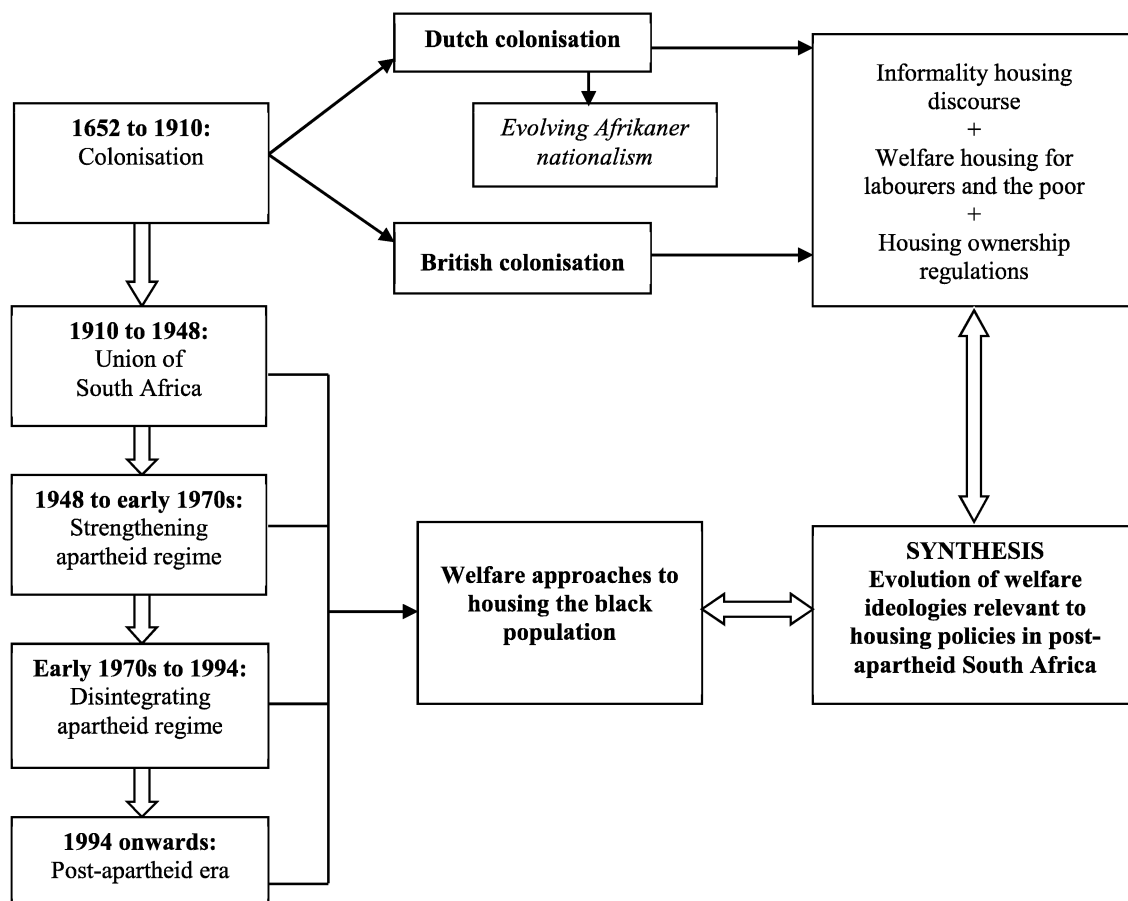Figure 5.1 presents a schematic representation of this chapter

Figure 5.1: Housing policy phases and welfare discourses

5.1 1652 TO 1910: COLONISATION AND CONCEPT FORMATION, INFLUENCING THE FUTURE DIRECTIONS OF POST–APARTHEID HOUSING POLICY CREATION

The pre-1652 era in South Africa was characterised by conflicts between various African tribes. There were many struggles over land, with the victors taking the contested land and the defeated tribes being forced to adapt, move to new unclaimed land or invade the land of other tribes. As far as modern scholars are aware, there were no formal individual tenure systems. Most authors assume that communal tenure was applied (Davenport, 1964; Frederickson, 1981). In these pre-colonial times, each settlement had its own indigenous tribal laws related to tenure and housing (Davenport, 1985). The first critical juncture in the history of regulated housing in South Africa can be traced back to 1652, when the Dutch explorer Jan van Riebeeck asserted sovereignty over South African soil by establishing the *Cape Colony* on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (Christopher, 1971; Davenport, 1985). The British crown soon also gained a foothold, competing with the Dutch settlers for control of the region. The following section describes the historical background of Dutch and British colonialism up until the early 1900s. Thereafter, the colonists' different tenure approaches and housing applications are discussed.

5.1.1 Dutch colonisation from 1652 to 1795

The Dutch colonists' initial purpose was to establish a small supply station for ships en route to the Dutch settlement of Batavia on the island of Java. In the first two decades of South African colonisation, however, more settlers arrived than had been anticipated. The labourer accommodation provided by the Dutch East India Company in the form of lodges (hostels) was not sufficient for the influx of immigrants. Therefore, land belonging to the indigenous population (the Khoikhoi and San tribes) was appropriated by the colonists for development purposes (Wilmot and Chase, 1869; Frederickson, 1981). This displacement of the indigenous Khoikhoi and San tribes can be seen as the first critical juncture setting the stage for forced segregation in the centuries to come.

Permanent labourers were needed to develop the Dutch settlement in the Cape Colony, but the nomadic and non-capitalist nature of the indigenous tribes made them reluctant to settle permanently as wage labourers. Furthermore, Dutch colonial legislation prohibited colonists from enslaving indigenous tribes for labour purposes. Thus, from 1658 until the early 1700s, the Dutch imported slaves from East Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon, Bengal and the East Indies (Wilmot and Chase, 1869; Frederickson, 1981). Although most of the slaves were domestic or agricultural servants, some had skills in carpentry and bricklaying. These skills helped to accelerate the urban development of the Cape Colony. The first century of Dutch colonisation also witnessed the arrival of more settlers from

Europe. With a mixed ethnic and linguistic heritage, slaves and indigenous communities in the Cape Colony amalgamated their own languages with the Dutch language spoken by the European settlers. Mixed racial marriages and children of mixed racial heritage born both in and out of wedlock were common. By the late 1700s, the ancestral lineages of fourth and fifth generation inhabitants started to play a more important role in the segregation discourse. Social status and ancestral history, combined with luck (as there was not a clear-cut process for determining ancestry), determined if descendants with a mixed racial heritage were classified as 'white', from European origin, or as 'Coloured', a newly delineated racial group (Frederickson, 1981).

5.1.2 British colonisation and Dutch settlers' response to British rule

British colonisation of South Africa began with the annexation of the Cape Colony in 1795 by the British Empire. Subsequently, the colony of Natal, which had briefly been under Dutch colonial governance from 1836 to 1843, was also taken over by the British Empire (Davenport 1964). The remainder of the land that had been governed by the descendants of the Dutch colonists became subject to British rule in 1910, with the creation of the Union of South Africa. The British colonial government, which was described as 'liberal', had different ideals related to its colonial territories than the descendants of the Dutch settlers. British colonialism embraced modernisation and its core mission was to 'civilise societies' in its dominion by firstly putting legal and administrative governance in place and secondly promoting liberal free trade (Frederickson, 1981). British colonialism caused the Dutch colonial descendants to search for their own territory and cultural identity, devoid from British rule and influence. Thus, the concept of Afrikaner nationalism was born (Frederickson, 1981). Resisting British rule and its liberal ideals, some of the Dutch colonial descendants, commonly known as Afrikaners, moved inland, forming settlements outside British territory on unoccupied land or forcefully invaded tribal land. The inland movement of the Afrikaners starting in the 1830s resulted in the formation of many towns in the *Orange Free State* and the *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR), also known as the *Transvaal* (Christopher, 1971). Unlike the British, which at least nominally attempted to 'civilise' and promote development amongst indigenous peoples, the Dutch descendants followed a corporatist approach aimed at advancing the ruling class, namely themselves. Accordingly, land gradually came under the ownership almost exclusively of white settlers, first through the annexation of new territories and later through inheritance.

The first major change applied by the British in the Cape Colony was the abolishment of slavery in 1807. Most freed slaves were integrated into the Coloured community (Frederickson, 1981), which far outnumbered the white colonists. Despite their numerical majority, the Coloured community, similar to indigenous Africans, became classified as a minority group from the late 1800s

onwards and started to experience the negative effects of segregation. After generations of slavery, the indigenous languages of the so-called Coloureds were near extinction in the Cape Colony, and most former slaves adopted the evolving Dutch language as their own (Duncan, 1927). Most African tribes, on the other hand, maintained their own native languages, which is still the case even today. During the 1700s and 1800s, a small portion of the land colonised by the Afrikaners and the British Empire was demarcated as 'reserves' for 'legal' occupation by indigenous African tribes. These reserves were ruled by tribal headmen (Frederickson, 1981; Davenport, 1985).

The British liberal approach had greater success in Natal than in the Cape Colony. In the Cape Colony, most of the land remained in the ownership of descendants of the Dutch colonists, and they were unwilling to sell their inherited property (Davenport, 1985). In the second half of the 19th century in Natal, on the other hand, the British Empire laid claim to all land that did not have formal title deeds or proof of ownership or was earmarked as a reserve. The British colonisers then sold this 'state' land through market mechanisms. In order to attract new settlers, land in Natal that had been proclaimed state property was put on the London Stock Exchange and sold for a fraction of its worth. The assumption was that new settlers would stimulate the labour market where labourers were needed. In addition, in line with colonial regulations, the British colonial government assumed that new settlers would improve the land that they owned. Improvements on land would in turn increase the land value and therefore stimulate the creation of a secondary market for property ownership (Duncan, 1927; Christopher, 1971; Davenport, 1987).

Approximately 5,000 European settlers immigrated to Natal between 1849 and 1851, but many soon left because of the harsh conditions and the difficulty of developing the mountainous rural land. Therefore, the British colonial government of Natal then enticed Indian contract labourers from Asia to South African soil between 1860 and 1911. Many Indians remained in Natal once their contracts expired, and with an open property market, they became landowners themselves. By the 1870s, Indian immigrants were also exploring opportunities as farmers, merchants, traders and labourers near mining areas in the Cape Colony and the ZAR (Duncan, 1927). Similar to the Coloured population group, the Indian population was regarded as a minority group (Duncan, 1927). The collective non-European population consisting of Africans, Coloureds and Indians (as well as other Asians that took up trading opportunities in British Natal) was commonly referred to as the black population group of South Africa. The discovery of mineral wealth in the interior of South Africa in the late 1800s led to rapid urbanisation and two wars between the Afrikaners and the British Empire in 1880-1881 and 1899-1902. After decades of struggle between the Afrikaners and the British, the two sides finally established a lasting peace in 1910 with the establishment of the Union of South Africa under British rule (Duncan, 1927).

5.1.3.   Tenure discourses paving the way for housing policies of the future

The historical events described in the sections above are by no means comprehensive. However, important historical narratives to note from the 250 years of South African history after colonisation include multiple interracial and inter-colonial wars, cultural transformations, societies being uprooted from indigenous land, the birth of new cultural minority groups, cultural groups from elsewhere coming to South Africa and being labelled minority groups, redistribution of land by colonists and urbanisation. All of these historical trends set the stage for later institutionalised approaches to housing and segregation. Key concepts discussed in the following section focus on housing tenure approaches related to informality, labourer housing, African reserves and urbanisation. Social control and segregation ideologies are implicit in the concepts elaborated on in this section.

The informal and unregulated tenure approaches of settlers under early Dutch rule are often ignored in the post-apartheid housing literature, but they are nonetheless important to expound upon. The Dutch colonial government introduced a 'quitrent' tenure system in 1732. Quitrent entailed the occupation of land by an individual or family for a renewable fixed period of fifteen years, subject to annual rent payable to the reigning Dutch East India Company. Outside the area immediately surrounding the Cape, tenure was based on the 'loan farm' rental system, which was in essence the same as the quitrent system. Although both systems technically involved 'state' ownership, they were in most cases interpreted as 'individual' ownership by the Dutch settlers. By the end of the 1700s, more than 80 per cent of the land colonised by the Dutch consisted of state 'loan farms' (Christopher, 1971; Davenport, 1985). Enforcement of the regulations related to quitrent and loan farms was minimal, and the land itself often did not have clear boundaries. Payments were chronically overdue, and 'state' land was often subdivided or sold illegally by the occupants. Davenport (1985) describes the loan farm concept as a form of legalised squatting. The Dutch settlers erected informal self-help housing on land that they neither rented nor owned (Christopher, 1971; Davenport and Hunt, 1974; Davenport, 1985). By the time that the British took over the Cape Colony, the Dutch settlers had grown accustomed to informal, unregulated and often 'illegal' land practices resulting from 150 years of ineffective Dutch colonial administration. The British Empire's liberal approach to land ownership with its free market trade principles was met with much resistance (Davenport, 1985). As a result, although the Cape Colony was officially under British rule, most of the developed land remained under legal or illegal ownership of the Dutch settlers. In direct reaction against British regulation systems, groups of frontier Afrikaners moved inland and masse starting in the 1830s and formed their own states. Land tenure rights in these Afrikaner states developed in isolation and in the opposite direction of British liberal principles (Davenport, 1985).

Housing for labourers and the poor is a theme that runs throughout this chapter. The first welfare approaches to housing that emerged in South Africa were related to the provision of housing for working class labourers. The second approach related to providing housing for the poor, which in this time period meant housing for the 'residual' African poor whose labour was not required at the time. From the 1600s, servants and slaves in colonial South Africa were provided housing by the private sector, often on the properties of individual employers/owners. In particular, farm workers and female household servants were provided accommodation on their employer's property. This trend escalated with the urbanisation and industrialisation of the late 1800s and continued well into the late 1980s (Wilmot and Chase, 1869; Frederickson, 1981).

The first documented formalised tenure in the Cape Colony was state provision of labourer housing and land grants for servants (Wilmot and Chase, 1869). The Dutch East India Company provided housing for its servants in the form of workers lodges (Wilmot and Chase, 1869; Frederickson, 1981). This labourer housing can be described as mass produced housing resembling a hostel. State owned labourer housing also housed slaves that were not accommodated on the property of their employers. Similar to the Dutch approach to housing labourers, the British Empire also built hostels in Natal in the 1870s for contract workers from India (Home, 2000). A number of authors have noted the strict building codes that British state hostels had to comply with, codes drawn up and overseen by the Colonial Office in London (Home, 2000). The hostel model utilised in Natal was replicated in other South African towns in the late 1800s (for a few examples see Bettison, 1953; Parnell; 1988). After the discovery of diamonds, gold and other minerals, the private sector (mining companies) also started to use the hostel model as a form of accommodation to house the large number of migrant labourers necessary to work in the mines. Many black labourers at the mines were housed in single sex hostels, intended to sustain the culture of migrancy and keep black families in the reserves (Calderwood, 1953; Chrush, 1992; Demissie, 1998). It is important to note that land ownership in the British colonies was not restricted to the white population, thanks to seemingly inclusive liberal policies. Therefore, other racial groups, including indigenous Africans, could acquire land through the market (Davenport, 1985). Although property was unaffordable for most of the non-white population groups, many historical examples exist between 1850 and the 1890s of black individuals prospering and benefitting from the expanding markets and growing towns (Duncan, 1927; Davenport, 1985). Land in Natal that was not sold was rented out to minority groups by the British in order to encourage agricultural labour that could supply the markets serving the sea routes to India. Thus, in the latter part of the 1800s, a number of Africans and other cultural groups not only owned farm land, but they also rented land from the state, became land speculators and farmed land abandoned by European settlers (Duncan, 1927; Christopher, 1971; Davenpoort, 1985; Platzky and

Walker, 1985). Accommodation for labourers was either formally built with the assistance of the landlord or informally built by the worker.

Communal tenure with self-help housing was an African tradition long before colonisation and continued in the reserves set aside by colonists for African habitation (Platzky and Walker, 1985). Dutch and British approaches to the reserves differed, reflecting the different ideologies embedded in the two colonial regimes. The Dutch colonists with their corporatist approach were reluctant to expand the reserve territories or to extend ownership rights to the Africans residing in the reserves beyond communal loan farm tenure, as reserve land was considered to be state owned (Davenport, 1985). The British colonial government, on the other hand, had regulatory planning in place to expand and continuously develop reserve territories over time. The British government initially even gave 'conditional' communal title deeds (ownership) to the African population living in reserves, a policy in line with their liberal ideology. However, one should keep in mind that the British Empire still exerted control over the reserves through the inclusion of many conditionality clauses (see Davenport, 1985, 1987). With the *Glen Grey Act of 1894,* the earlier communal tenure model was replaced by individual ownership per plot. This Act required title deed holders to pay taxes on their properties, and was seen as a conscious effort to force Africans to work in industry and the mines, where migrant labourers were needed (see Davenport, 1985, 1987). Therefore, the *Glen Grey Act of 1894* was not received favourably in most British colonial reserves (Platzky and Walker, 1985).

Although social integration between different groups was discouraged and even prohibited in some cases, there was nonetheless a dependence on the labour of non-white population groups in South Africa (Duncan, 1927; Bettison, 1953; Davenport, 1985). During the 1700s and 1800s, the demand for labour in the urban areas was initially low, while the demand for labour in rural and agricultural areas was high, reflecting the fact that South Africa had very few urban areas. During the 1800s, small towns in the interior slowly began to develop as the frontier Afrikaners moved inland. The discovery of diamonds (1870s) and gold (1880s) in Kimberley and Johannesburg precipitated mass urbanisation as labourers moved to mining areas. This urban growth occurred rapidly and informally (Platzky and Walker, 1985) and resulted in housing shortages for all population groups (Duncan, 1927; Bettison, 1953). Hence, the late 1800s, with rapid growth in the mining and industrial sectors, can be seen as a critical juncture point setting the stage for the development of housing policies.

In the second half of the 1800s, the ZAR authorities passed laws to regulate the influx of much-needed African labourers. In 1853, a resolution was made by the Afrikaner government that land in the ZAR could be set aside near towns for African labourers and Coloured and Indian communities

(*ZAR Volksraad of 28 November 1853*). This land remained in the ownership of the state and was called 'locations' (van der Merwe, 1989). Occupation of the locations was made conditional upon the black population groups abiding by the governing regime's laws. This model was replicated all over South Africa from the mid-1800s onwards. Depending on municipal laws, allocated plots were either rented to black labourers or could be occupied for free. Each municipal government determined the amount and effectiveness of infrastructure implementation in the locations (Bettison, 1953). Similarly, although health and building regulations and town planning legislation did exist for locations, the enforcement of these regulations varied by municipality.

Population groups living in locations were at first at liberty to build any kind of 'self-help' house on their allocated plots as long as the house adhered to the building and health regulations of the municipality (Bettison, 1953). However, clay and grass houses built according to traditional methods were soon considered to be either not suitable or not adhering to many municipalities' regulations (Duncan, 1927; Bettison, 1953). Self-help buildings constructed out of wood or corrugated iron were proposed as an alternative. Common practice in the locations was to extend existing structures or to build additional informal structures on the allocated plots. With the continuous demand for black low-wage labour, the informal extensions were built either to supplement the income of the 'legal' resident and/or to house relatives migrating from the reserves in search of job opportunities (Duncan, 1927; Wood, 1937). Rooms were rented out at a flat rate, regardless of the number of people occupying the room, leading to over-crowding (Bettison, 1953). In sum, the increasing demand for labour led to urbanisation, which in turn resulted in the creation of locations subject to town planning regulations. By attempting to control the influx of Africans to urban areas, legislation enforced the concept of segregation (Bettison, 1953; van der Merwe, 1989). Continuous urbanisation also escalated the informal housing discourse in urban areas. Large informal settlements, with traditional self-help houses, rapidly developed on the outskirts of mineral rich and industrial towns (Duncan, 1927; Wood, 1937; Bettison, 1953). Despite the establishment of locations, governments were not able to meet the housing demand or control the influx of Africans (Bettison, 1953). By the early 1900s, overcrowding, squalid living conditions and growing informal extensions became the norm in the locations. In reaction, more laws were passed by the ZAR government to better regulate the informal tenure in the growing settlements. During the late 1800s, anti-squatting laws were passed in the ZAR which strengthened the segregation ideology embedded in urban planning legislation (Wood, 1937; Davenport, 1985; Platzky and Walker, 1985).

5.2   1910 - 1948: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The overview of the pre-1910 period shows that many apartheid ideologies related to housing were already in place by the early 1900s. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was founded as a dominion of the British Empire. During the period of the Union government from 1910 to 1948, the segregation discourse became an even more established concept in the South African political landscape. This era saw different political parties being voted into and out of power by white registered voters. Rapid urbanisation continued and minority population groups were uprooted from land that they owned. In addition, the emerging black middle class played an increasingly important role and the Union went through cultural transformations.

The urban context, segregation and forced relocations of the first half of the 1900s have been fairly well documented (for a few examples see Platzky and Walker, 1985; Davenport, 1969, 1970, 1985; 1987; Maylam, 1990; Lemon, 1991; Swilling, Humphries and Shubane, 1991). Welfare responses to the inadequate housing of the poor white population have also been well documented (Parnell, 1987, 1988). Therefore, this section elaborates on welfare legislation related to black housing such as the *Housing Act of 1920* and the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945*, which have received less attention. As will be elucidated below, South Africa during the period 1910 – 1948 was strongly influenced by liberal British urban development practices.

5.2.1   Historical juncture points between 1910 and 1948

The advancement of British colonial liberal principles, decades of land ownership by black population groups and industrialists seeking skilled labourers resulted in the growth of educated middle class black population groups. Liberal-minded industrialists stressed the importance of developing an educated black middle class in order to grow the economy. By contrast, mining corporations preferred the status quo, advocating the merit of unskilled migrant labourers willing to work for low wages and encouraging permanent residency in the reserves for non-whites. In reaction against the powerful corporatist agenda, political groups started to emerge that campaigned against the segregationist policies. One of these political groups was the African National Congress (ANC), a liberation movement formed in 1912 by a group of western-educated, non-traditionalist members of the African middle class. The ANC was the most prominent group opposing segregation and apartheid, and it is now the ruling political party in post-apartheid South Africa (Duncan, 1927; Platzky and Walker, 1985). The growth of the black middle class and the formation of anti-segregation political parties led to stricter segregation legislation, as the ruling white elite wanted to retain control over black population groups. Examples of segregation laws developed during this time include the *Natives Land Act No 27 of 1913*, the *Housing Act of 1920,* the *Native Urban Areas Act of*

1923, the *Native Law Amendment Act of 1937* and the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945.* Segregation ideologies that had been prevalent since the onset of colonialism intensified during this time. Restrictions against Africans and other non-whites during the 1920s were promoted by Colonel Stallard, a chairman on the Transvaal Local Government Commission. Colonel Stallard spoke out in favour of urban planning based on European towns that perpetuated the interests of white settlers. Therefore, permanent residency of Africans in reserves was encouraged by the ruling Union and apartheid governments (Davenport, 1969, 1970; Rich, 1978, 1980; Mabin and Smit, 1997).

The late 1930s marked a critical juncture point in the South African political landscape. The urban black population, which was less than 600,000 in 1921, was estimated to be more than 1,150,000 by the mid-1930s (Davenport, 1970). As a result, laws related to slum clearance were passed, and many informal settlements were eradicated (Parnell, 1985). Despite these legislative measures, informal settlements continued to grow rapidly on the outskirts of towns and cities. Spouses from the reserves started to move to urban areas, and black families became a new norm in urban areas. The traditional viewpoint that black population groups had no permanent place in 'white settler' towns began to be questioned. Measures to control urbanisation and restrict ownership in locations were not successful, and informal settlements continued to grow in the 1940s (Davenport, 1970). In an attempt to promote the reserves as the permanent homes of Africans, the Union government suggested that Africans develop agricultural land and elect governance councils to oversee development aspects in the reserves (Frederickson, 1981; Davenport, 1985). Although the rationale behind and success of this political indoctrination can be questioned, the creation of governance councils influenced the future apartheid regime's approach and was used to justify stricter segregation in demarcated areas (Frederickson, 1981). Historical evidence indicates that a number of liberal politicians in different ruling parties between 1910 and 1948 opposed segregation legislation and advocated for wage regulation to prevent the exploitation of black labourers. Some authors even argue that despite the segregation legislation passed on the demand of the voting white population, pre-apartheid liberal governments such as the United Party (1934-1948) intentionally curbed the impact of these harsh laws by not enforcing them (Duncan, 1927; Davenport, 1969; Parnell, 1988). Partly as a result of unsatisfactory enforcement of the segregation laws, the white population voted the National Party (NP) into power in 1948, marking the beginning of apartheid.

5.2.2 The Housing Act of 1920 and the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945

The *Natives Land Act No 27 of 1913,* the *Native Urban Areas Act of 1923* and the *Native Law Amendment Act of 1937* turned common segregatory land practices into law. Unlike the segregation

focus of the *Natives Land Act of 1913* (which prohibited land ownership outside reserves) and the *Native Urban Areas Act of 1923* (which controlled access to urban areas), the concepts embedded in the *Housing Act of 1920* and the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945* can be traced back to international discourses. Particularly important was the UK's approach to welfare in its colonial possessions (Davenport, 1985). These early international influences had a profound impact on post-apartheid housing policies and practices.

The two world wars had a significant impact on the welfare directions of the British Empire. After WWI, the UK constructed public housing for its residual poor (see Chapter 4). This also became part of the UK's ideological approach to housing in countries under its colonial rule (Davenport, 1985). The unhealthy and dehumanising living conditions of the African poor living in overpopulated informal structures became a welfare concern for the ruling government in South Africa. The ideological welfare approach of the ruling British regime fused with the dominant segregation ideology of the Afrikaners in the *Housing Act of 1920*. This Act can be viewed as an amalgamation between international housing welfare discourses after WWI and segregation ideals cultivated over three centuries in colonial South Africa.   The *Housing Act of 1920* required local governments to build adequate standardised brick housing for the poor. Municipalities were required to first determine the layout of settlements based on segregation principles. Secondly, they had to generate implementation plans with cost projections related to the cost of land, the cost of housing (according to minimum standards) and the cost of services (Calderwood, 1953; Baines, 1995). After the new formalised houses were built, the wood and iron informal structures that were the predominant housing type in locations were to be demolished. The municipalities steered the building process and the houses were considered state-owned public houses, with tenants paying low rental amounts. In line with previous town planning laws, the *Housing Act* mandated that the locations remain racially segregated and separated from one another by open spaces, preferably by buffer zones such as access roads (Floyd, 1944; Calderwood, 1953; Christopher 1986; Gelderblom and Kok, 1994). In order to manage urban areas and develop the locations, a two-tiered municipal administration system became common practice. African, Coloured and Indian locations were governed separately through "Native Advisory Housing Boards" that were appointed (Davenport, 1969). Case studies from the 1920s show that the new *Housing Act* was not favourably received in many locations, especially because it required regular rent payments (see Bettison, 1953). Since the establishment of locations in the 1850s, most non-white population groups had been accustomed to weak municipal administrative systems. As a result, inhabitants of locations had developed their own informal governance systems and often earned extra income by renting out informal accommodation to other labourers or extended family

members. The construction of formalised housing did not affect the continuous growth of informal (now considered illegal) structures in the backyards of 'public' state owned houses.

During WWII, housing development in the black locations was halted (Bettison, 1953; Davenport, 1985). After the end of the war, the British Empire then resumed development activities in its colonies. The importance of the provision of housing for labourers was affirmed with the passing of the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945*. Contrary to the *Housing Act of 1920,* which focused on municipal segregationist planning and building housing for poor blacks, the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act* stressed the value of liberal ideals related to employment. This corresponded with European discourses of public housing provision for workers after the WWII. The UK government had redirected its focus from housing for the poor (as it had done after the First World War), towards housing the work force. The *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act* is also in line with the colonial welfare responses proposed in the UK's *Colonial Development and Welfare Act* (CDWA) of 1940. In essence, the CDWA acknowledged that colonial governments had an obligation to improve the welfare in their colonies (Harris and Giles, 2003:1 70; Arku and Harris, 2005: 897-8). The *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act* reinforced the control exercised over the social movements of the black population in townships in line with segregation principles, but it also gave local municipalities greater responsibility in providing adequate housing for the black population that was legally employed in urban areas (Calderwood, 1954). This reaffirmed legislation from the 1920s to the mid-1940s which prescribed that the capital costs of land, housing structures and services (infrastructure and social amenities) must be part of township planning (Calderwood, 1953; Baines, 1995). Despite the various welfare legislation that attempted to address the housing shortages suffered by black population groups, the demand for acceptable housing continued to far outweigh the supply (Davenport, 1985).

5.3 1948 – MID 1970S: WELFARE APPROACHES OF THE APARTHEID REGIME

The time period between 1948 and the early 1970s can be seen as the 'golden age' of apartheid and enforced segregation. As shown in the previous sections, urban planning segregation policies were conceptualised centuries before the National Party (apartheid government) took power in 1948. However, the National Party strengthened these earlier policies to create a society that was strictly divided along racial lines. Unlike previous ruling parties, the apartheid regime firmly enforced segregation policies to control the influx of black population groups to urban areas, which were designated for the white population. Previous segregation legislation had not prevented black population groups from settling outside the reserve areas, and by the 1950s, more than half of the African population resided permanently or temporarily outside the reserves (Frederickson, 1981).

After 1948, however, segregation legislation from before apartheid was violently enforced to limit African ownership of land and access to the cities (Maylam, 1995). To strengthen white minority control, the apartheid government also instituted a number of segregatory laws and policies.

The *Group Areas Act of 1950* is a prime example of the extreme segregation policies implemented by the National Party (Maylam, 1995). This Act legislated that separate racial groups must live in separate areas. Forced removals of established African and Coloured communities between 1955 and the 1970s and the eradication of informal settlements intensified the political dimension of housing. The ideology behind the *Group Areas Act* was very similar to the Eurocentric doctrine of Colonel Stallard in the 1920s. The apartheid government promoted the narrative that, contrary to the economic demands of the time, non-whites were not meant to be part of the urban system of 'white' South Africa (Davenport, 1969). There is much literature that focuses on the apartheid segregation policies related to tenure and housing, in particular the forced removal of almost two million Africans to the reserves and designated locations (e.g. Davenport, 1985; Platzky and Walker, 1985; Maylam, 1995). The objective of the following section is not to repeat a well-documented historical narrative. Rather, the aim is to show how welfare principles related to black housing were extended and adapted by the apartheid government.

5.3.1 Developing townships and homelands

The two tiered municipal system of 'white' and 'black' areas that started in the early 20th century continued during the apartheid era (Calderwood, 1964). Much of the funding for managed urban development came from the *Native Service Levy Act of 1952*, which compelled employers to contribute to a fund for township development (the locations described earlier became known as townships in the 1940s). The principles and guidelines for the development of housing schemes were encapsulated in the National Housing and Planning Commission publications *"Minimum Standards of Housing Accommodation for Non-Europeans"* (1951) and *"A Guide to the Planning of Non-European Townships"* (1955) (Calderwood, 1953). Municipalities were compelled to standardise housing through mass production. In addition, they had to plan for the provision of sites, infrastructure and services such as water, sanitation and refuse removal (Calderwood, 1954). Infrastructure planning included aspects such as building and maintaining roads, laying out sites and planning for social amenities such as health, education, economic, social security and recreation facilities (Calderwood, 1953; Baines, 1995). As a result of the above laws, policies and regulations, municipalities constructed houses in black locations during the 1950s and 1960s on a scale far greater than had happened in the first half of the 20th century (Christopher, 1987; Maylam, 1990).

Many site and service schemes were implemented in the townships from the 1950s to the 1970s (Bettison, 1953; Calderwood, 1964; Stadler, 1979; Christopher, 1987). Housing welfare policy concepts discussed in publications during the 1950s and 1960s included the growing housing backlog, site and service projects, the layout of low-cost housing in locations, 'controlled squatting', self-help housing, mass production of housing and the costs and standards related to housing. During the 1950s and 1960s, it was envisaged that an individual would be given a serviced plot on which he could build a temporary self-help structure to live in while either waiting for a municipal contractor or the family themselves (if they could afford it) to build a formal house. After completion of the 'formalised' house, the thought was that the informal house would be demolished (Calderwood, 1954, 1955, 1963, 1964; Welch, 1964; Mocke, 1956). However, the continuous migration of people to urban areas impacted service delivery, and the apartheid government, similar to all the previous governments, was unable to respond to the large demand for housing. As a result, the economic feasibility of continuing with the site and service approach in South Africa was questioned in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Frederickson, 1981).

Similar to the previous regime, the apartheid government continued with the concept of reserves, which were now called homelands. The main rationale behind the homelands was to prevent the African population from residing permanently in urban areas; welfare was only a secondary concern. The homelands were also used to justify segregation and social dominance (Davenport, 1964; Frederickson, 1981). The apartheid government continued to propagate the advantages of self-governance systems in the reserves, stressing the importance of political independence and preserving the 'cultural autonomy' of African groups in their 'own' demarcated area. The apartheid government even offered official 'independence' to nine reserves and encouraged citizenship rights for Africans in their own 'home' land based on tribal ancestry. Beginning in the 1960s, the apartheid government invested more capital in the homelands than they did in the townships in an attempt to stimulate regional development and to create settlements for the nearly two million Africans forcibly relocated back to the reserves (Davenport, 1985, 1987; Soni, 1992; Smith, 1992; Malinga, 2000). Permanent ownership was encouraged in the homelands, either based on individual ownership or communal tenure. Furthermore, new towns were constructed near the borders of homelands in an attempt to attract economic investment (Soni, 1992; Malinga, 2000; Marais, 2001). The hope was that by giving black Africans their own land and helping to stimulate the economy in the homelands, there would be less incentive for Africans to move to the "white" parts of South Africa. The fact that many of the Africans living in urban areas or working on farms were second, third or fourth generation descendants of African migrants that had no cultural linkages to the reserves was ignored in the policies and proposals related to the homelands (Frederickson, 1981).

5.4 APARTHEID GOVERNANCE CHALLENGED: THE EARLY 1970S TO 1993

The second half of the apartheid era was a time of much political and social turbulence, which had an effect on the evolving housing policy discourses of the time. The main trends in the housing policy discourse after the 1970s included the privatisation of public housing stock, investment in homeland housing and the role that the private sector and community groups could play in providing housing and basic services for the poor. There is an abundance of literature focusing on housing and concurrent policy discourses between the early 1970s and 1994 (see for example Adler and Oelofse, 1996; Goodlad, 1996; Lalloo, 1998; Tomlinson, 1998; Bond, Dor and Ruiters, 2000; Jones and Datta, 2000; Khan and Thurman, 2001; Gilbert, 2002; Gusler, 2000). Therefore this section only briefly reflects on critical junctures and housing discourse narratives during this time period.

Critical juncture points influencing housing policy were largely related to the growing unrest and mass political resistance against apartheid. The 1970s and 1980s were a time of protests, violent resistance, township conflicts, clamp-downs by the ruling party, political liberation struggles, the creation of anti-apartheid advocacy groups, and international sanctions that pushed the country into an economic recession. In particular, the 1976 youth uprising against the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in the township schools was a watershed moment in the South African political landscape (Mabin and Smit, 1997). International and domestic pressure eventually led to urban policies becoming less rigid and more inclusive of minority groups. By the late 1980s, the dismantlement of the apartheid regime was regarded as inevitable. In the early 1990s, legislation enforcing racial segregation was modified or abolished, and the ban on anti-apartheid political groups such as the ANC was lifted. Policies abolished include the *Natives Land Act (No 27 of 1913)*, the *Native Urban Areas Act of 1923* and the *Native Law Amendment Act of 1937*. The *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945* had been replaced by the *Black Communities Development Act* in 1984, which guaranteed automatic 30 or 99 year lease renewals to township households (Soussan, 1984). This Act was short lived, replaced by the *Less Formal Township Establishment Act of 1991,* which fast tracked development in townships. In 1994, the homelands of the previous era were incorporated as part of the new South Africa.

The focus during this phase were related to the implications that the disintegration of the apartheid state would have for the future of welfare housing. Literature focused on the consequences of segregation, spatial planning policies and informal settlements. The Urban Foundation (1991), the Urban Sector Network, the de Loor Report (1992), the National Housing Forum (1993) and the Independent Development Trust (IDT) all influenced policy proposals for a post-apartheid South Africa. Much of the research produced by these groups advanced private sector ideologies for housing

development. This was in line with the World Bank approach of supplying a once off capital subsidy for individual ownership, piloted by the IDT in 1991. (For a detailed account of housing policy developments in this transitional period, see Lemon, 1982; Soussan, 1984; Platzky and Walker, 1985; Urban Foundation, 1991; Corbett and Smith, 1992; De Loor, 1992; Gardner, 1992; Mabin and Smit, 1992; Smit, 1992; Hindson, Mabin and Watson, 1993; National Housing Forum, 1993). In short, the last two decades of the apartheid era were characterised by political change, the abolishment of segregation policies, continuous research by various advocacy groups, and new policy responses aimed at speeding up development in previously disadvantaged areas. The next section discusses the existing and new welfare policy responses of this time period as well as the 'new' directions proposed for post-apartheid housing policies.

5.4.1   Continuation and adaptation of welfare approaches to housing

The unstable political climate of the time had an impact on housing welfare applications. The last years of apartheid were characterised by continued forced removals, the eradication or upgrading of informal settlements and violent protests related to the poor housing conditions. The most common types of housing for black population groups were state owned rental houses in townships (commonly referred to as public or council housing), 'illegal' self-help housing in either the townships or in 'white' areas, migrant housing in single sex hostels provided by mining companies, and self-help and government assisted housing in the homelands (Goodlad, 1996). Site and service schemes were promoted in the townships until the mid-1960s (Calderwood, 1963, 1964; Welch, 1964). However, from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s, site and service housing in black townships received much less government support, as the state directed its infrastructure and housing investments towards the homelands (Soni, 1992; Malinga, 2000; Marais, 2001). The withdrawal of government support for building houses in the townships resulted in the rapid growth of informal self-help settlements from the late 1960s (Swilling *et al*, 1991). In was only in the mid-1980s that the National Housing Commission again began to focus on state-provided housing in the townships.

Starting in the mid-1970s, liberal market ideologies that promoted individual ownership re-emerged in the housing welfare discourse in South Africa. In line with international practices, the disintegrating apartheid government commenced with privatisation of their public housing stock in 1983 in an attempt to curb public spending. Eighty per cent of this public housing stock was situated in the black townships and had been built in the 1950s and 1960s (Malinga, 2000). Initially, the selling price of the public houses was beyond the reach of most black communities. In a bid to stimulate the sale of public housing units, massive rent increases were introduced to make the units more attractive to potential investors (Soussan, 1984). However, rather than boosting the sale of

public housing, this resulted in violent protests and massive rent boycotts in most townships (Parnell, 1992). The IDT was launched by the government in 1991 as a short-term funding initiative to channel expenditures on social welfare programmes. This programme experimented with new manifestations of the site-and-service idea and incorporated aspects of the World Bank subsidy model. The IDT provided more than 100,000 housing subsidies for low-income and poor households. This capital subsidy scheme provided the basis for the subsidy component laid out in the 1994 *White Paper on Housing* (Tomlinson, 2002).

5.5 POST-APARTHEID HOUSING POLICY WELFARE APPLICATIONS

Literature dealing with post-apartheid (post-1994) housing policies in South Africa is quite plentiful. Key post-apartheid housing narratives include the historical impact of segregation spatial planning; the envisioned role of government, municipalities, the private sector and communities in implementing various programmes; the application, implementation and beneficiaries of housing programmes (using empirical case studies); the consequences of implementation (or lack thereof) of housing polices; and the streamlining and adaption of housing policies to be more responsive to housing demand (for a few examples see Dewar, 1994; Maylam, 1995; Goodlad, 1996; Bond and Tait, 1997; Tomlinson, 1998; Lalloo, 1999; Seekings, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2001a, 2001b, 2011; Gilbert, 2002; Miraftab, 2003; Khan and Thring, 2003; du Plessis, 2005; Pillay, Tomlinson and Du Toit, 2006; Goebel, 2007; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008; Lemanski, 2009; Landman and Napier, 2010). Chapter 6 deals with key themes of post-apartheid housing policy narratives in great detail. Therefore, this section focuses on the welfare ideologies that are reflected in South African post-apartheid housing policy and seeks to identify key influences on the state's housing policies and programmes.

5.5.1 Housing policy: a welfare cornerstone of the post-apartheid regime

The post-apartheid state has been committed to providing housing for poor and low-income citizens since its inception. The fundamental welfare ideology contained in the post-apartheid ANC housing legislation is a reaction against the segregation practices and the prohibition of black ownership of the preceding decades. By 1994, the foundation of a new housing policy had been put in place. The newly elected ANC government confirmed its commitment to housing in the *White Paper on Housing: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa* (DoH, 1994) and in its election manifesto, the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP) (RSA, 1994). In these documents, the ANC envisaged a South Africa in which previously disadvantaged communities would have access to security of tenure, adequate housing and basic infrastructure (DoH, 1994). Based on international enablement trends, the *White Paper on Housing* states that the government of South

Africa should establish viable, socially and economically integrated communities situated in areas that allow convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, education and social amenities. The focus of the *White Paper on Housing* is on welfare aspects and the role of the state rather than on the projected roles of the private sector and the market (DoH, 1994).

In addition to the *White Paper on Housing*, which identified housing principles for the new South Africa (DoH, 1994), the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996)* proclaimed that every citizen, regardless of race, has the right to access adequate housing. Section 26 of the Constitution articulates the responsibility of the state to utilise available resources, legislation and other measures in order to ensure that this right to housing is achieved for all citizens (RSA, 1996). Ambitious targets for housing delivery were set in the *White Paper on Housing*, in which the ANC regime promised to deliver one million ownership houses to poor and low-income households within five years (DoH, 1994). This promise of one million houses was reasserted in the ANC's *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RSA, 1994) and was achieved in six years. More recently, key housing welfare implementation strategies have been set out in the *Housing Code* (DoH, 2000, 2004; DoHS, 2009) and the *Breaking 'New' Ground* (BNG) housing plan of 2004.

5.5.2 Welfare implementation strategies: the Housing Code (2000, 2004, 2009) and the Breaking 'New' Ground (BNG) housing plan of 2004

South African housing policy applications evolve continuously, but they remain firmly rooted in the ideology of basic human rights as encapsulated in the *White Paper on Housing* and the Constitution. The progressive transformation of the South African approach to housing is clearly illustrated by the Department of Housing changing its name to the Department of Human Settlements in 2009 (DoHS). Key strategies put in place to realise South Africa's housing goals include the *Housing Code* and its adaptations (DoH, 2000, 2004; DoHS, 2009) and the *Comprehensive Housing Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements* of 2004, commonly known as *Breaking New Ground* (BNG) (DoH). The *Housing Code* (DoH, 2000, 2004; DoHS, 2009) provides guidelines for municipalities on how to achieve the ideals laid out in the *White Paper on Housing*. It is constantly updated as housing legislation and policies are adapted. Thus, the *Housing Code* now includes implementation proposals from the BNG housing plan of 2004. *BNG* is a strategic housing plan focused on accelerated delivery of housing. It provides clear indicators of deliverables, time frames and estimated resource requirements of different housing programmes (DoH, 2004). Themes from the BNG housing plan that are now encapsulated in the updated *Housing Code* (DoHS, 2009) include the spatial integration of human settlements, social housing, informal settlement upgrading, institutional and housing subsidy reforms, capacity building, support for the entire residential property

market, and housing and job creation. In essence, the BNG housing plan is an extension *and* an evolvement of the ideological welfare concepts embedded in the *White Paper on Housing*. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to fully elaborate on all aspects encapsulated in post-apartheid housing policy legislation. Instead, this section identifies key housing welfare approaches reflected in the different subsidy programmes and elaborates on historical influences.

The various subsidy programmes are laid out in the *Housing Code*, and therefore they change as the code evolves. The main programmes that have been put in place include site and service schemes, the privatisation of public housing built by previous governments, informal settlement upgrading, affordable rental and ownership options for low and middle income labourers, and spatial restructuring or targeted intervention to address centuries of segregation urban planning. These post-apartheid approaches and their influences are shown in Table 5.1. As the table demonstrates, the historical narratives of segregation and apartheid are the main aspects steering post-apartheid housing policy and practises. Other key influences on the housing subsidy programmes are colonial development practices, the UN, the World Bank, the USA and the housing approaches of other developing and developed countries (in particular Western Europe). This chapter only contains a brief introduction to these subsidy programmes and influences. Chapter 6 discusses the contentious discourses related to the different approaches in greater detail.

Table 5.1: Influences on post-apartheid housing applications

Influences embedded in post-apartheid welfare housing applications	Site and service schemes	Privatisation of public housing	Informal settlement upgrading	Affordable rentals / ownership options for working class	Spatial restructuring / targeted intervention
Segregation / apartheid practices	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Colonial development practices	▓			▓	
United Nations	▓		▓		▓
World Bank	▓		▓		
United States of America	▓		▓		
Western Europe		▓		▓	
Developing countries	▓	▓	▓		▓

The largest subsidy programme in post-apartheid South Africa is the *Project Linked Subsidy* model (commonly called site and service schemes), which provides housing ownership for qualifying low-income and poor individuals. Low-cost, mass produced units are built in project areas approved by Provincial Housing Boards, with development being steered by either provinces or municipalities (DoH, 2002). The Department of Human Settlements estimates that approximately three million project linked subsidy houses have been built in South Africa up to 2012 (DoHS, 2012). Popular

narratives contend that the Project Linked Subsidy model is based on the site and service schemes proposed by the World Bank (Tomlinson, 1994; Bond, 2000). However, the historical narrative in this chapter indicates that the South African version of site and services, with its mass production and replication of welfare housing, has much more in common with UK development practises advanced in their colonies from the 1920s than it does with the site and service approach of the World Bank in the 1970s (Bettison, 1953; Davenport, 1985). South Africa's post-apartheid housing approach was heavily influenced by the UK's colonial welfare approach. In turn, the UK's colonial welfare practice was influenced by welfare housing construction in the UK between the two world wars. The UK built close to three million public rental accommodation units between the two world wars for its poor citizens (Liepmann, 1937; Crane and Paxton, 1951). This welfare conscience of the UK also extended to its colonies and influenced town planning practises in South Africa, resulting in the construction of mass standardised houses on serviced stands. Thus, the UK method of site and services, including the provision of a 'formalised' house, preceded the US, UN and World Bank approaches (see Chapter 4). In addition, the site and service approaches advocated by the USA since the 1930s in Latin America, by the UN since its establishment in 1945, and by the World Bank since the 1970s (see Chapter 4) all advocated the merit of self-help housing rather than standardised government built houses. Perhaps South Africa's site and service schemes are associated with the World Bank because of the World Bank's considerable influence in other developing countries due to its funding capacity and promotion of site and service-related policy concepts.

Another South African subsidy programme called the *Enhanced Extended Discount Benefit Scheme,* which replaced the *Discount Benefit Scheme* in 2009, supports the privatisation of public housing stock. The purpose of this scheme is to assist tenants and other potential low-income beneficiaries to acquire ownership of rental houses built by the state before 1994 (DoH, 2002; DoHS, 2009). This is in line with international trends in developed countries since the late 1970s, when neo-liberal welfare approaches emerged as an alternative to state welfarism (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). In an attempt to reduce public spending and promote private sector development, many developed countries encouraged the sale of public housing. Tenants (mostly low-income) were assisted through housing subsidies and housing allowances to buy this public housing stock. The apartheid government began to sell its public housing stock in 1983, although this met with much resistance and limited success. The sale of public housing stock continued after 1994, with the ANC government creating subsidy programmes to enable low-income citizens to buy public housing built by the previous governments.

Informal settlements have been a policy concern in post-apartheid South Africa since the publication of the *White Paper on Housing* in 1994. The ANC government's initial response to

informal settlements focused on their eradication, and it took some time before policy approaches started to recognise that upgrading can help to create sustainable settlements. The commitment to informal settlement upgrading was legally confirmed in South Africa through the *Housing Code* (DoH, 2000, 2004; DoHS, 2009) and the BNG housing plan (DoH, 2004). Both of these policies stress the importance of upgrading informal settlements and integrating them into urban planning in order to overcome centuries of spatial, social and economic exclusion. In line with international practices, the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme seeks to improve the living conditions of the poor by providing tenure security and access to basic services and housing. To do this, the government is systematically conducting in-situ upgrading of informal settlements. The upgrading process is not prescriptive, but provides for a range of tenure options and housing applications (DoH, 2004; DoHS, 2009). The subsidy from the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme finances the servicing of stands. Once beneficiaries have obtained serviced stands, they are encouraged to apply for construction assistance for formal housing through other housing programmes such as *Individual Subsidies* or self-help housing programmes such as the *People's Housing Process Programme* (DoH, 2000, 2004), the *Enhanced People's Housing Process* or the *Social Housing Programme* (DoHS, 2009).

After decades of advocacy from individual development practitioners, the UN and the World Bank, most developing countries, including South Africa, have recognised the potential of upgrading existing informal settlements. Upgrading programmes gained institutional support when most developing countries endorsed the MDGs (UN, 2000). Thus, institutional responses have evolved (in theory at least) from the earlier common practice of slum eradication to the current upgrading of informal settlements (DHS, 2009). This being said, the eradication of informal settlements is still prevalent in many countries, including in South Africa (see Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing, 2012). Although international informal settlement upgrading approaches promote self-help housing in which residents have greater control over the housing process, this is not entirely the case in South Africa. In theory, the upgrading programme in South Africa recognises community aspects. However, the housing aspect of South Africa's upgrading programme is not based on the self-help housing ideologies advocated for decades by international agencies such as the UN and the World Bank (Ntema, 2011). Instead, South Africa's Informal Settlement Upgrading 'housing phase' is based on the formalisation of housing structures through one of the National Housing Programmes (DoHS, 2009). This process of formalising housing through municipal assistance contains some elements of South African town planning proposals from the 1950 and 1960s. These earlier proposals focused on the provision of basic infrastructure but did not promote permanent self-help housing. Instead, individuals staying on plots that had received service

infrastructure remained in self-help structures only temporarily while waiting for municipal assistance to formalise the housing structure (Mocke, 1956; Calderwood, 1954, 1955, 1963).

The concepts of social housing (regulated affordable rental accommodation) and ownership assistance for working class labourers unable to purchase houses through the market were not given much attention in the *White Paper on Housing* (1994). Instead, it was only between 1995 and the early 2000s that the ideas of subsidised rental housing near places of employment and subsidised ownership housing for the working class began to be developed in South Africa. The second concept is often described as the 'gap' market, as it refers to households whose income is too high to qualify for government provided homes but too low to access mortgage funding through formal market institutions. Both the BNG housing plan and the updated Housing Code stress the importance of extending subsidy support to all who cannot afford housing, rather than only supplying housing to the very poor (DoH, 2004; DoHS, 2009). Various social housing measures have been put in place to address the housing backlog, including the *Social Housing Programme*, the *Community Residential Units Programme*, the *Hostel Conversion Programme* and *Institutional Subsidies*. The direct objective of social housing is to facilitate effectively managed institutional housing in areas where there is a demand for housing units. The indirect objectives are linked to spatial planning and focus on urban restructuring, urban renewal and integration (DoH, 2004). Programmes focusing on ownership options for 'gap market' households include the *Individual Subsidy*, the *Credit Linked Subsidy* and the *Non-Credit Linked Subsidy* programmes. Through these programmes, the government provides partial assistance to households earning a monthly salary, enabling them to access approved mortgage loans and acquire an existing house or a vacant serviced residential stand (DoHS, 2009). The threshold for assistance is determined by the state and is adjusted as needed.

The concept of subsidised rental housing can be traced back to the earliest forms of state welfare housing intervention in both Western Europe and colonial South Africa. In Western Europe, the eradication of slums in the mid-1800s necessitated public spending to provide housing for the displaced labourers (see Chapter 4). In the South African colonial context, the Dutch East India Company provided rental housing to its servants, and the British Empire institutionalised the idea of mass production of labourer housing by building hostels for contract labourers from India. The mines (private sector) also joined the trend, providing single sex hostels for migrant labourers. In addition, the site and service schemes from the mid-1940s to mid-1960s in South Africa were intended as state-owned rental housing for labourers. Current models of social housing in South Africa are also influenced by best practices in the Netherlands. The importance of providing labourer housing has been stressed throughout this chapter. Although most of the discourses of labourer housing have been related to rental housing, the post-apartheid government also recognises the market's inability to

supply formal ownership houses to much of the working class. Thus, in line with enablement principles, the state has attempted to put institutional mechanisms in place to enable the market to supply ownership to a greater segment of society (DoHS, 2009).

Spatial restructuring aims to address the social exclusion and segregation spatial planning policies of the previous ruling regimes by promoting the integration of communities (DoH, 2004). Therefore, instead of focusing only on housing units, South Africa has begun to focus on creating sustainable human settlements that include social and economic amenities in addition to housing. Promoting integration and spatial restructuring is firmly in line with recent international discourses on enablement, whole-sector development and sustainability advanced by the UN and the World Bank (see Chapter 4). In addition to the subsidy approaches mentioned in the sections above, programmes such as the *Integrated Residential Development Programme* and the *Provision of Social and Economic Facilities Programme* are specifically designed to encourage spatial restructuring and integration. Numerous other programmes are based on targeted interventions. These target interventions programmes are in reaction to the centuries of exclusion of black population groups from welfare services and demonstrate the current regime's commitment to ensuring all its citizens access to housing. Some examples of targeted interventions include temporary relocation of residents while settlements are upgraded, relieving housing stress induced by natural disasters and recognition of communal tenure rights (DoH, 2004; DoHS, 2009).

5.6 SYNTHESIS: CENTURIES OF TENURE DISCOURSES PAVING THE WAY FOR CURRENT AND FUTURE HOUSING POLICY RESPONSES

The main purpose of this historical analysis was to show that although political regimes come and go, tenure ideologies originating in past regimes survive and continue to evolve centuries after their inception. The concepts of tenure and housing are inseparable, and therefore the tenure discourses of the past laid the foundation for the housing applications of post-apartheid South Africa. In line with Kemeny's tenure theory (2001), this chapter also demonstrates that a close relationship exists between a society's values and the way in which that society approaches tenure and welfare housing. The different colonial approaches taken by the Dutch and British colonists and the subsequent merger of the two regimes into the Union of South Africa illustrates the complexity of welfare policy development. In addition, development paths of previous regimes influenced both apartheid and post-apartheid housing welfare policies and practices. Similar than in Chapter 4, this synthesis uses the concepts of informality, housing for labourers and ownership discourses to show how path dependency influences current housing policy directions. These variables, in particular informality and ownership discourses have direct relevance to the case studies discussed in Chapter 6.

5.6.1 Informality: the oldest housing discourse

The narrative of informal settlements characterised by a disregard for land regulations and property rights has continued throughout the centuries. It reveals the lack of state capacity to control the informal environment and remains a great concern in post-apartheid South Africa. Informal tenure and attempts to 'formally' regulate it started with Dutch colonisation. Settlers who did not own legalised properties had a general disregard for Dutch colonial land regulations, and an even greater disregard for British colonial land practises based on market principles. This is because informal settlements are governed by their own rules and their creation and perpetuation are not based on market principles. Neither the Dutch nor the British regimes had the administrative capacity to control the informal land practices of the Dutch settlers. With the growth of towns in the 1800s, informal settlements became an even greater regulatory concern than in the previous decades. Regulatory concerns related to urbanisation and informality mirrored international trends (see Chapter 4). However, in the South African context, urban planning legislation was intertwined with segregation (apartheid) ideology, resulting in the creation of reserves (homelands) and locations (townships) starting in the 1850s. Thus, formalised urban planning responses firstly addressed planned segregation and only addressed informality three decades later with the slum clearance acts of the 1880s. The informal settlement discourse in South Africa evolved along with international discourses, shifting focus from slum eradication to settlement upgrading. Enablement and whole-sector development principles championed by the UN and the MDGs are visible in the BNG housing plan related to informal settlement upgrading and the creation of sustainable settlements (DoH, 2004). In short, the illegal occupation of land in South Africa has occurred for centuries and is still common practise even today. Thus, the historical narrative of informality has remained a constant, even though the governing regimes have changed.

5.6.2 State provision of labourer housing

The first housing welfare approach in South Africa pertained to the provision of accommodation for settlers and labourers by both the public and private sectors between the 1600s and 1900s. A comparison can be draw between the lodge accommodation provided by the Dutch East India Company for its servants and slaves in the 1600s, the hostels built by the British Empire in the 1800s for Indian contract workers and private sector single sex hostels for migrant labourers in the late 1800s and 1900s. In the mid-1940s, the importance of labourer housing gained international attention, with many countries starting to provide public rental housing. The ideology behind public housing at this time was based on Keynesian economics and assumptions of full employment (see Chapter 2). The international trend of providing public housing for the working class was reflected in South Africa with the creation of locations and the *Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act No. 25 of*

1945. Segregated subsidised development continued under the apartheid regime, with site and service scheme public houses being built in black townships well into the mid-1960s. Subsidising housing for middle-income (working class) labourers was at first a secondary concern for the post-apartheid regime, which focused on ownership housing for poor and low-income citizens. However, welfare assistance has recently been extended to middle income workers as well. As a result, the welfare labourer housing discourse present in the 1600s, mid-1800s and mid-1900s has resurfaced in the post-apartheid era. The current government's commitment to working class housing is reflected through social housing (rental housing for low to middle income labourers) and credit linked funding (assisting middle income households to obtain mortgages). These recent developments have been influenced by enablement principles advanced by the World Bank. This neo-liberal influence can be seen in the creation of a secondary market for low-income housing, the integration of mixed-income neighbourhoods and the inclusion of low-to-middle income households in housing strategies. This creation of a neo-liberal welfare market based on the commodification of housing is a contested discourse.

5.6.3 Ownership ideologies

The common narrative asserts that the historical ownership discourse in South Africa is embedded in segregation and social control ideologies. A more nuanced exploration reveals that the Dutch and British colonists introduced different ideologies of private land ownership in South Africa. Land ownership in the Dutch colonies was based on ancestral European bloodlines, and the descendants of the Dutch colonists therefore developed an ownership culture based on inheritance ('birth right'). The eldest son usually inherited the family farm, while his male siblings were encouraged to obtain their own loan farmland. This system of concentrated and inherited land ownership was accompanied by land annexation and the exertion of control over minority groups, all of which was justified by the religious beliefs of the time (Davenport, 1985). The private market was at first not a determining factor in the appropriation of property, as cultural advancement was seen as more important than property speculation. Social stratification was based mainly on race, and the Dutch settlers created reserves for Africans and locations for the other non-white population groups. Ownership of property was mostly restricted to the white ruling class, although this right was sometimes extended to non-whites based on commonality of language. Coloured people whose home language was Afrikaans could own property in some communities, albeit segregated from the white settlers. British colonisation introduced the liberal ownership model to South Africa. The British attempted to develop and improve conditions in its colonial possessions by stimulating market principles. They believed that wealth could be created out of formalised tenure and free market exchange. Individuals, including black population groups, were allowed to own, use and dispose of

property without interference from the state, as long as the owner paid the mandatory annual tax to the British government. The liberal British approach thus resulted in a fair number of property title deeds being registered in the names of non-whites. Through the continuous provision of title deeds, the British Empire attempted to lure settlers to South African soil with the thought that settlers would further develop the land, leading to growth in the market. British liberalism and the resulting property sales in the 1800s marked the commencement of private estate transactions in South Africa (Christopher, 1971; Davenport, 1985).

The liberal ownership discourse changed with the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The British might have won the war, but the segregation ideology of the corporatist Afrikaners prevailed. Policies put in place by the new Union government had a negative impact on black ownership (Davenport, 1987). The white population had the economic and voting power, and ruling governments from 1910 to 1994 advanced segregation legislation. The first Act in this regard was the *Natives Land Act (No 27 of 1913)*, which prohibited black population groups from owning property outside the reserves. After 1910, influenced by the UK's domestic approach following the First World War, British colonial welfare practices institutionalised the concept of providing mass housing on site and services plots. British colonial governments constructed large numbers of public rental houses starting in the 1920s in an attempt to respond to housing shortages. In South Africa, this was continued by the apartheid government until the 1960s. The first laws relating to public housing (starting with the Housing Act of 1920) focused on building housing for the poor black population groups, in line with international responses after WWI that focused on the reconstruction of houses for the poor. The post-apartheid welfare approach to ownership housing for the poor is a direct consequence of decades of segregation policies and laws that prohibited non-whites in South Africa from owning land or housing. In some ways, the post-apartheid government has continued past practices, such as the site and services concept institutionalised by the British colonial government. However, the new government promotes ownership rather than rental tenure. In theory, the ANC government is delivering on its promise of providing ownership housing to the poor, building approximately three million ownership houses between 1994 and 2012 (DoHS, 2012).

5.7   CONCLUSION

The historical context of this chapter showed repeated narratives of conflicts among different cultures to conquer land, suppress other cultures and apply their own tenure regime methods to land development and distribution among themselves. With the onset of westernised colonialism, these histories were made visible through conquering activities being documented. Literature on post-apartheid housing policies rarely reflects on the relevance of the different colonial pasts of the Dutch

and British in creating the ideological constructs of the post-1994 housing policy. Therefore, influenced by welfare state theories and a historical analysis methodology, this chapter emphasised how divergent colonial practices were applied by different colonising countries. This chapter traced the origin of many contradictory ideological concepts contained in post-apartheid welfare housing policies to competing ideological values that were advanced by the Dutch and British colonisers. Early Dutch colonisation was characterised by appropriation of land from indigenous natives and importation of slaves from various localities to provide labour for the influx of Europeans to the new colonised land. The cultural fusion in the first century of colonisation led to generations of children born of mixed origin whose original ancestral lineage was hard to trace. More than a century and half after Dutch colonisation, settlers in search of an own cultural identity increasingly defined and segregated themselves on the bases of skin colour and language. Two cultural groups were socially constructed during this timeframe and they were classified as Afrikaners and Coloureds. The onset of British colonisation in 1795, led to a conscious move of the Afrikaner settlers to pioneer inland and claiming more land as their own.

The Afrikaner land use practices of the 1700s and early 1800s showed many converging trends to centuries of pre-colonial indigenous land tenure approaches. Similarities included forceful appropriation of land informally distributed amongst the conquering culture, while advancing their own self-governance regime principles. Land had a decommodified value, and, like indigenous groups, great importance was placed on cultural values. Although both indigenous and Afrikaner groups applied unitary tenure systems, the land governance by indigenous cultures were communal and collectivist motivated and managed by tribal principles. Contrary to the indigenous cultures, the Afrikaner unitary tenure ideologies were not communal, and reflected corporatist welfare regime systems by advancing the interest of a specific group. The Afrikaner regime approaches where ancestral lineage and perceived land inheritance rights for future generations were ideological motivated, were in stark contrast to the British colonisers who advanced liberal regime ideologies. British colonisers introduced formal regulated planning regulations into the built environment in South Africa. Through liberal development practices, the British promoted land as an economic commodity, emphasising free trade principles prioritising individual ownership and market values of properties. The colonial narratives were of importance to explain the historical path dependent context of how the apartheid ideological value systems evolved from a concept, to institutionalisation in policy strategy documents and subsequently became a fully fledged regime governance practice in 1948.

Chapter 5 further provided a synopsis on the impact of colonisation that included the creation of homelands and continued with forced removals of indigenous people from their land. Starting in

the late 1800s, South Africa experienced the discovery of minerals, rapid urbanisation, expanding informal settlements, and a strengthening of urban segregation principles based on racial and language ideologies. In 1910, the establishment of the Union of South Africa paved the way for the institutionalisation of segregation housing policies. After 1948, the apartheid government strictly enforced and strengthened the segregation polices put in place by earlier regimes. This chapter also elaborated on critical junctures that led to the dismantling of the apartheid regime and the succeeding creation of the post-apartheid state in 1994. Specific attention was placed on the historical narrative on how policies relevant to post-apartheid housing policies, were created, evolved and institutionalised over time. The section on the post-apartheid housing policy emphasised the different welfare subsidised approaches advanced by the policies and elaborated on international influences that shaped the development of these policies. In the South African historical context, the themes that were highlighted related to welfare housing, namely: site and service schemes, privatisation of housing stock, informal settlement upgrading, affordable rental and ownership options, and spatial restructuring of targeted intervention programmes. The main influences on the development of the post-apartheid South African housing policies that were identified were segregation and apartheid practices of the previous government regimes, colonial development practices, international organisations such as the UN and the World Bank, developed countries (in particular the UK and the Netherlands), and housing practices in other developing countries. The synthesis reflected on the value of historical methodologies and European welfare state theories in re-interpreting and understanding the ideological context embedded in post-apartheid housing policies. Highlighted in the synthesis were dualities related to the informal and formal regulatory approaches, the historical role of the state to provide housing for the working class, and contradictions in different ideological interpretations on what the concept of ownership entails. This chapter concluded that despite centuries of housing welfare policies and applications, South Africa has never been able to adequately respond to the housing demands of its citizens. In Chapter 6 the focus shifts to explore the relevance of adapting theoretical constructs, the creation of intentional concept formations, and to discuss the implementation of case studies that were applied mostly in the informal sector. Specific focus is devoted to engage in conceptual questions that relate to the complexities involved in understanding informality and ownership discourses when projects are implemented on grassroots level. Most of the case studies are qualitative, small scale, and context specific to the geographical location of the Free State Province.

CHAPTER 6
POST-APARTHEID HOUSING POLICY DISCOURSES:
CONCEPT FORMATIONS, THEORY AND IMPLEMENTATION

Venter, 2017

Chapters 1 and 2 elaborated on an internationally academic conscious move of theorising housing policy from a housing research perspective and not merely as a secondary concern in a multi-disciplinary approach. Specifically, Chapter 2 elaborated on theoretical models that form the foundation of most literature-related housing policies in developing countries, Chapter 3 discussed theoretical developments in how Western Europe related to different welfare state theoretical frameworks. Chapter 4 provided a historically informed narrative of housing policy development and concurrent influences in developed- and developing countries. Chapter 5 used South Africa as a historical case study to reflect on how key international housing policy welfare principles developed in the South African context. The historical narratives in Chapters 4 and 5 indicated the importance of historical methodology in analysing housing development.

Both chapters 4 and 5 showed the significance of the informality discourse, state intervention and ownership ideologies in contextualising housing policies. Against the above background, this chapter turns to a personal journey of knowledge creation, concept formation and implementation ideals grounded on the foundation of critical discourse analysis. Firstly, the chapter focuses on the conceptual framework and methodology that were developed for the case studies' purposes. Secondly, the importance of historical and path dependency as interpretation variables is further elaborated upon. These variables influenced the content of the change-enabled conceptual framework used for the case studies. Thereafter follows a discussion on the case studies. Lastly, a synthesis on the change-engaged themes is provided.

6.1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

As shown in Chapter 5, a large number of policies are in place to formalise the housing process through subsidised and upgrading programmes. Post-apartheid housing policies, on paper at least, are progressive and in line with international policy trends. Furthermore, the theoretical stances from Europe opens up many scholarly platforms to interpret housing policies from a welfare state perspective (Venter, 2010; Venter and Marais, 2010; Venter *et al*., 2015). Building on the theory of the previous chapters, the case studies in this chapter advance a *critical* discourse conceptual framework. The conceptual framework for this chapter is rooted in the philosophical paradigm of social constructionism and post-structuralism. Figure 6.1 shows the change-engaged framework which reciprocally influenced the implementation activities described in the case studies.
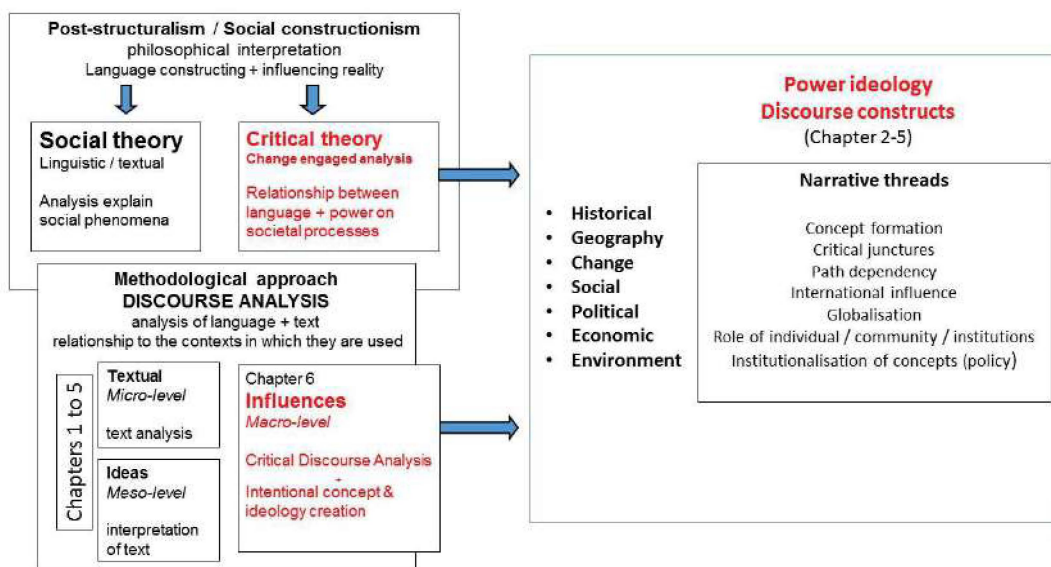

Figure 5.1: Conceptual framework – implementing theories

Post-structuralism, in line with Foucault (1973) and Fairclough's (1995) macro level of *critical* discourse analysis, reflects on the dialectical relation between language, power discourses, social structures, and concept formation.

Thus, where the previous chapters used discourse analysis as method of interpreting existing text on a subject, this chapter's conceptual framework incorporates critical theory aspects. Critical theory ventures beyond critiquing, discourse analysis, and social constructionism by opening up dialogues on how post-structural philosophies can be used to create concepts and influence social realities (Foucault, 1973). The case studies explore avenues on how the knowledge gained through the first two levels of Fairclough's discourse analysis of textual analysis can constructively be used to create a change-engaged framework. A change-engaged conceptual framework that does not only reflect on existing concepts or theories, but proactively aims to create new concept formations not opposing but enhancing policy directions in informal sector environments.

Throughout the chapters, a large variety of theories from both developed- and developing countries were discussed. Themes that were highlighted throughout the previous chapters related to: the historical and/or spatially geographical context; constant changes and/or adaptations of ideas; and social, political, economic and/or environmental dimensions.

Critical questions emerging from the conceptual theoretical context described above are:

- How can social structures be influenced, beyond conventional market approaches, to provide a viable choice for low-income individuals to influence their own housing situation?
- Concept formation is a timely process, and takes many decades of adaptations from the original idea before some of the formations are institutionalised. Through a historical methodology, it is possible to look back in time and see which concepts had a determining impact in creating, sustaining, or breaking path dependent ways. This brings to question, how can concepts be advanced to inform pathways for future critical junctures? More importantly, how can knowledge inform actions beyond conventional housing pathways and create a conducive environment for social change to inform policy directions?
- How can philosophies propagated through a myriad of scholarly texts on theory and implementation be used to create housing models that also incorporate aspects of the rich historical building context of indigenous self-help housing?

The previous chapters, especially chapters 3 and 4, provided a specific focus on the development of main concept formations in the developed- and developing world. Two main aspects that were highlighted in the synthesis of chapters 3 and 4 were the discourses related to informality-

versus formality narratives and ownership ideologies. Academic literature from leading scholars on informal settlements was used to determine main criticisms on what aspects hamper informal settlement upgrading. In a similar manner, key recommendations from the academia were identified to use as variables on how informal settlements upgrading should be approached to ensure sustainable livelihoods for low-income households. An analysis of the cited text showed that a large body of scholarly literature exist on the formation of the South African housing policies and upgrading potentials. However, many of the applied models on upgrading suggested in the text are in direct contrast with scholarly recommendations and international best practices related to upgrading (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Criticism is abundant (Table 6.1) and recommendations reflect similar narratives over many decades (Table 6.2).

Table 6.1: Criticism related to informal settlement upgrading

Criticism	Academic publications
The lack of government intervention in viable informal settlement upgrading models	Bettison, 1953; Calderwood, 1953, 1954; Stadler, 1979; Christopher, 1987; Maylam, 1990; Saff, 1996, 2001; Bond and Tait, 1997; Mackay, 1999; Huchzermeyer, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2009, 2010; Jenkins, 1999; Du Plessis, 2001; Jenkins and Smith, 2001; Saff, 2001; Benit, 2002; Du Plessis *et al.*, 2003; Abbott, 2002; Gilbert, 2002; Watson, 2003; Huchzermeyer and Karam, 2006; Barry, 2006; Charlton, 2010; Goebel, 2007; Bradlow *et al.*, 2011; Lemanski, 2011.
The overregulated, mass standardised approach of the low-income housing sector	
A general disregard for informal community intervention as a workable sustainable housing approach for the poor	

Scholarly criticism on informal settlement upgrading highlights that the overregulated state approaches on formalisation are not being sustainable over the long term in South Africa. In particular, policies are criticised for disregarding informal community interventions in favour of mass standardised projects. Recommendations and 'solutions' to informal settlement upgrading stand, in most cases, in direct contrast to the government regulated application on the ground. Literature on housing policy has repeatedly expressed the potential of sustainable self-help building technologies in housing the poor. Both international and South African scholars mention the value of skills transfer, technical assistance, and community participation in creating sustainable human settlements (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Recommendations on how to approach informal settlement upgrading

Recommendations	International literature	South African literature
The potential of sustainable self-help building technologies in housing the poor	Geddes, 1918; Liepmann, 1929; Crane and McCabe, 1950; Crane and Paxton, 1951; Abrams, 1964; Mangin, 1967; Turner, 1972; Nientied and Van der Linde, 1985; Gilbert and Ward, 1985; Duncan and Rowe, 1993; Pugh, 1991, 1997, 2001; Harloe, 1995; Mathey, 1997; Harris, 1998, 2003; Ward, 2004, Ward, Huerta, Grajeda and Velázquez, 2011; Sullivan and Ward, 2012.	Christopher, 1971; Davenport and Hunt, 1974; Davenport, 1985; Swilling, 2006, 2011; Du Plessis, 2005, 2007; Swilling and Annecke, 2006; Landman and Napier, 2010; Ross *et al.*, 2010.
Skills transfer / technical assistance	Crane, 1950; Crane and McCabe, 1950; Boyd, 1959; UN, 1961, 2005; 2012; Weissmann, 1960; Harris, 2003; Arku and Harris, 2005; Harris and Giles, 2003.	Wilmot and Chase, 1869; Frederickson, 1981; Adebayo, 2008
The value of community participation in creating sustainable livelihoods	Turner, 1972; UNHC, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1996; Mathey, 1997; Pugh, 1995; Gilbert, 1999, 2010; Bredenoord and Van Lindert, 2010; Tunas and Peresthu, 2010; Yap and De Wandeler, 2010; Ward *et al.*, 2012	Oldfield, 2000; Miraftab, 2003; Mohammed, 2006; Del Mistro, 2009; Patel, 2012; Lizarralde and Massyn, 2009; Lizarralde, 2011.

Despite the myriad of literature and recommendations, many recommendations hardly get realised on grassroots level. Critical questions raised from the above mentioned scholarly articles relevant to this chapter's case studies were to explore how theoretical constructs and scholarly ideologies on upgrading can be interpreted, re-created, applied and through a changed engaged framework be implemented on the grassroots level to open up sustainable pathways for housing implementation in the informal sector.

6.2 HISTORICAL AND PATH DEPENDENT HOUSING POLICY VARIABLES EMBEDDED IN THE CHANGE-ENGAGED CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Throughout my journey with the chapters, a few conceptual variables influenced me to create an interventionist implementation platform (2012-ongoing). These conceptual variables are essential to understand the logic of the implementation strategies employed in the case studies that follow in section 6.5. The conceptual variables that influenced the implementation activities embedded in the case studies are discussed below. Firstly, path dependency and critical junctures are deliberated on. Secondly, self-help discourses and community mobilisation are reflected on. Thereafter, the focus shifts to cultural identities, tenure approaches and creation of social and environmentally rich housing policy pathways.

6.2.1 Path dependency and critical junctures

Path dependency concepts are a key variable running through all the previous chapters. Path dependency, as described in Chapter 3, refers to the tendency of countries to become locked into a particular pattern of policy development where past ways of thinking about problems and solutions

strongly influence future direction. Most of the housing policy directions have been conceptualised over decades of concept formations and the past strongly influences present situations. In South Africa, our path dependency is based on the ideological and historical past of colonialism and apartheid. International housing policy directions in developing countries context are also steering housing pathways in post-1994 South Africa. In addition, as shown in Chapter 5, once policies are institutionalised, concepts are evolving slowly and it is difficult to change the policy pattern and past ways of thinking about problems. The change-engaged conceptual framework focuses on aspects of how knowledge of history, text, and path dependency can steer the creation of macro level critical discourse junctures. Ultimately, it investigates ways in which pathways can be created to cycles of path dependencies where thematic narratives of the 1950s scholarly text on informal settlement upgrading directions hardly differ from modern-day scholarly reflections (see Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

6.2.2 Self-help housing, community mobilisation, community participation and buy-in to ideas

The oldest narrative related to housing policy is related to spontaneous, organised, and aided self-help settlements (see Chapter 4). Informality self-help themes, combined with social and environmental aspects are mostly advanced by the UN, while the World Bank institutionalised aided self-help principles from an economic and neo-liberal implementation perspective. Taking the historical context into consideration, the case studies explore ways in which the acceptance of informality, combined with technical advice, can influence viable models for sustainable human settlement creation. In particular, a critical question asked is how the acceptance of informality and socio-environmental practices can be used in certain geographical contexts to complement government housing policy approaches. Community mobilisation in the context of this chapter refers to conscious decisions, by an individual or group, to mobilise action by organising people with similar interest to take part in a planned intervention or event. Community participation is defined as an organic process where individuals choose to voluntarily engage in processes that serve their interest. Throughout the chapters, the importance of community mobilisation, participation, and buy-in to ideas have been key variables in creating social change.

In the South African context, collective actions in times of political and social turbulence, before 1994, had an effect on the evolving housing policy discourses of the time. Collective international mobilisations of sanctions and local pressures on apartheid systems led to critical junctures forcing policy directions to be more inclusive of human rights and minority groups. The role of an individual in conveying messages embedded in concept formations and influencing community mobilisation and participation are repetitive narratives in the historical text. Individuals (not

necessarily the creator of a concept), throughout history, have influenced the institutionalisation and adaptations of ideas by conveying the concept principles to the right 'audience'. A main example is the World Bank's assisted self-help approach that was influenced by the advocacies of John FC Turner (1972; 1976). Turner's publications, in turn, were firmly grounded on the self-help concepts propagated by the UN, and writings of various authors (for example Geddes, 1920s; Crane, 1950s; Abrams and Mangin, 1960s). This example shows that the concept of self-help housing was well established by the 1970s, when the World Bank with its funding power entered the housing policy scene, and determined housing policy directions for many decades to come. The importance, though, is that historical narratives are filled with examples of individuals advocating on a certain platform where the impact, or lack thereof, in policy, can only be seen in hindsight when looking at the historical unfolding of events, long after the concept was created.

6.2.3 Cultural identities, tenure approaches and creation of social and environmentally rich housing policy pathways

The geographical, historical, and cultural context of South Africa still influences the present directions of housing policies. Narratives are filled with histories embedded in colonialism, segregation and apartheid, which led to clashes between ideologies advanced by the Dutch, British, Afrikaners, and indigenous cultural identities. Ideological differences in the inherent value systems between the different traditions are a contributing factor in anomalies, visible between approach of the Constitution of South Africa and specific policy directions which are not always compatible with the human rights based constitution or realities on the grassroots level. In particular, most housing policy directions are path dependent on linear economics and formalised urban planning approaches that are firmly based in conventional status quo regulated legislation. Furthermore, although policy aspects mention the importance of the social, cultural and environmental dimensions, these aspects are rarely pursued as forcefully as linear neo-liberal economic principles in policy and developmental implementation strategies. In addition, with a greater focus on formalisation of mass housing, informality and community governance, aspects mentioned in scholarly text as a viable way forward in certain contexts are often undervalued when policies are revised and adapted (see Table 6.1).

However, realities on the grassroots differ considerably from formalised policy approaches. Shown in the historical context, throughout the centuries, is that informality discourses are deeply entrenched in the ideological tenure value systems of the grassroots in developing countries. This begs the question, how can housing implementation strategies be directed to complement and not alienate grassroots informal strategies? In particular, how can informal implementation concept formation be used to explore the ideological potential of cultural, social and environmental dimensions to gain

greater prominence in housing policy debates than what is currently the case. Furthermore, a conscious move was made to challenge the path dependent formalised neo-liberal economic models, as advanced by the World Bank since the 1970s, as a primary constructive way forward in housing policy discourses in developing countries.

6.3   CASE STUDIES - IMPLEMENTATION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The previous sections described the rationale and methodological framework for the narratives of the case studies that follow. The case studies in this section investigate how critical discourse methodologies can be used to approach informal settlement upgrading implementation. Firstly, the concept formation behind the case studies are discussed, thereafter follows aspects related to technical training, and the 'Start Living Green' (SLG) concept formation are reflected on. Lastly, critical junctures which steered the course of the case studies are discussed.

6.3.1   Concept formation

The concept formation for the implementation of the case studies started with a journey to find individuals and organisations that actively implement viable implementation housing models based on self-help technologies, technical assistance and community participation. Two global activists' implementation models in the USA (Earthship Biotecture Academy in New-Mexico) and Central America (Long Way Home non-profit organisation, Guatemala) caught my attention in 2012 as possible agencies to upskill myself in technical building technologies. Both the Earthship Biotecture Academy (EBA) and non-profit Long Way Home (LWH) technical, social and environmental approaches provided implementation examples that incorporated philosophical and ideological value systems embedded in the theory of the previous chapters. Both organisations provided examples of how concepts can intentionally be formed with the long-term objectives of influencing future critical historical junctures in self-help housing discourses. These organisations show practical examples of a deviation from established path dependency on conventional building approaches and have a continuously growing international support base from ecological and social justice conscious community groups.

EBAs concepts of technical implementation evolved since the 1970s, and LWH (established in 2002) builds on existing technical knowledge while developing further low- to no cost environmentally self-help building prototypes applicable to the grassroots context.   Both implementation organisations act as global technical advisors by training people with no specialized construction skills in applying and managing environmentally sound self-help building projects. In addition, although both institutions are world class technical experts, their main objective is not

building-related, but people-centred, with an advocacy role to create social, environmental and educational change through utilising the building technologies (personal interviews with Michael Reynolds, January 2013 and Matthew Paneitz, November, 2016). These agencies are forerunners in creating innovative, low-cost, holistic housing models that are resilient to climate change and conducive to community development. Housing intervention models of EBA located outside the USA can be found in earthquake-prone regions (Haiti and Guatemala), tropical- and subtropical regions (Sierra Leone and Malawi), regions of extreme cold (Ushuaia, Argentina) and the typhoon disaster area of the Philippines (Reynolds, 2013). LWH, with their for-profit branch, Los Tecnicos, have a foothold in the USA, Central- and South America and, since 2014, pioneering projects in South Africa (Paneitz, 2016).

The global sustainable implementation activists' examples on applying the recommendations on informal settlement upgrading principles, led to the creation and public launch of a social implementation platform, Qala Phelang Tala (QPT), with co-founder and political activist, Thabo Olivier, in July 2012. 'Qala Phelang Tala' translates to 'Start Living Green' in English, from the local Sesotho language that is spoken in the Free State Province. This social implementation platform was intentionally created to develop an identifiable concept formation on social change and self-help principles in the South African grassroots context. Key stakeholders from the Free State and Mangaung Metro Municipality (MMM) attended the launch at a community space provided by the MMM. Stakeholders from the public sector that attended the launch were the Department of Human Settlements, Department of Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs, and the MMM Mayoral Committee. A variety of grassroots community activist groups from MMM also attended the launch. The proposed potential of the action platform of SLG were received favourably by both the public sector and grassroots community groups. Further discussions with the public sector on the SLG implementation approach were informally taken further by the Department of Human Settlements. Through the Department of Human Settlements networks, permission was granted in kind from key actors in the public sector, including the mayor at the time, to continue implementation research in the MMM area. The launch of the SLG concept can be seen as a change-engaged move to mobilise community support from influential stakeholders.

6.3.2 Skills acquisition, implementation strategies and concept evolution

During 2012, I visited institutions throughout South Africa that incorporated self-help training and implementation principles focused on grassroots levels (Lynedoch Eco Village, Tierra Projects and Aardskip). Valuable networking connections were built with technical self-help experts in South Africa during these visits. Under the technical advice of South African self-help implementers and a

collection of sustainability manuals, two informal research and implementation sites were established in Bloemfontein in 2012 where small-scale implementation strategies were implemented and tested. During January and February 2013, EBA and LWH, which influenced the creation of the SLG platform, jointly hosted a three-week self-help building internship in Guatemala. Enrolling for the internship, I attended the technical building programme with a global volunteering team of 60 individuals from all over the world. Under the technical guidance of twelve experts and the global volunteers, we built a climate resilient, energy efficient, off-the-grid house for a disadvantaged household from start to finish in three weeks.

During these three weeks, technical skills transfer took place. But more importantly, I experienced personal growth in gaining confidence in my own skills, and experienced the power when global communities are mobilised, and local communities participate in creating housing futures for themselves. The skills acquired at this internship informed the way the SLG concept evolved to create implementable pilot strategies in grassroots communities in the Free State. During 2013, small informal innovation and implementation activities continued over weekends at the two informal research sites in Bloemfontein. Technologies tested included easy-to-apply methods to build housing structures with waste material, combined with indigenous building methods, recycling, re-using and re-purposing of waste material, water harvesting, and urban food gardening combined with recycling and rain water harvesting aspects. Figure 6.2 show some photo documentation of the technologies tested at the informal research and development sites in Bloemfontein
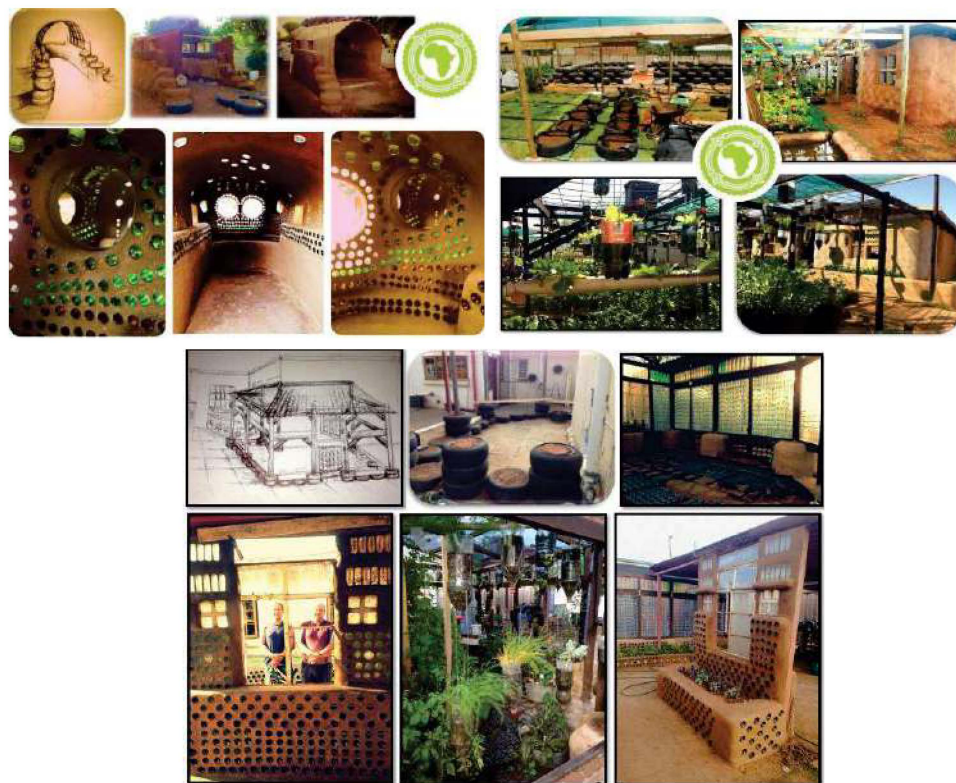
Source: Anita Venter (2013-2014)

Figure 6.2: Research and implementation experiments, Bloemfontein, 2012-2014

An important narrative in the initial phase of 18 months implementation experiments was the organic growth of support through word-of-mouth or social media. Using social media as documentation platform soon yielded positive interest from both international- and local individuals. Technical experts followed the progress either through personal contact or social media, and innovative building advice was readily available at any given time. In addition, volunteers from abroad (Austria), outside Bloemfontein (Cape Town and Johannesburg), and students from the University of the Free State (UFS) started to join training activities over weekends. Some of the students from Architecture (Momsen, 2012), Anthropology (Mnyemeni, 2016), Urban and Regional Planning (Van der Walt, 2013, 2014) and Occupational Therapy (Boning, 2014; Trinder-Smith, 2014) incorporated the implementation model of sustainability and volunteerism in their assignments across different disciplines. During these 18 months of implementation and observation studies, I gained valuable technical skills, social understandings on community participation and gained courage to approach self-help projects in grassroots communities. Figure 6.4 shows what the SLG implementation framework entails.
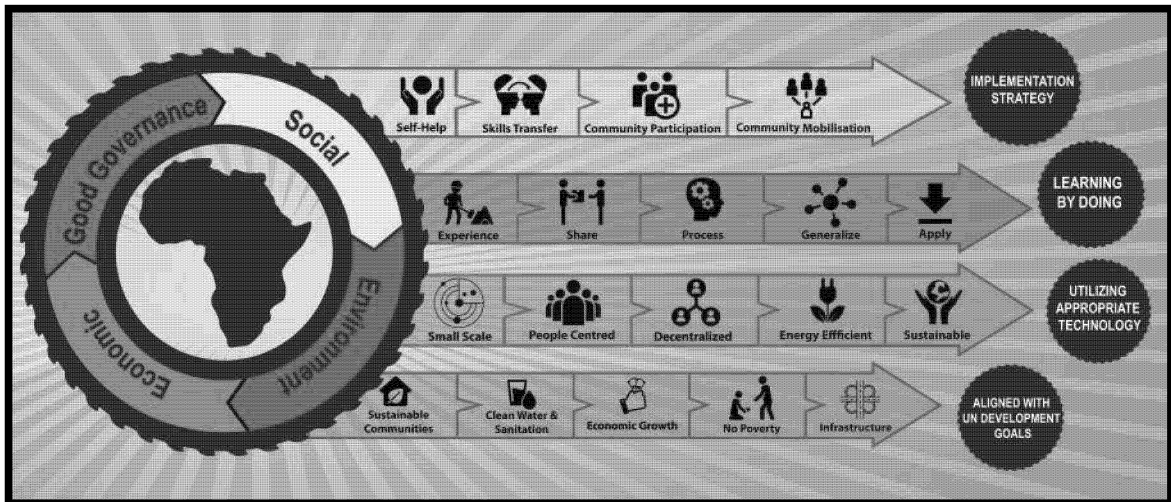
Figure 6.3: SLG implementation framework

The SLG implementation framework is firmly embedded in main themes embedded in the academia that related to sustainability and housing. The sustainability dimensions of social, environment, economic and good governance forms the foundation of the SLG implementation framework. Implementation strategies include engagement in the self-help process and a focus on skills transfer. Community mobilisation and participation is essential in all implementation strategies. A continuous learning platform is proposed where experience is gained through learning by doing, sharing expertise, applying knowledge, and focusing on the process rather than outcome and through observation implementation results could lead to generalisation and replicable aspects can be identified. Using innovative technologies appropriate for a certain context requires implementation projects to be small scale, people-centred, decentralised and energy efficient. The SLG implementation framework is ideologically aligned with the sustainable development goals and aspires that implementation would lead to the creation of sustainable communities that have access to clean water, sanitation and access to infrastructure amenities. Ultimately, the implementation could lead to economic growth and elimination of poverty

6.3.3 Critical junctures

A number of interrelated and overlapping critical junctures are identified, which steered the informal settlement upgrading implementation activities described further on in the chapter. Critical junctures, as described in Chapter 3, are specific events in time that have the potential to influence societal outcomes. The critical junctures which influenced the development paths of the case studies are related to receiving grant funding from the Government of Flanders to operationalise a capacity building programme over a course of two years; the support of the MMM who provided their support in kind and allowed building activities that fall outside the scope of the building codes to be

operationalised in the Metro - Mandela Day, 2014 at Lebone Village, and orphanage located in Bloemfontein, where more than 400 participants were introduced to innovative building methods; the wide support from the occupational therapy and art disciplines that enabled the operationalisation of all the case studies in the Free State.

- **Grant funding - Government of Flanders creating an enabling environment for two years implementation activities**

The initial phase of implementation of concept formations, and research results, led to the creation of a grant funding proposal to continue implementation activities in more formalised manner through the Centre for Development Support (CDS) that is based at the UFS. In March 2014, the CDS (UFS) responded to a call for concept notes from the Government of Flanders who initiated a Technical and Management Support (TMS) programme in South Africa that was administrated through the National Treasury. The guidelines for the call for concept papers focused on cross-cutting issues related to climate change, green entrepreneurship and the project funders were specifically looking for innovative pilot projects utilising unique perspectives untested before, '*Laying the Groundwork for Future Project Design and Implementation*'. Using the preliminary evidence, visual documentation of the implementation activities of 2012 and 2013, and concept formation behind the SLG initiative, I submitted a concept note to the Government of Flanders that focused on the potential that innovative building technologies could have as catalyst for social change on the grassroots level in small cities, towns and rural areas (Venter, 2014).

The project funding led to a 24-month capacity building programme where innovative building technologies were used as community intervention tools to reach out to marginalised communities in the Free State. The grant funding, to the value of R2-million, enabled me to practically test the applicability of many theoretical concepts, described throughout the previous chapters of this thesis, and can be seen as the greatest critical juncture in steering the directions of the case studies described further on in the chapter. Aspects related to informality discourses and upgrading potential of the grant funding implementation results are highlighted in the context of this thesis. It is imperative to note, the grant funding were mostly utilised for training purposes at a formalised site Lebone Village, and small scale projects that are not discussed in this thesis. The sustainable livelihood case studies in section 6.5.2, are a show case of how investment in skills development and human capital can lead individuals to embark on managing their own housing journeys and improve their livelihoods in the informal communities they are residing in.

- **Support from the MMM**

Since the beginning of the implementation activities in 2012, influential stakeholders in the Free State government and the MMM have been well aware of the application of innovative technologies in their jurisdiction. With the prospect of possible funding to the UFS, the Head of the Department of Human Settlements arranged that I give a presentation on the innovative building projects envisaged for the MMM at a Mayoral Executive Committee meeting in June 2014. At the meeting, the Departments of Human Settlements (both Metro and Provincial) gave their full support to the innovative building research implementation happening in the MMM. Support amongst the city council and the Mayoral committee, who were not familiar with the innovative building principles, was divided. However, the Mayoral committee agreed that if the Department of Human Settlements supports the projects, the project implementation proposed through the grant funding could go ahead with their approval (Personal interview, Mokoena, 2014). The support from the MMM in kind ensured that capacity building programmes could be implemented without any red tape delays related to building code regulations from the MMM. The Department of Human Settlements was updated about the progress on an ongoing basis. Through the updates, the Department of Human Settlements arranged formal feedback sessions with the Mayoral Committee, as seen necessary. These contact sessions were pivotal in building stakeholder relations to ensure continuation of the implementation activities in the MMM.

- **Lebone Village- Mandela Day, July 2014**

The project launch of the capacity building project that was awarded the grant funding from the Government of Flanders was on 18 July 2014 at a local orphanage, Lebone Village, in Bloemfontein. This date was chosen since it is commonly known as Mandela Day, where citizens from all walks of life do community work for '67 minutes' in memory of Nelson Mandela's anti-apartheid struggles. Lebone Village, situated in a poverty stricken area on the outskirts of Bloemfontein, provides a safe haven for vulnerable children affected or infected by HIV/AIDS. A number of trainers from South Africa provided workshops on different and easy-to-apply building methods at the project launch on Mandela Day. Various stakeholders, the MMM, Lebone Village, UFS, Vryfees, Program for Innovation in Artform Development (PIAD) cross-subsidised and publicised the Mandela Day events amongst their networks. The response was overwhelming, with more than 400 people from all over the Free State, Gauteng and Western Cape coming to participate in the innovative building workshops. Mandela Day at Lebone Village was supported by diverse groups of people from different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. The trainers for the Mandela Day workshops were five volunteering South Africans, who have completed EBA internships (New-Mexico, Guatemala and Malawi) and Peter McIntosch from Natural Building Collective (NBC). Mandela Day activities at

Lebone Village are of importance because, in hindsight, this day formed the foundation, or rather a catalyst for social change for all of the case studies that are described in this chapter.

Figure 6.4: Lebone Village-Mandela Day workshops in Bloemfontein, 2014

Figure 6.4 show visual documentation on the participation and the various technologies taught at the Lebone Village Mandela day workshops

- **Occupational Therapy emerging as change agents for future self-help housing discourses**

During the Mandela Day 2014 project launch, the pivotal role of occupational therapists in steering social development through utilising innovative building technologies became evident. My first interaction with occupational therapy was when two fourth-year students, Tammy Trinder-Smith and Leatitia Böning contacted me in January 2014. Following the SLG concept activities on social media, these two students decided that they wanted to utilise the building technologies as an experimental therapeutic model for their clinical projects at a school in Springfontein (located in the Xhariep District Municipality in the Southern Free State). Acting in technical advisory capacity, I gave the students a few options on how to pilot and operationalise small-scale, easy to apply, innovative building projects. In March 2014, the fourth-year students' lecturer for the clinical module, Heidi Morgan contacted me to establish informal networking relationships to explore the possibilities of long-term collaboration with greater student participation. Morgan provided a supportive platform for the two students who ventured outside conventional occupation therapy practice by using unconventional research methods as a community based therapeutic model in the health sciences (Morgan, 2014). Preliminary results from the two fourth-year students' practical application of the

innovative building methods took the lecturer by surprise. The research results, utilising the innovative building methods, were in line with a wide variety of conceptual and theoretical frameworks in Occupational Therapy literature, which supports process-driven, rather than outcome-based educational models (Morgan, 2016). The students' reports showed significant improvement in multi-layered aspects of development in the learning-disabled 'special needs' class in Springfontein, from a health, education and in particular, socially engaged perspective (Böning, 2014; Trinder-Smith, 2014). The synergy with Occupational Therapy led to the creation of collaborative role for them in the grant proposal that was submitted to the Government of Flanders in May 2014. The collaboration between the CDS and the Department of Occupational Therapy grew substantially since 2014. By the end of 2016, Occupational Therapy adapted selected third- and fourth-year modules to include innovative building technologies as application method in community-based practice (for a few examples, see: Morgan, 2014, 2016; Van Jaarsveld, 2015, 2016; McDonald, 2016; Otto, 2016; Peerce, 2016). The value of occupational therapists working in the community is also highlighted throughout the case study narratives. In particular, Bronwyn Kemp, an occupational therapist at the Mangaung University Community Partnership Program (MUCPP) clinic influenced directions in the manner the case studies in the MMM unfolded. Kemp attended the Lebone Village Mandela Day workshop with many disadvantaged occupational therapy patients from all over the MMM townships. Since Mandela Day 2014, many of Kemp's patients and individuals from her non-profit organisational networks became involved in multiple capacity building projects throughout the MMM.

Section 6.4.3 described the process of the concept formation of SLG, technical skills experimentation and implementation research at two sites located in Bloemfontein. Important narratives were the organic growth and involvement of local and international volunteers in the implementation activities. The next section describes the case studies that reciprocally led to the development of the change-engaged framework. The case studies are written from my own perspective, reflecting on valuable insights learned over a course of three years on the discourse relation between theoretical concepts, research, implementation activities on the grassroots and how collaborative relations can steer processes in the informal sector.

6.4 THE CASE STUDIES - CREATING A CHANGE-ENGAGED FRAMEWORK THROUGH IMPLEMENTATION

The case studies are exploratory in design, inter-disciplinary in nature and written up from a qualitative and historical research paradigm. A Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology was used in the implementation of the case studies. Historical research approaches make use of

existing textual information, analyses the chronology of events, traces the origin and evolution of concepts and look at the influences of wider social discourses to determine the impact of events over a certain historical period (see Chapter 1). The PAR implementation methodology is one of the most widely used research approaches in "grassroots development" interventions in developing countries, and allowed for enough implementation scope to pilot the change-engaged framework discussed earlier in the chapter. Key principles of PAR relate to action and change, and dialectic dialogue. The PAR design is characterised by the involvement of a 'change agent' and participants. The 'change agent' is described as the initiator of a project and participators are beneficiaries of the project. PAR should be seen as a reflective process involving problem formulation, planning the initial design of the project, implementing and monitoring the project, reaching conclusions often based on new knowledge, communication of results through reporting, review and reflection of results, generating problem solutions and applying research outcomes and assessment of results (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The case studies furthermore consider positionality in practitioner research frameworks. The term 'positionality' describes how an individual's worldviews influences his/her research practices in a specific context. Positionality is used as an inductive approach to social sciences as an exploration of the reflection on a researcher's placement within the many contexts, layers, power structures, identities, and subjectivities of the ideological viewpoints (Throne, 2013).

Many of the timeframes of the case studies overlap and are discussed in a chronological timeframe of when it was started. The case studies discussed are the Freedom Square Project (2013-2016) and the Sustainable Livelihood Projects (2015-2016). This is followed by a brief description of a project in Delft, City of Cape Town (2016) to show how informality practices are filtering through to formal sector practices. These specific case studies were chosen since it provide empirical evidence to approach informal settlement upgrading as proposed in scholarly work (see Table 6.2). Specific elements of informal settlement upgrading and recommendations in scholarly work that are addressed in the case studies, relate to the potential of sustainable self-help building technologies in housing the poor, highlight the importance of skills transfer and technical assistance to operationalise self-help building projects, and emphasise the value of community participation in creating sustainable livelihoods. The Cape Town case study was chosen based on the pioneering work that the City of Cape Town and NBC are engaging in to start the processes of formalising the innovative self-help building technologies discussed in this chapter. Lastly, change-engaged themes embedded in the case studies are discussed in the synthesis section.

6.4.1 The Freedom Square case study, MMM (2013-2016)

Source: Anita Venter (2014-2016)

Figure 6.5: Capacity building processes in Freedom Square, MMM (2014-2016)

The Freedom Square case study, located in the MMM, warrants many in-depth research studies on its own and is filled with conceptual complexities related to informality discourses, tenure insecurities and tangible conflicts embedded between westernised and African perspectives on ownership.

The first buy-in from the grassroots who recognised the value which technical skills transfer can have in improving living conditions in informal settlements, came from my domestic worker Lentjie Jikala. Lentjie Jikala, a single mother, observed the building activities happening in my backyard for more than a year, and approached me in early 2013 on how these methods can be used to improve her living conditions in Freedom Square. After lengthy discussions on the value of skills transfer activities, we agreed that if Lentjie volunteers for six months on Saturdays at my house to gain skills, volunteer activities will shift to her site in Freedom Square (in the MMM) to enable her to manage her own housing process at her own pace. The Freedom Square case study, described as the first shack replacement training site, can be divided into four phases: community preparation phase (June 2013 to November 2013), pre-implementation phase (November 2013 to February 2014), shack replacement implementation phase (July 2014 to October 2015), post-implementation break down phase (July 2016).

- **Community preparation phase (June 2013 – November 2013)**

The complexities in operationalising building activities in Freedom Square were highlighted since the very first moment Lentjie told me her 'housing' history. Lentjie's housing history contains multi-dimensional layers of legalised and common law stumbling blocks discouraging millions of low-income South African citizens from becoming part of the formalised tenure system. Lentjie had been living in an informal erected house in Freedom Square since 1999. The *de jure* 'legal' tenure housing history can be traced back to the title deed that was registered in 1993 in the name of a Lesotho citizen. The Lesotho citizen 'sold' the property for R2000 to Lentjie's sister in 1997 before moving back to Lesotho. With limited knowledge on legalised aspects, the transaction was perceived as binding by both seller and buyer, and community structures such as the ward councillor, ward committee and surrounding neighbours. Both the Lesotho citizen and Lentjie's sister passed away in the early 2000s. The Jikala family made Lentjie the custodian of the property and she lived on the property in an informal structure from the year 2000 to end of 2015. Thus, except for verbal communication, and Lentjie who was in possession of the original title deed, no 'formal' documentation exists to prove ownership of the property in Lentjie or her family's name. Lentjie tried numerous times over the years to transfer the property into her name by seeking advice at the Department of Housing (as the Department of Human Settlements was known before 2002) but had

no success. In addition, the whole process of tracing the family of the original owner from Lesotho, who has been deceased for more than a decade, to confirm that the property transaction took place were unfeasible, unaffordable and time-consuming for individuals like Lentjie.

In an attempt to understand the legalisation process of tenure systems, an Urban and Regional Planning student at the UFS researched the tenure process (Van der Walt, 2013; Van der Walt and Venter, 2014). Qualitative interviews with role players in the tenure system were contradictory, and advice from different authority levels of the public service on what processes to follow to legalise the title deed were conflicting and diverse. Knowledge from public servants depended on who you spoke to, and even follow-up visits to the same person often resulted in different advice than previously given. Thus, though we had 'access' to higher levels of information, we came to the same conclusion as Lentjie, understanding the *de jure* legalisation system of tenure process is daunting, not pro-poor development conducive and would have stalled the self-help upgrading process for years. Advisory assistance for a person like Lentjie seems unattainable without the intervention from someone with 'connections' to individuals in power who could influence the legalisation of her title deed. Throughout the years, I have built up valuable stakeholder relations with different individuals in positions of power in both the MMM and Provincial government and private sector who were willing to intervene and assist with transferring the title deed to Lentjie's name. However, this would have defied the purpose of the case study where the objective was to understand the title deed transfer process from the perspective of millions of households in the same position as Lentjie. Influencing the process would help one household, while observing the process opens up dialogues on what can be done to change the system to be more conducive for grassroots development.

The paradoxes in researching legalised tenure complexities highlights a main reason why households living in informal settlements rather revert to community systems to provide them with knowledge and a sense of 'security of tenure'. The *de facto* tenure system was much easier to understand and engage with for both Lentjie and I. The importance of having the 'title deed' in possession of the household or family, was seen as sufficient enough in the community system of proof of ownership regardless of the name on the title deed. The ward councillor, ward committee and neighbours surrounding Lentjie's 'property' were all in agreement: the Jikala family were the 'legal' owners of the property. Closer investigation into the *de facto* 'ownership' of the property showed complexities of family dynamics related to *de facto* tenure systems inheritance. Lentjie was seen as the custodian of the property after the death of her sister. However, Lentjie's ownership of the property was always regarded as temporary by her family. The 'legal' inheritance of the property was earmarked for Lentjie's sister's daughter who was a toddler at the time of her mother death. Lentjie was always highly aware of the temporary nature of her 'ownership' through the family system, and

can be seen as a major contributing factor for her seeking 'de jure' tenure by her frequent visits to Department of Human Settlements .

Despite the complexities related to security of tenure, and her temporary status as owner of the property, Lentjie decided she wanted to proceed with the informal upgrading self-help process. Supporting Lentjie in her role in managing her own housing process, while I acted in the role of technical advisor in the housing process, we proceeded with implementation planning in Freedom Square in November 2013. Various community meetings took place before November 2013. With each community meeting, Lentjie took the lead in sharing information on the building processes to take place soon on the Jikala property. Although the community did not really understand the building processes Lentjie was describing in the community meetings, the community and leadership structures supported the idea of her taking control in improving her housing conditions. Figure 6.5 shows the visual documentation of building activities in Freedom Square between 2014 and 2016.

- **Phase 1 - Pre-implementation activities (November 2013 - February 2014)**

With a core group of volunteers, ranging between three and seven individuals at a time, building activities, or rather envisaged skills transfer activities, began in November 2013. Building activities were only done on Saturday mornings and never lasted more than five hours at time. We spent a total of eight Saturdays in Freedom Square in the pre-implementation phase. Valuable insights were gained on community participation and beneficiary enablement during the pre-implementation phase.

During this phase, Lentjie made a number of decisions which did not made sense to me at the time and challenged my own preconceived ideas of how the capacity building process would unfold. Building on the assumption that Lentjie would be eager to start the shack replacement housing process, we had conceptual sketches and an ad-hoc architecture plan ready to start the process immediately. However, Lentjie had other ideas. During our conversations in her volunteering days, Lentjie was mentored to understand that she is in control of the building process and that final decisions, timelines, pace of training and community participation aspects depended on her decision-making. Thus, when Lentjie requested that we do not start the house, but rather build a fence, I respected her decision and changed the implementation plan. The pre-implementation phase had significant value in getting to understand the community dynamics in the immediate vicinity. Activities remained small-scale, the household and family participated at their own pace. The children in the area eagerly joined on Saturdays and, except for the elderly, most of the Freedom Square community only observed the process. The children assisted in a playful manner, sometimes

hampering the 'building' progress. But since the objective was on community capacitation, great care was taken to accommodate all community participants at the site, regardless of age. The first community members reaching out after a few sessions were the grandmothers in the area. Seeing the positive effect on the children, and their anticipation for Saturday activities to happen, they soon joined for casual conversations on site. These grandmothers often collected bottles and other waste material during the week to donate to the building processes on Saturdays. In addition, during this time we gained technical experience on how to source materials that were locally available. The 'slow' process allowed ample time to observe technical aspects such as the strength of the soil collected from the area and adapting cob mixtures (mix of soil, manure and straw) to achieve maximum strength.

- **Phase 2 - Shack replacement implementation (July 2014 - July 2015)**

Activities in Freedom Square came to a standstill in March 2014. Lentjie's father became seriously ill and she was entrusted to look after him on weekends. In June 2014, Lentjie informed me that her father's health had improved and she invited us back to continue capacity building activities in Freedom Square. Lentjie's request to return to Freedom Square ignited a number of change-engaged interventions and coincided with the Mandela Day launch planned in July 2014 at Lebone Village. In June 2014, the CDS (UFS) received confirmation that the grant funding proposal to the Government of Flanders through the National Treasury TMS programme was successful. Since the development of the proposal, I had been liaising with the executive director of LWH, Mateo Paneitz, on his organisation's flexibility and involvement as technical trainers for the grant funding project. Paneitz had a great interest in the shack replacement project in Freedom Square since he followed building activities on social media. While waiting for the grant funding to be released from the National Treasury, we decided to pre-invest in flight tickets and arranged pre-project planning meetings to build stakeholder relations with potential collaborators. Thus, Paneitz's visit for project planning meetings related to the grant funding was aligned with the Freedom Square project. Paneitz acted as technical trainer on innovative building technologies to ensure that the structural integrity of the shack replacement house was in place. Through social media, an Earthship Biotecture certified trainer, Seth Clements from the USA, contacted me and offered his technical expertise at a nominal fee. Synchronising Paneitz and Clements's visit, the shack replacement capacity building project gained momentum in August and September 2014.

After Lentjie's decision that building activities in Freedom Square should continue, I invited her to join in Mandela Day activities at Lebone Village. During Mandela Day activities, Lentjie became highly aware of the interest in the innovative building methods from diverse groups of people.

She participated as trainer, while proudly educating groups of people on the activities that were happening at her house. During Mandela Day, Lentjie was introduced to Bronwyn Kemp, an occupational therapist at the community clinic less than a kilometre from her house. Kemp, in turn, introduced Lentjie to a number of her patients who accompanied her to Mandela Day. Many of these patients became active volunteers for change in the capacity building programme in Freedom Square and the succeeding project at Lebone Village. A number of UFS lecturers and students also attended the launch. Many individuals and students contacted me after the launch and became volunteers in the Freedom Square project. Mandela Day 2014 had a huge impact on the level of seriousness with which Lentjie started to view her own shack replacement process. The large number of people attending the workshop, and her own role as trainer in the skills transfer processed, led to a firm commitment to fulfil her role in managing the process. Realising that time was nearing for two international experts to provide technical advice on how to start her shack replacement project, Lentjie started to prepare the Freedom Square site for their arrival. Lentjie decided that the shack replacement house should be at the back of her yard and mobilised community members, family and friends to break down her existing shack and move the shack to the front. Between August and September 2014, Paneitz and Clements provided 15 days of intensified skills training at the Freedom Square shack replacement site.

During the first month of building, all my attention was placed on learning technical skills myself by actively participating in the building process, photo documenting technical aspects, and making notes on methodological details. With my focus on technical aspects, many social dynamics happened on site that eluded my attention for two reasons: Firstly, Lentjie stepped up and changed her role from managing the building process to that of hosting the international guests, volunteers from outside and welcoming community participants from all over the township to her house. The site was abuzz with activities that unfolded in a seemingly organic manner. The household worked together and provided simplistic but tasteful lunches to the volunteers and community participants. The welcoming atmosphere and community cohesion experienced on site left a lasting impression on my mind on how to incorporate social aspects into building activities in future projects. Secondly, occupational therapy stakeholders from the community, university and students, in collaboration with the experienced volunteers from previous building projects, facilitated social aspects related to the project implementation. None of the social facilitation activities described above were planned or discussed beforehand, and all events unfolded in an organic manner. People participated in ways that they felt comfortable with, experienced self-fulfilment and engaged in activities which matched their physical- and intellectual ability. Looking back in history, from counterfactual perspective, considering whether the social processes would have run so smooth without the presence of occupational therapy are questionable. With more knowledge on process-driven educational models,

taught in the occupational therapy community based modules, I now recognise how these theoretical concepts were practically applied, not only at the Freedom Square site but many subsequent projects.

By the time Paneitz and Clements departed, all structural elements such as the foundation, loadbearing tyre rammed walls, doorframes, windows and roofing were in place. The technical trainers achieved what they promised to do, leaving me with the technical skillset to manage, facilitate and adapt small-scale innovative building projects in the geographical context of the Free State Province. It was only after Paneitz and Clements left that I was able to turn my attention to the social dynamics of the project. Building activities continued on selected Saturdays after the international trainers left in September 2014. A further 25 days (or rather half-days) were spent at the Freedom Square training site between mid-September 2014 and July 2015. Thus, a total of 40 days' skills training activities happened at Freedom Square. Quantifying the number of people who participated is challenging. The site was always filled with people from within the community and volunteers from outside the community. Not everyone on site were building and socialisation became one of the main activities during the training sessions. The number of youths and adults 'building' varied to a great degree between sessions, with some participating for an hour and others starting or continuing before I arrived or left the site. At any given time, at least four individuals participated or facilitated building activities and sometimes students or the occupational therapist at the local community would mobilise large groups of up to 30 people to help with the process. However, with time passing, a number of youths, adults and elderly from the Mangaung community emerged as the 'change agents' who became part of follow-up projects operationalised all over the Free State. Six adults who actively participated in the Freedom Square case study became training beneficiaries of the grant funding that was allocated to CDS.

What struck me most during this phase is that Lentjie was in no hurry to move into the shack replacement house. She determined the pace of the building activities and which days her household had available to host volunteers. When I asked whether we should intensify the process to complete the house, she requested that we please take our time and rather beautify the house. The structure inside was ready for occupation long before the training sessions stopped. Eventually, with an increasing number or volunteers, training activities evolved to include diversified sustainability aspects related to grey water management, different methods of composting, vegetable gardening, establishing a small scale nursery through horticultural practices and general environmental education. During the week, the household utilised the house as socialisation space where Lentjie's household entertained friends or children in the neighbourhood played in. The 'uncompleted' house also became a working space where the household washed their clothes and dishes, did hairdressing

for friends, and meeting place for Sangoma (traditional healer) readings done by Lentjie's daughter. In July 2015, skills training activities came to a halt in Freedom Square on Lentjie's request.

- **Phase 3 - Break down of replacement house (July 2016)**

Complexity embedded in the tenure history of Lentjie started to resurface again. The dynamics between Lentjie's household and her greater family became increasingly constrained. Lentjie's tenure status was insecure and had been regarded as temporary by herself and her family since the very moment she moved into Freedom Square. Thus, the decision by her family that her sister's child, who was a young adult by now, should take up her inheritance came to no surprise to any of us. Lentjie prepared herself for this moment for many years. Without disclosing private information, the story continues. Lentjie moved to another informal settlement in February 2016, where she was 'certain' of tenure not only for herself but also her two adult daughters. Confident in her building skills, that building a house is easier than achieving *de facto* tenure, she would let me know when we could come 'with the students' to restart the shack replacement process again.
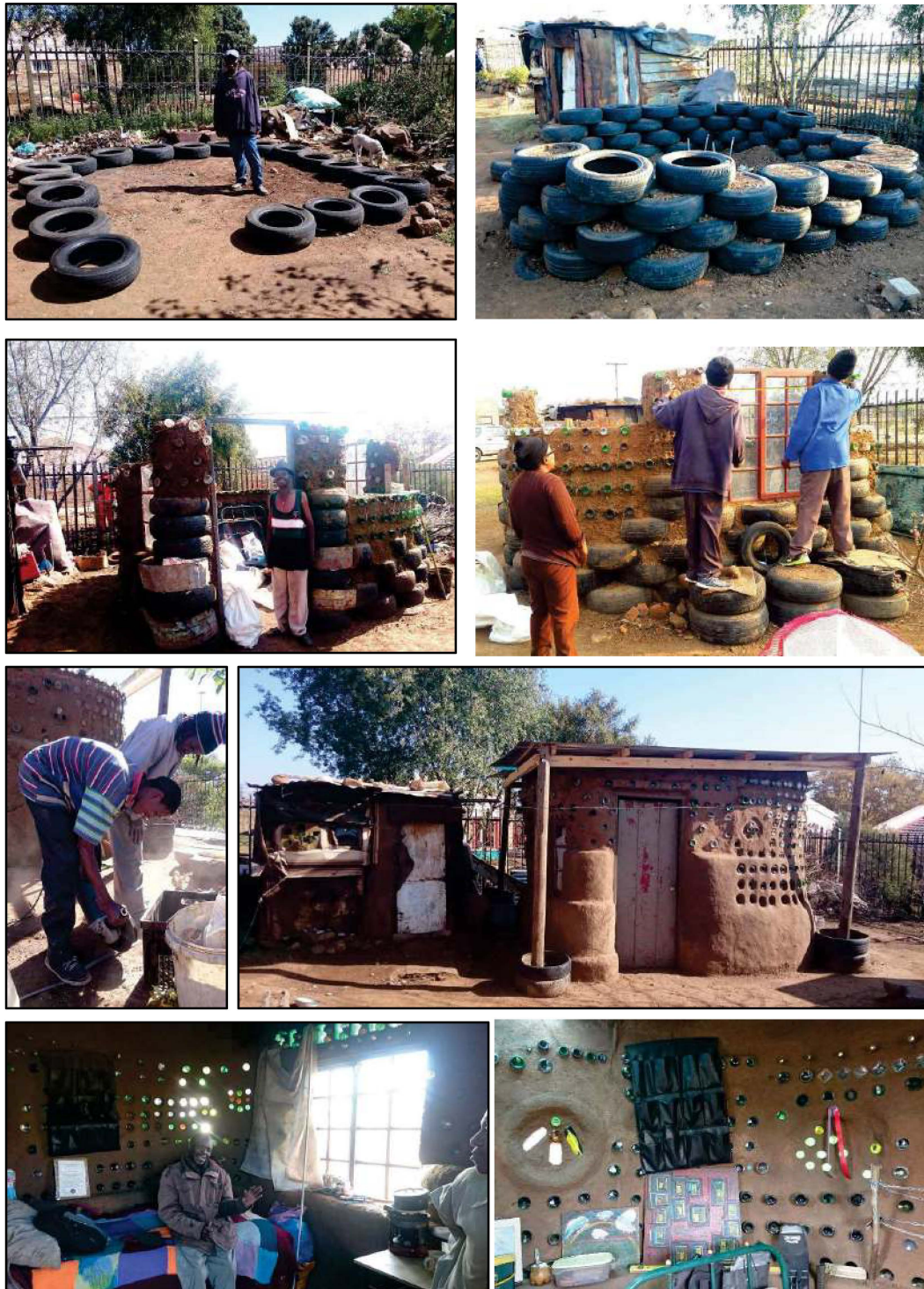
In a parallel timeframe of Lentjie relocating to a new settlement, I moved from the property where all my building experiments were done between 2012 and 2015. Preparing the property to be sold, all building structures were broken down and the materials were moved my new house in 2016. Observing the 'break-down' process and ease of reusing the same material again, Lentjie decided that she wanted to do the same with the Freedom Square shack replacement house. Thus, in July 2016, a core group of volunteers who had been involved with building the Freedom Square house, broke down the very same house they built, leaving only the rammed earth tyres. The materials were moved and distributed between Lentjie and volunteers. Moving the material not only made an impact on the Freedom Square storyline, but can be seen a critical juncture in accelerating building processes in other projects where households are experiencing similar dilemmas of tenure insecurities. One of the case studies in section 6.5.2 elaborates further on the acceleration of the building process.

6.4.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Projects- Case Studies (2015-2017)

The following section describes three case studies that relate to the informal sector discourse and directly led to the construction of replacement houses as a direct result of the skills training activities in which the individuals participated from July 2014 to January 2017. These case studies, take a firm stand that the current overregulated Westernised building codes are an infringement of the Constitution and human rights. Current building codes are biased to devalue centuries of indigenous building knowledge systems and hampers the potential innovative building have in advancing pro-

poor community development futures. The visual documentation on the potential of evolving indigenous systems in creating sustainable livelihoods is shown in Figures 6.6 to 6.9.

- **Namibia Square replacement house, MMM (2015 to 2016***)*

Figure 6.6: Namibia Square (MMM) capacity building processes, 2015 to 2016

Abram Nkotywa turned 64 in 2016 and was the first individual who participated in the skills transfer programme that started his own shack replacement project. Abram, an occupational therapy patient at the community clinic, was introduced to the building methods when he attended the Mandela Day project launch at Lebone Village in 2014. Abram, a stroke and cancer recovery patient, outlived his wife and all four of his children who passed away at a young age. In 2012, after Abram had a stroke, ignited from a particularly robust bout of full-blown cancer, he prepared himself for dying and gave his low-income government subsidised house to his brother. To everyone's surprise, Abram survived the cancer, but found himself homeless upon being released from the hospital. His brother's family now considered themselves as *de facto* owners of the low-income subsidised house whose title deed was registered in Abram's name (De Gouveia, 2014). Having limited housing options, Abram moved into a tiny shack at the back of his own house.

Abram's family contacted an occupational therapist, Bronwyn Kemp, at a nearby community clinic in 2012 after he became paralysed due to his illnesses. Kemp found Abram living in dire conditions in the backyard shack where he was unable to move and depended on the goodwill of his brother's family to survive. After a rehabilitation period of a year in a wheelchair, Abram slowly regained his strength and was introduced to the volunteering activities, first at the Lebone Village launch and subsequently at Freedom Square in 2014 (Kemp, 2015). Abram's health and physical strength improved rapidly with each training session, and he soon became one of the most trusted volunteers in Freedom Square, often starting activities without my presence as early as 07h00 in the morning with the children in the neighbourhood, while 'volunteering' time was only scheduled between 10h00 and 14h00. Despite Abram's age, and 'health' status, which would have excluded him from most conventional skills programmes, I included him as one of the intern beneficiaries for the grant funding project from the Government of Flanders. Abram used to be a builder in his younger years and his technical skills and mentorship on structural building elements proved invaluable during the course of the two-year programme. In addition, due to Abram's health history and age, he became a role model and inspiration to the youths who participated in the skills transfer programme (Kemp, 2014). According to Kemp (2015), the occupational therapist at the clinic, Abram went from being a patient at the clinic to ultimately becoming a therapist and facilitator of health to his community.

Abram initiated the first phase of his SLG replacement house in April 2015 and has been living in the house since August 2016 (see Figure 6.6). The catalyst for engaging in the building process for Abram and the rest of the case studies was when they received a toolset consisting of a wheelbarrow, pounding hammer and other essential building tools. Technically, Abram worked independently on the house and made most critical decisions relating to the design and size of the house himself, albeit often seeking advice from the core group of training beneficiaries of the grant funding. Second-hand

material, such as windows and doorframes, was donated or bought at a low price. The greatest cost was related to the roof, which amounted to approximately R4000. Abram collected all natural building material from his own area and the greatest time-consuming processes were related to collecting and transport of resources (tyres and bottles), and saving money to complete the roof. Abram's replacement house process overlapped with the Freedom Square house, and soon community participants mobilised themselves to volunteer at the project of their choice. Community participants, including students, liaised directly with Abram on how they wanted to be involved in the process. Since Abram has been living in his new replacement house, he has done a variety of creative improvements, like building a bench outside and constructing furniture shelves merging out of his walls on the inside. In addition, he has a viable vegetable garden going where he uses the grey water management skills that he has been acquiring through the training.
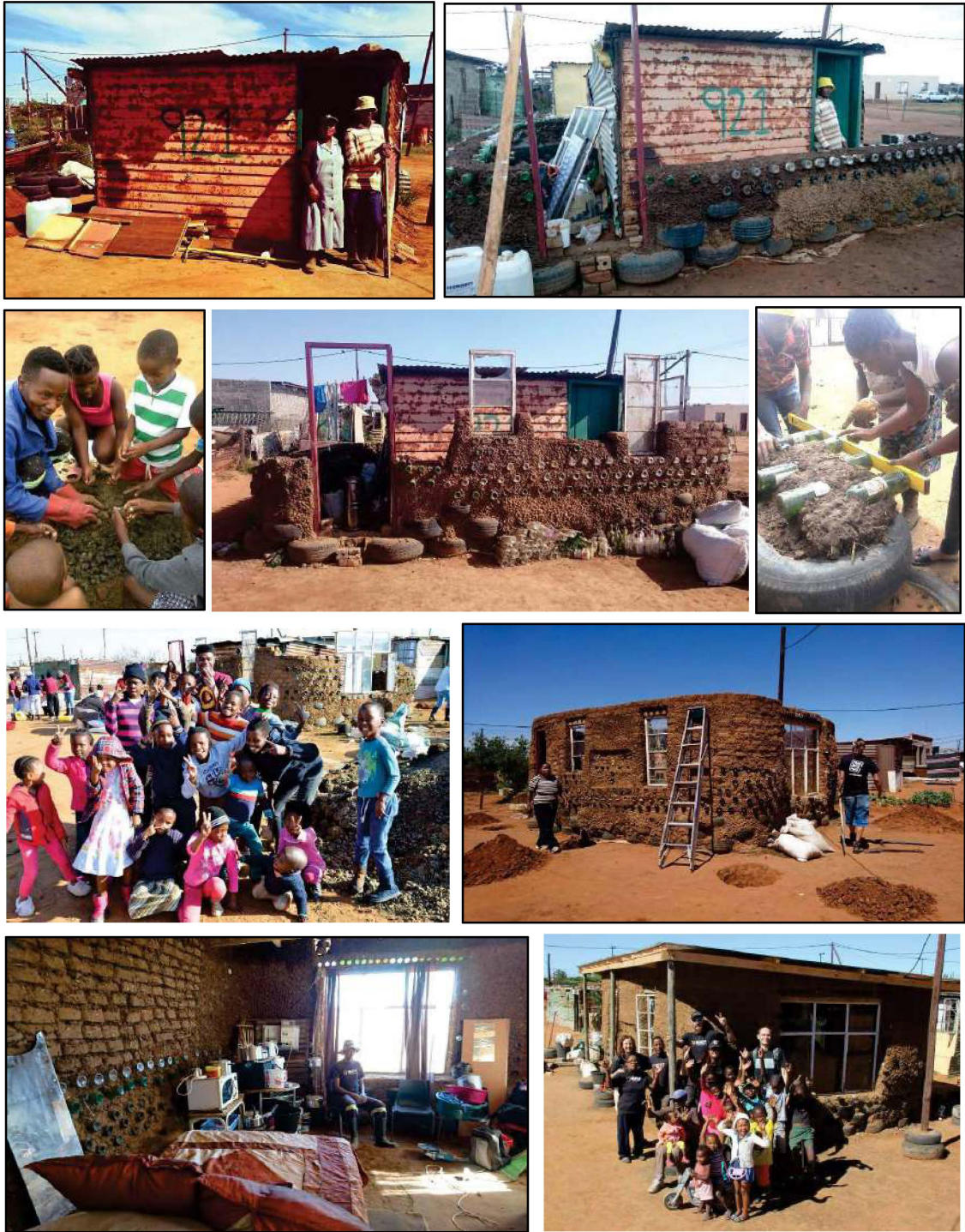
The last cycle of the grant funding focused on project management. Since August 2016, Abram has been migrating between Bloemfontein and Bultfontein, a rural town located 100 km north of Bloemfontein. Small-scale building projects have been running in Bultfontein since 2015, but construction of the arts centre only gained momentum in 2016. Since the arts centre was located in the formal residential area, we had been engaging with the Tswelopele Local Municipality (Bultfontein). After lengthy discussions with the Twelopele Local Municipality, the municipality approved the concepts and technical drawings presented to them. Construction of the arts centre commenced early in 2016. Abram, in his technical advisory capacity, has been mentoring the emerging change agents and various community members in Bultfontein to utilise innovative building methods to construct a community arts centre. Noteworthy is that the participation of youths in the project rapidly increased since Abram's presence on the training site. Abram's age, and fact that he is living in his own constructed house based on the methods, contributed positively to the increase in trainees. Figure 6.7 provides visual documentation on the technical skills and social dynamics of the capacity building processes in Bultfontein.

Figure 6.7: Bultfontein, skills transfer processes (Twelopele Local Municipality), 2015 to 2016

- **Caleb Motshabi replacement house (MMM) (2015 to 2016)**

Figure 6.8: Caleb Motshabi, capacity building training site (MMM), 2015 to 2016

Mokoena Maphalane, a 30 year-old stroke survivor, with his 56 year-old mother, started a self-help process at their informal site at the same time as Abram. Similar to Abram's narrative, Mokoena attended the Mandela Day launch in 2014, volunteered at Freedom Square and became one of the beneficiaries of the grant funding. Mokoena was born with a heart defect and suffered a stroke in 2012, at the age of 26. Mokoena was previously a taxi driver and after his stroke, unable to return to work. Often depressed and isolated, the occupational therapist at the community clinic asked Mokoena to join her in the building activities as part of his recovery process (Kemp, 2015). Mokoena was used to being marginalised since childhood. As a result of his weak heart, Mokoena never participated in games and sports with his school peers and his physical health status had a detrimental effect on his own perceptions on what he would be able to achieve through physical activities (De Gouveia, 2014). However, health and occupational therapy assessments at the local clinic have shown that Mokoena's life has gained new meaning on physical and psychological levels since he started participating in the building activities in 2014 (Kemp, 2014). When I met Mokoena in 2014, the left side of his body was noticeably impaired. Soon after joining the building activities in Freedom Square, Mokoena invited his mother Ellen along and both the Maphalanes became intern beneficiaries of the grant funding allocated to the UFS. Various assessments by health workers and students are filled with narratives showing progress of Mokoena, from aspiring to learn skills to him managing the building of his own replacement house (De Gouveia, 2014; Kemp, 2015; Mnyameni, 2016).

The tenure history of the Maphalanes is complex and opens up avenues for many discursive dialogues on ways forward. Ellen Maphalane was born a South African citizen and married a Lesotho citizen in 1983. She forfeited her South African citizenship to become a Lesotho citizen, which she considered to be the best choice during the apartheid years. Ellen's husband died five years after the marriage in 1988 and she was left with three small children and marginalised by citizenship perceptions. The Maphalanes were regarded as neither Lesotho- nor South African citizens and settled with relatives at the border town of Wepener where they renewed their visas on a monthly bases to have legal access to South Africa. They moved to Bloemfontein in 1997, and with no success to regain her South African citizenship, monthly visits to the border became a way of life for the Maphalanes. Moving from one informal settlement to the next in Bloemfontein, the Maphalanes never experienced any sense of security of tenure. In August 2014, they moved to their current location in an informal settlement where they reside for free on the *de facto* 'property' of a fellow church member. The inheritance narrative related to security of tenure resurfaced again. The church member, and leaders in the church community, have in kind decided that the Maphalanes can reside on the property until the church member's child, who was a toddler in 2014, comes of age and takes up

his/her inheritance. Thus, the Maphalanes were at first hesitant to start a house replacement process based on their *ad hoc* tenure status.

Mokoena's physical recovery and his psychological evolvement to become a leading change agent in steering projects astounded health workers (Kemp, 2015). At first, Mokoena was the most insecure and shy individual among the beneficiaries participating in the skills programme. He was highly aware of his disability and his insecurity surfaced many times through the course of the programme. Knowing that technical advice would be available at a moment's notice, Mokoena's lack of confidence in his technical abilities did not hold him back from starting his own self-help process . By observing how Abram, who is as disabled as Mokoena and older than Ellen, was engaging in building his replacement house, the Maphalanes slowly started activities on their ad hoc site in the informal settlement. Their engagement rapidly accelerated after the structural break-down happening in Freedom Square. The break-down processes made them realise that when the time came and they had to move, the 'house' could move with them. Many of the materials from Freedom Square were re-purposed at the Maphalanes' replacement house. Further advancements in Mokoena's confidence were observed when Mokoena got access to a smart phone and computer in 2015. Mokoena's leadership abilities emerged when he was given responsibilities related to managing administration and recording financial aspects of the grant project. In addition, Mokoena was able to visually document his own housing process and part of his mentorship process was to write up the process. Mokoena soon started to use the internet and social media to reconnect with international and local volunteers he met throughout the project duration. Organising his own 'volunteering' sessions, Caleb Motshabi soon became the 'new' Freedom Square with a constant influx of local and international volunteers. In addition, both the Maphalanes' confidence grew further when they had to design, do project management, and skills training for selected unemployed youths residing in Botshabelo (rural town 60 km from Bloemfontein). By the end of December 2016, the structural aspects of the replacement house were in place and the roofing process completed (Figure 6.8 show visual documentation of the building processes in Caleb Motshabi). Roofing material was donated by international sponsors who had been following the Maphalanes' journey on social media. The Maphalanes are continuing to improve their replacement house since the roof has been constructed.

In June 2016, the main beneficiaries received certificates acknowledging their participation in the first phase of the two-year skills training programme. At the end of May 2016, the Maphalanes participated in approximately 200 formal training sessions subsidised by the grant funding and numerous more in their own personal volunteering capacity. Thus, after two years, the Maphalanes

had built up an impressive visual portfolio and they started a process with home affairs to attain a special permit to legally work in South Africa. The Maphalanes submitted a visual portfolio combined with reference letters highlighting the linkages of the training to international funding and the UFS to the Department of Home Affairs in July 2016. Three months later, they heard that their applications were successful, and the Maphalane's received special skills permits to legally work in South Africa until December 2019.

- **Springfontein, Xhariep District Municipality (2015)**
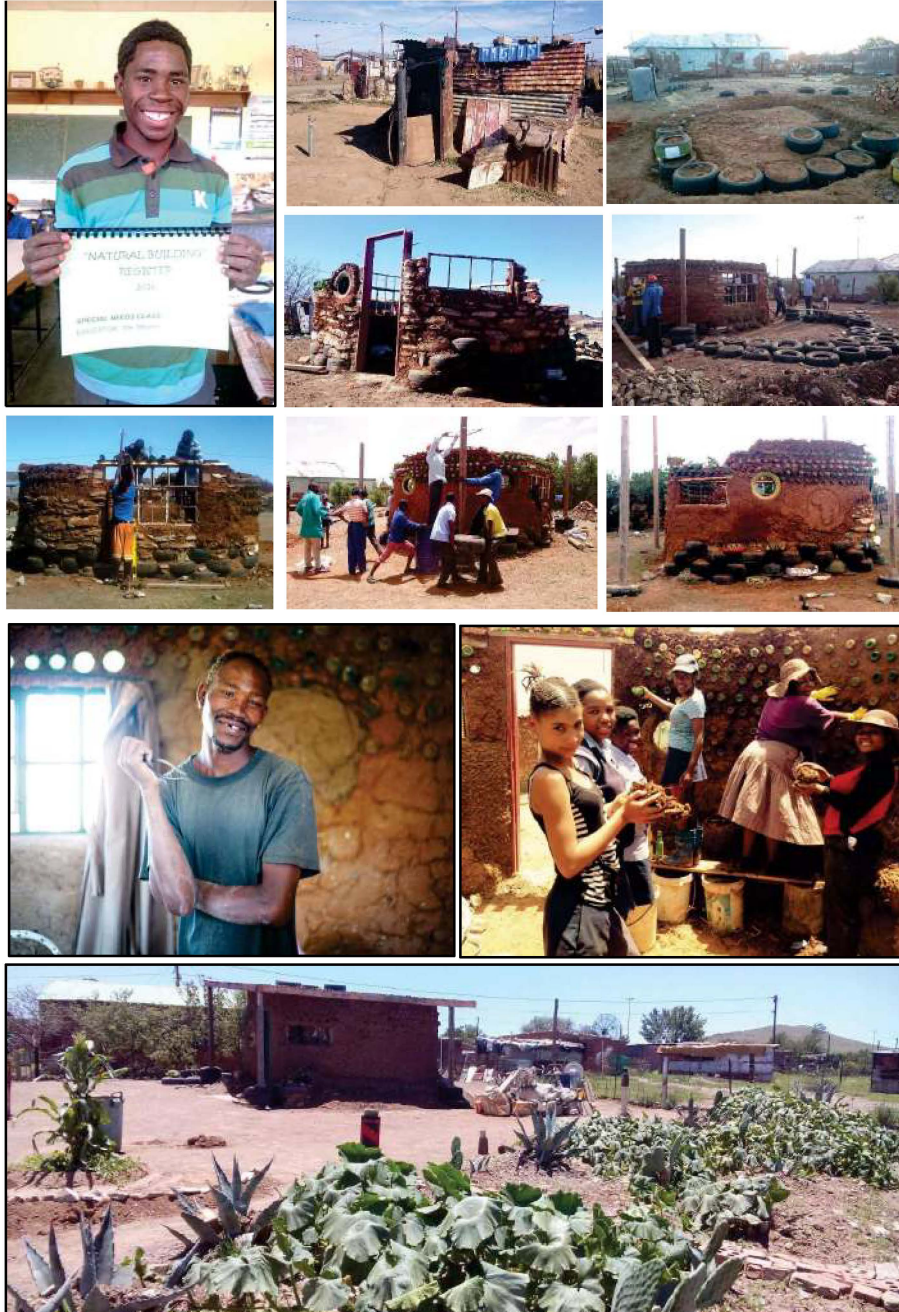
Sources: Anita Venter, Natascha Meisler, Kyle Salazar (2015-2016)

Figure 6.9: Springfontein, special needs class project (Xhariep District Municipality), 2015 to 2016

The involvement of occupational therapists as change-engaged stakeholders was highlighted throughout the previous case studies. Where the previous two qualitative case studies showed the sustainable livelihood applications and health impact of the training programme on the adult intern beneficiaries, the Springfontein case study elaborates on the educational impact which the capacity building programme had on youths involved in the programme.

The Springfontein narrative started with two occupational therapy students who used the building methods as therapeutic model to reach out to disadvantaged communities (see Section 6.4.2). According to Morgan (Preece, 2016), contemporary thought in occupational therapy encourages process-driven development practices in the field. The notion grew that students should be more involved in community engagement practices to prepare them for the professional world. Thus, where students tend to be exposed to outcome-based education (quantifiable research results), they rarely became part of community life to gain better understanding of processes and how the community works. Thus, in 2013, occupational therapy piloted community engagement practices that are based on process-driven educational modules. Occupational therapy started a community block module, where fourth-year students were placed at various locations for a five-week period. The two fourth-year students who contacted me in January 2014 for advice on technical aspects related to the building methods, received a five-week community placement where they were to engage with learners of a 'special needs' class at a high school in the township of Springfontein. The 'special needs' class in Springfontein was started by a local teacher, Natascha Meisler in 2010. Meisler created the class to teach children with learning disabilities vocational, artisan and entrepreneurial skills. The learners of this class struggled to progress in school since primary school, had difficulties reading and writing, and were prone to health conditions such as foetal alcohol syndrome, dyslexia and HIV/AIDS-related illnesses. The intention of the 'special needs' class was to keep children with learning disabilities in school, rather than them leaving school with no skills and a bleak future ahead (Boning, 2014). Working closely with the students whose placement was at the Springfontein high school, Meisler heard about the Mandela Day launch and the innovative building workshops that were to be presented. In a bid to learn more about the building skills, Natasha brought her class to the Lebone Village, Mandela Day building workshop in July 2014. The Springfontein youths stood out from most groups with their determination and energetic participation throughout the day. After Mandela Day, the youths continued with building experiments at the school.

The Springfontein youths joined other learning disabled youths from Mangaung for six intensified training sessions at Lebone Village during school holidays from November 2014 to May 2016. These training sessions' timeframe varied between one week and three weeks at a time. Mobility and experiencing different towns, or different parts of the township, became a key variable

in motivating individuals to participate in the skills activities. The Springfontein youths participation depended on their school performance and good behaviour during the school term. The learners' general marks and work ethics rapidly improved with each term, and youths were competing to attend the Bloemfontein workshops. Similar narratives emerged in the Bloemfontein context, with individuals volunteering in numbers when they heard that I was going to another location or town to give technical advice. In addition, many times learning disabled youths from the Mangaung townships accompanied me when I went to Springfontein to provide technical advice. Helping each other in different localities became a key feature of the skills training programme for the duration of the programme. Gaining confidence with each training session, and exposure to the adult beneficiaries engaging in replacement projects, the Springfontein youths were eager to start their own SLG replacement house.

Responding to the youth's request, a detailed analysis was done on what they wanted to achieve with their newly acquired knowledge. Collaboratively, the youths identified a person in need of housing. The replacement project, facilitated by the 'special needs' teacher Meisler, became part of the Springfontein class activities. The beneficiary the youths had chosen was an unemployed individual, called Johannes. Johannes's legal tenure status remains unknown, but according to him the property was in his name at the municipality. Johannes was chosen based on his dire housing circumstances and also his individualistic and artistic personality. The youths felt that Johannes's strong-willed individualism made him the perfect candidate to embrace building methods not known in mainstream building projects. The house replacement project started in July 2015. Although Johannes was hesitant to engage in the building activities itself, he participated in the process from start to finish by collecting resources with his wheelbarrow. In December 2015, with the form coat (final smooth layer) and earth plastering still to be completed, Johannes decided the house was completed 'enough' to occupy and limited the youths access to the property. Johannes has taken complete ownership of the project, constantly improving his environment. Improvements he has done include building a fence and sculptural structures with re-purposed material, creating a rock garden with succulents, planting trees and starting a vegetable garden (see Figure 6.9).

The impact of the building on the Springfontein youths' lives was documented by occupational therapy students (Boning, 2014; Trinder-Smith, 2014). The perception of the 'special needs' as the 'dumb class' by fellow school learners changed dramatically since the learners started building experiments on the school grounds. The learning disabled youths' status was upgraded to that of 'eco-kids' by their peers. Mainstream school learners were intrigued by the skills the special needs class acquired, and many expressed an interest to also become part of the special needs outdoor class activities. Furthermore, the project implementation in Springfontein shows that conventional project

planning based on verbal and written communication will not work since the learners and beneficiaries have limited reading and writing abilities, and many of the learners also had speech disabilities. However, despite the apparent challenge, the youths were full of confidence that they would be able to operationalise the project (Boning, 2014). The assessment further highlighted the importance of community participation and skills transfer through non-verbal communication. Throughout the assessments, learners were proud of the skills they acquired, although not always able to verbally explain activities, they were able to demonstrate how to implement methods and eager to teach 'newcomers' the skills. Participation in activities was always voluntary, which led to high levels of participation since learners could choose their own pace of engagement. The choice of participation and freedom to make decisions led to increased activities by those really interested in building, and opened up a future world for them, planning for a career where they previously had no aspirations for after school. The ease-of-use of material provided a platform for mistakes, and the youths were not afraid of failure or to try new methods. Rather, they saw failure as a way of learning, and that if they keep on trying, they will master a technique and improve their skills. Many learners that struggled to concentrate in a class setting, became focused and could complete tasks that demanded them to pay attention (Boning, 2014). Her assessment further showed improvement in the cognitive ability and autonomy of the learners that managed the building process. The building activities continued with or without supervision of the teacher. In addition, many learners continued building in their free time, before and after school. The pivotal role of the teacher, Natascha Meisler, in creating a change-engaged environment for the learners to enable them to operationalise the building activities is highlighted in this case study.

The results of projects piloted in 2014 by two students led to greater participation between the CDS and the Department of Occupational Therapy. The Department of Occupational Therapy invested in 20 third-year students to be trained for a week in innovative building technologies in 2015, and the number increased to 40 third-year students in 2016. In addition, the collaboration with Occupational Therapy has opened a dialogue between the UFS, the Provincial Department of Education, and the Xhariep District Municipality on establishing an educational skills training platform in the Southern Free State for learning-disabled youths.

6.4.3 Early Childhood Development centre in Delft, The City of Cape Town (2016) opening up housing policy discourses for the future
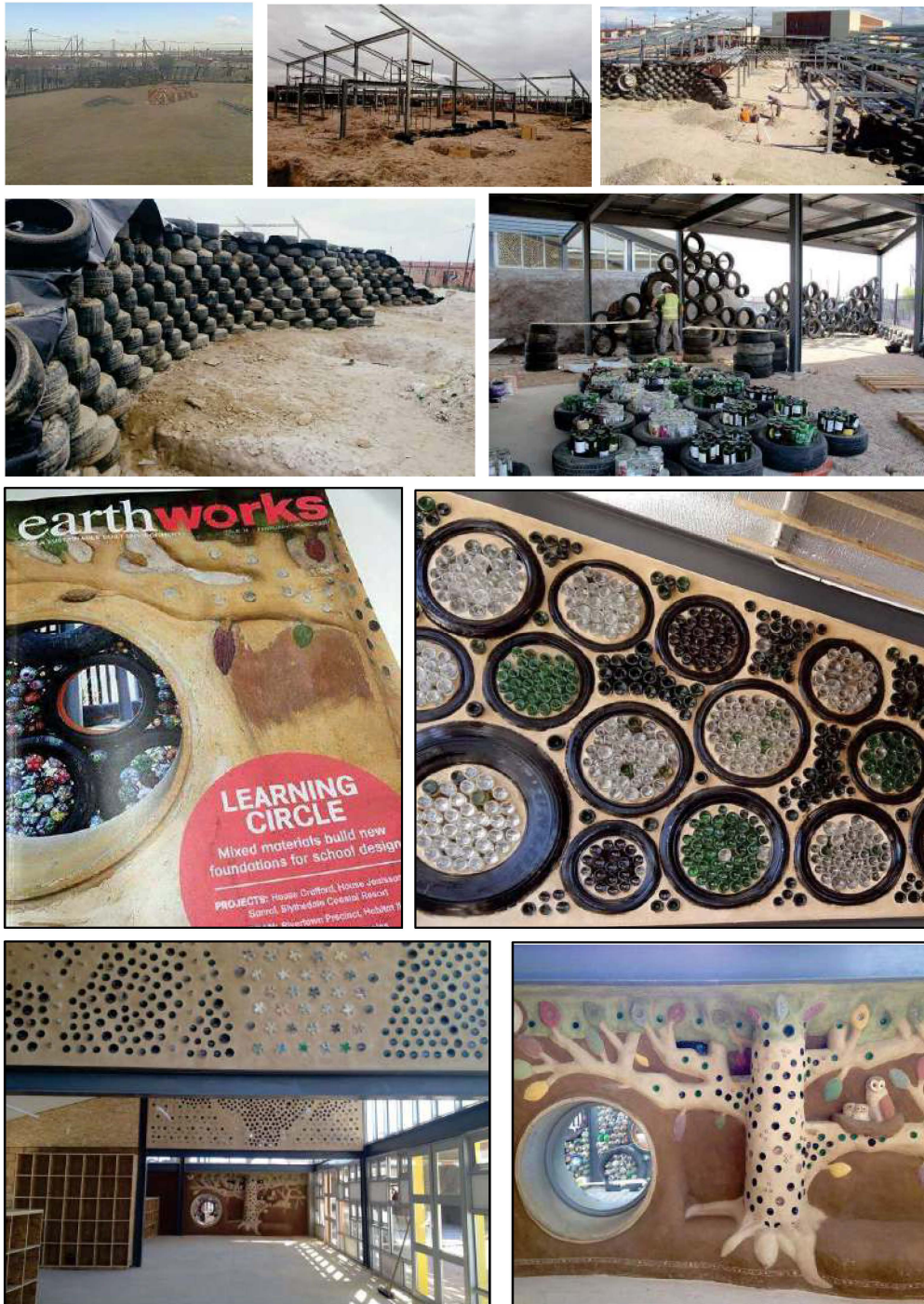
Sources: Peter McIntosh, Natural Building Collective, 2016

Figure 6.10: Delft, Early Childhood Development Centre (City of Cape Town), 2016

The historical narrative of the international and local experts who mentored the skills transfer activities in the Free State resulted in a joint collaboration with a ground-breaking, innovative building project pioneered by the City of Cape Town in the township of Delft in 2016. In a bold, progressive move, the Western Cape Presidential Infrastructure Coordinating Commission resolved that innovative, unconventional building material, not covered by the current national building standards should make up 60% of all social infrastructure buildings funded by the Western Cape. This decision was influenced by continued research being done by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research since the early 2000s, that innovation building technologies can cut the cost of building by 40% while being more energy efficient than conventional 'building codes approved' materials (Constable, 2016). Based on the Presidential Infrastructure Coordination Commission's resolution on Innovation Building Materials, the Western Cape developed conceptual plans on building an Early Childhood Development Centre (ECD) in the Delft Township (Hemeraj, 2016). In search of innovative building collaborators, a Google search led the principle implementation contractors to Peter McIntosch, from NBC, in 2015.

Peter McIntosch, with his technical expertise in natural building, was the local technical stakeholder, with international experts from LWH, in implementing capacity building programmes that were facilitated through the CDS in the MMM between 2014 and 2016. These stakeholder relations proved valuable when McIntosch was approached to apply his expertise on innovative building technologies in the Delft ECD centre project in Cape Town. The first phase of the Delft project, to the value of R13 000 000, incorporated a variety of building methods, ranging from conventional to unconventional technologies. Approximately 30 residents in the Delft area were employed with a specific objective to receive technical training for six months on natural building technologies and similar innovative building methods used in the Free State case studies (June 2016 - December 2016). Figure 6.10 show the progress made at the Delft ECD centre. One of the building interns of the grant funding project, Velile Phantsi, was send to Delft for a period of three months to gain additional technical experience, facilitate change-engaged processes at the primary school opposite the building site and to do impact assessments at the end of the project on the manner in which the Delft trainees intend to apply their knowledge in the future. The process of formalisation and institutionalisation of concepts warrants an in-depth study on its own. Only time will determine how the application of the innovative building methods can be adapted to influence housing policy discourses in the formalised sector.

6.5   SYNTHESIS: CHANGE-ENGAGED THEMES

The rationale behind the case studies was embedded in years of discourse analysis and a quest for finding the link between theory, research and implementation. Key scholarly recommendations on informal settlement upgrading were used as departure point to: investigate the potential of self-help technologies; use knowledge based on experience to transfer skills; and gain greater understanding on the manner in which community participation works to create sustainable livelihoods. The case studies do illustrate the potential of self-help, applicability of skills transfer, and value in community participation. Implementing the case studies mentioned above, and those not discussed in this thesis, have been filled with regulatory dualities and obstacles existing between the formal and informal sector which seems challenging to bridge in the future. Firstly, the synthesis focuses on the welfare state theoretical relevance of the case studies. Thereafter, using three years of photo documentation, video recordings, personal conversations, focus group discussions, student assignments, the focus shifts to my own experience and the change-engaged lessons I learned from implementating case studies. Attention is given to project facilitation challenges; value of self-help and dweller control in implementing projects in the informal sector; the role of community mobilisation and participation in operationalising projects; and, challenges related to tenure security.

6.5.1 Theoretical paradigms, ideology and implementation

The value of methodological interpretations of this chapter was to show that interpretation and knowledge of theory and literature can impact the manner power relations and societal processes are approached in operationalising case studies. The first five chapters focused on a micro- and meso levels of discourse analysis by interpreting text and tracing historical narratives and ideological influences that guided housing policy directives. This chapter, through adaptations of social and critical theory, focused on critical discourse perspectives. Understanding the 'human' changed engaged component in influencing social reality, deliberate attention was given to build long-term stakeholder relations with individuals and organisations that can influence implementation pathways. LWH was identified as skills experts, the UFS and MMM as implementation enablers, and Free State Province as geographical location. Literature shown the importance of concept formation that precede any policy formulation and institutionalisation of evolving ideas. Influenced by the macro level of critical discourse methodology, the concept of SLG were intentionally created as an advocacy platform for future grassroots implementation. Funding from the Government of Flanders changed the historical pathway of implementation activities described in this chapter. Where implementation activities were firstly done in personal capacity, the funding enabled critical junctures to an institutional level of the academia and inter-disciplinary collaboration between faculties and

networking between international universities. The funding resulted in a two year journey of 'testing' the applicability and adaptability of theories in applying case studies in the informal sector.

The contribution of adapting the different theories in implementation studies relates to theoretical developments of neo-Marxism, variegated neo-liberalism and development theories. Influenced by neo-Marxism, attention were given to understand the social structures that shape urban systems, in particular in the informal sector. Although it was not possible to make generalisations from the case studies, interpreting the case studies from a neo-Marxist perspective indicated that collective action through collaboration can change the way individuals start to question the formalised manner in which housing is approached by the public sector in informal settlements. The informal sector case studies showed that markets and economic principles were not the primary driving force for the individuals and groups to actively engage in the housing process. In addition, through human centred skills development approaches, individuals' choices in improving their own housing situation were expanded. However, the conventional wisdom from Burgess's (1982) neo-Marxist arguments that self-help housing becomes a commercialised commodity within the exploitative class relations of capitalist development are challenged through the case studies. In none of the case studies any indication were given that the individuals experienced exploitation in engaging in their own self-help process. On the contrary, all the individuals who engaged in the self-help processes showed an increase in confidence levels. The adults discussed in the case studies were still continuing with their building practices since they started to engage in their own self-help processes. These individuals were inspiring other grassroots households to do the same, and employment opportunities were starting to open up as a result of their engagement in the self-help process.

Liberal theory highlighted principles of freedom and individualism in choosing their own housing context. The case studies showed that grassroots perceptions to indigenous building technologies could positively be influenced through skills development practices. All of the main beneficiaries trained, engaged in different levels of application of these skills in either the formal or informal sector. The skills training resulted in four beneficiaries making personal choices to engage in managing their own process of building environmentally sound, low-cost and energy efficient replacement houses. Three of these houses were occupied by the beneficiaries and they were constantly improving these structures with the knowledge they have gained. The value of these houses was not perceived by the case study individuals in terms of economic value. After two years of social investment in human capital and training, the beneficiaries were highly aware of their role as 'change agents' in enabling social change in their communities. (See Annexure A for links to specific social media video clips.) Politically, the local and provincial government's role were instrumental in allowing these informal activities to take place in the Free State Province. Development studies that

were approached elaborate on concepts of globalisation, sustainable development, and urban systems related to self-help housing, change and the environment. The sustainable development framework focused on a whole sector approach and stressed the value informality has in contributing to building sustainable communities. All of these aspects have informed the manner in which the implementation of the case studies was applied.

Although this chapter drew on Western Europe welfare state theories, it is not the 'theory' which guided the case studies, but rather the fundamental conceptual questions which the theory poses. Welfare state theories discussed in Chapter 3 elaborated on the Esping-Andersen welfare models, social rights welfare theories and Kemeny's tenure discourses. **Esping Andersen** investigated the different roles housing has to play in welfare regime typologies. In particular, conceptual questions explore the degree of decommodification of housing welfare systems compared to social stratification in housing provision in a country. Throughout the case studies there were an interplay between commodification and decommodification of housing. Except for the Cape Town case study, the replacement house case studies had a greater decommodification and social value than economic value. **Social rights welfare discourses** advance that a country's ideological stance with regard to social rights influences an individual's or household's access to housing. The case studies in the informal sector illustrated that community systems of *de facto* tenure outweighs the importance of *de jure* tenure. The respect for community systems can be traced back to centuries of African collectivist ideologies entrenched in cultural practices. Building technologies that evolved from indigenous housing practices became a community development tool to reach out to disadvantaged and marginalised communities described in the case studies. Reviving the rich African historical context which potentially tends to be undervalued in development practices compared to the individualistic formalised market approaches in practice, were more easily achieved by initially including elderly beneficiaries (older than 55) and beneficiaries from Lesotho. These beneficiaries had fond memories of their upbringing in indigenous housing, and in the context of Lesotho, they did not have the negative connection to apartheid segregation planning than their South African peers. In a collectivist society, the elderly are highly respected, thus the elderly interns were influential in swaying the youths to accept the natural building as part of their future housing histories. The **Wobbly Pillar** metaphor asks critical questions on what the relation is between housing provision and other welfare services such as education, health and social services. In the context of the case studies, the inclusion of occupational therapy as implementation collaborators opened new discourses on the relation of housing to both education and health. Social security in terms of legalised tenure remains unresolved and seems challenging to address in the near future. Kemeny's **tenure ideologies** highlight the contradiction that exists between formal and informal sector urban planning. Dualist tenure principles

guide the formal sector by promoting privatist ideological values of individual property ownership linked to market values. Although the informal sector is applying unitary tenure principles, these unitary approaches are usually not based on choice, but rather forced by need. Households living in informal settlements tend to aspire to be part of the formal dualist tenure system where they will be able to own their individual properties. However, despite dualist aspirations in the informal sector, a strong sense of collectivism binds these communities together based on their shared socio-economic context. The case studies aspired to open up theoretical discourses on re-imagining the possibilities of indigenous communal tenure systems in certain spatially geographical contexts. In addition, the case studies through implementation, explored ways of reviving pride in indigenous building knowledge systems by connecting the beneficiaries to their pre-colonial vernacular African histories. Turning theory into practise, by building environmentally friendly sustainable structures, was a constructive attempt in this chapter to challenge post-apartheid building codes that still exclude evolving indigenous building methods in the regulatory environment 23 years after the end of apartheid.

6.5.2 Project facilitation

The Freedom Square pilot project can be seen as the baseline which informed the project approaches of the other case studies that follow. The Freedom Square case study made me evaluate my own pre-conceived notions on how project, implementation and activities should unfold in the informal sector. Guided by a PAR methodology, the perceived unstructured manner in which project activities unfolded was challenging in all the cases. I had to unlearn my own Westernised project management style of pre-planning, controlling and predicting the activities with a specific outcome in mind (building structure) to that of rather understanding the social structures at play in each specific context. In addition, the manner in which community participation unfolded where participation was voluntary, timeframes flexible, pace of building unpredictable, and choice in activity involvement varied on daily basis, made quantification of activities challenging and predictions on timeframes when the replacement houses would be completed impossible. I redirected my involvement from a project manager to that of enabling facilitator who encouraged grassroots individuals to create their own implementation systems they would be able to manage and own themselves in the future.

Letting go of controlling the process, combined with leaving ample room for failure, remains one of the most challenging aspects in facilitating projects. Many decisions which the grassroots project implementers made did not make sense in my own worldview, while some logic on decision-making only became apparent in later case studies or collaborative reflecting on the experience after some time had passed. For example, the designs which I had in mind often changed at a moment's notice, with units becoming smaller than what had been suggested, or shape adjustments from square

to round, or changes in site layout without consultation. Thus, I soon learned that in terms of the design, my role is to provide technical advice, ensure structural integrity of the buildings and mentor educational aspects relating to evolving indigenous architectural and cultural practices. Respecting choices of the project implementers, despite personal perceptions on how to enhance the projects, led to a lot of introspection on ways forward by all participants involved. But essentially, in ensuring buy-in of concepts and enabling individuals to take ownership of the future projects they were to manage, adaptation was necessary to provide support for many different opinions and approaches to be applied.

Embracing the unknown, and constant adaptation to project plans became key features in the project facilitation process. With the initial concept formation on how to operationalise the skills transfer programme in marginalised communities, I could never have imagined that people with disabilities or the elderly would emerge as the skills training beneficiaries, or envisaged the enabling role which occupational therapy would play in steering the process. Therefore adjusting the facilitation process and implementation activities to cater for a variety of abled and disabled participants of all ages and different disciplines are noticeable in all projects. The choices of participation and level of engagement led to greater community involvement in general. Allowing individuals to take responsibility, making critical choices and scope for failure, resulted in a high level of autonomy and self-confidence for the individuals who took part in the skills transfer programme. Skills training in engagement in the formal economy are problematic. Some of the training beneficiaries were engaging in the formal economy at the last phase of the project. But introducing participants with low literacy levels or those who are intellectually challenged into the formal economy, remains a challenge that will require creative ways to address.

Ultimately, most of the training beneficiaries were left with a skillset to operate in the informal sector. But I must go back to the drawing board to conceptualise how these skillsets, conducive for informal upgrading, can be adapted for the formal sector where economic principles are highlighted and structured approaches are required in implementing projects. Each case study had its own dynamics and processes and were depended on who the participants were that participated, what resources were available and capacity to assist with logistics for transporting material not within reach of the project. More implementation studies are necessary before generalisation on replication aspects can be observed. In addition, application of the case studies are context-specific to the geographical context of the Free State Province, and the technical application in dense city areas would be challenging to replicate.

The project facilitation had various degrees of success and has shown that two of the seven adult beneficiaries trained over the course of two years are not ready to manage projects yet. But preliminary observations of the five individuals who are able to manage projects have shown that the process of transferring skills, and new individuals taking ownership, are accelerated when skills transfer activities are done informally among peers of the same socio-economic status and cultural group. In particular, new case studies that commenced in 2016 in Bultfontein, Botshabelo and Trompsburg, will provide insight on the process of peers mentoring peers in the long term. A comparative study between the success of skills transfer of projects in projects managed from a formalised construction approach (Delft) and the bottom-up facilitation done from a community development perspective in the Free State will also prove valuable to gain information on the dynamics between the formal and informal sectors.

6.5.3 Self-help and dweller control

All of the case studies in the Free State illustrate high levels of dweller control, with individuals taking ownership of the process. The case studies above shown that self-help housing is possible through engaging in time-consuming processes of mentoring and skills transfer activities. Continued exposure to the innovative building methods provided individuals a platform to understand what self-help housing can entail and trainee interns made decisions themselves to improve their own housing situation. With the exception of the Springfontein case study, all the 'owners' of the replacement houses attended at least six months of training sessions on an *ad hoc* basis before engaging in their own individual managed building processes. The trainees shown high levels of involvement in managing their own housing process and learned to make many critical decisions themselves. However, trainees were still dependent on project facilitation to operationalise the implementation process in the various phases of projects. Knowing that technical mentoring was available when needed, provided the participants with a sense of security to engage in the self-help process. Access to tools was the most important variable that kept those trained from starting the self-help process. Capital investment in basic tools led to the adult beneficiaries trained to either engage in their own self-help house replacement process (case studies mentioned above) or engagement in projects in the formal sector. In addition, the manner in which the individuals were trained had influenced the management style of those who managed the house replacement processes. The project management was highly depended on active participation, learning by doing and leading by example. By the end of 2016, the main adult trainees were provided an opportunity to do project facilitation, either on their own or in partnership with another at different locations (in Mangaung, Bultfontein, Botshabelo, Trompsburg and Cape Town). In all the follow-up projects, project facilitation by the training interns

had an important social and hosting component. Volunteerism became a key component in the manner the interns approached project implementation.

The socialising aspect was a main attraction for many communities in the informal sector to engage in the process. Although the project facilitation yielded positive results in the shack replacement process from a social and change-engaged perspective, critical questions are raised between the compatibility of the informal sector's way of facilitating a process and the formal sector approach of management of a project where the construction of a building is the output. The individuals in the case studies (and others trained) in the Free State all have skills to successfully engage in different levels of informal settlement upgrading, and are able to provide skills training to others. With a focus on social change, the skills training was directed to address structural inequalities related to community development and sustainable livelihoods aspects of grassroots communities. Changing perceptions on the use of the innovative building material took a long time to achieve. The social elements involved in creating a love for the material, building confidence in the participants to change aspects related to their own living circumstances, and the importance of skills transfer to change livelihood conditions in communities were prioritised in capacity building mentoring process. Furthermore, given the subjective qualitative approach in the project facilitation through one-on-one mentoring, and personal investment in human capital by building trusting relationships with individuals on the grassroots, replication of the projects on large scale will be challenging. Projects where trusting relationships with the community trained did not exist before commencement of implementation were much more difficult to facilitate or participate in. Often, where no prior investment was done in building relationships, or individuals went over from the informal sector to formal projects, 'quick fixes' on achieving similar positive results were expected from clients. Social change in the formal sector projects were much more difficult to implement because of the short timeframe attached to the duration of the project and, secondly, the focus shifted from community development in the informal sector to that of construction 'work'.

6.5.4 Community mobilisation and participation

Community mobilisation is a key theme running through all the case studies. Community mobilisation started small-scale in 2013 by mobilising a small number of volunteers to help in Freedom Square. Experience gained led to the creation of the funding proposal to the Government of Flanders. The critical juncture of attaining international funding changed the course of implementation dramatically. Mobilising international funding enabled me to dedicate two years to implementation which would not have been possible otherwise. Community mobilisation gained momentum when both local and international influential individuals participated in the project.

Different groups started to mobilise support from within their own networks, either through word-of-mouth or social media. Building on existing international networks led to training sessions which enhanced the quality of the technical applications. Locally, mobilising the support of the MMM streamlined ease of implementation without interference of the regulatory systems. Having occupational therapy on board, and them mobilising their networks to participate in the case studies opened up new avenues not envisaged in the conceptualisation phase of the projects. On a micro-level, individuals played a huge role in steering implementation directions. The case studies show that community mobilisation is imperative in seeing through projects and could only be achieved with collaboration.

Community participation in the projects in the Free State developed organically and each person has their own unique story of involvement, and manner in which they took up the 'shack replacement' cause. Roles are also flexible, and various individuals who were only participating in the beginning of the project started to mobilise support to implement their own self-managed projects. Social media and word-of-mouth played a large role in the way the community participated, as well as growth in the number of participants. Many of these 'change agent' storylines have been captured by students and/or video documented by local and international film crews. Thus, a large collection of qualitative and visual data exists that can be analysed from a variety of inter-disciplinary perspectives.

6.5.5 Tenure security

Issues related to security of tenure remain unresolved in the case studies and are a recurring theme also in case studies not discussed in this thesis. Addressing tenure dilemmas first would have stalled the implementation process for years. Alternatively, another beneficiary could have been chosen for the first township project in Freedom Square. But in the case of Freedom Square, Lentjie's dedication through volunteering for six months at other projects, her leadership qualities, and the trusting relationship that was build up between us over a two-decade working relationship outweighed the option to choose another beneficiary. Similar to the Caleb Motshabi case study where the property is earmarked for a person that was still a child at the time the case studies were written up, waiting for tenure issues to be addressed would not have led to the process of a replacement house. Thus, a deliberate decision was taken to rather focus on capacity building, skills transfer and implementation activities where we envisaged greater control over the process than addressing tenure obstacles that are dependent on structural adjustments in the legalised system.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Chapter 6 moved away from discursive discourse analysis through analysis of text towards the realm of implementation. As shown in the previous chapters, a large body of knowledge already exists that relates to theory, historical influences and interpretations of text from various perspectives. However, rather than providing another rhetorical review on how to interpret the amalgamation of different texts, this chapter pragmatically explored how theory, research and critical discourse can be interpreted through implementation to be relevant to the South African context. The chapter endeavoured to understand the complex systems at play in creating new knowledge that is embedded in the third level of Fairclough's (1995) macro level of critical discourse analysis. Throughout all the chapters, the concepts of power ideologies and the discourse constructs related to the historical and/or geographical context, constant changes and/or adaptations of ideas and the social, political, economic and/or environmental dimensions were highlighted. The case studies attempted to gain insight into applying the ideological narrative threads of concept formation, critical junctures, path dependency, international and global influences, and change agent roles of individuals, communities and institutions, and lastly, institutionalising of concepts.

Using informal settlement upgrading as departure point, the potential of sustainable self-help building technologies in housing the poor, value of skills transfer and technical assistance and influence of community mobilisation and participation in creating sustainable livelihoods were explored in the case studies. Though the case studies were context specific, insights correspond with key narratives embedded in the literature. However, the change-engaged themes discussed in the synthesis show many dualities and complexities in approaching ways forward for informal settlement upgrading. Project facilitation was easy from a technical skills transfer perspective (based on years of technical experience and access to expertise). However, the enabling role to capacitate individuals to take ownership of the projects was challenging to approach from a bottom-up grassroots perspective. Case studies were context specific and outcomes dependent on the change enablers and implementers involved. Bridging the divide between the informal and formal sector seems challenging, especially with security of tenure involved. The investment of the City of Cape Town in formalising the innovative building methods can be seen as a first step in institutionalising of ideas that emerged from the informal sector. The impact of these case studies can only be assessed in a few years' time, once more implementation studies have been completed. Chapter 7 will provide a synthesis of the case studies and how it relates to the theoretical frameworks and conceptual questions posed throughout the thesis.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Venter, 2017

The aim of this thesis was to provide an integrated epistemological analysis of the theoretical discourse on housing policy and research implementation relevant to the South African context. **Chapter 1** provided the rationale for the thesis by emphasising that no comprehensive study exists which encapsulates the theoretical foundations of housing policy research in South Africa. The rationale further highlighted that three decades of contemporary theoretical developments on housing in Western Europe has largely gone unnoticed in the South African scholarly environment. Drawing on the traditions of post-structuralism, social constructionism and critical discourse analysis, Chapter 1 explored methodological ways forward on addressing inadequate theory development regarding? housing in post-apartheid South Africa. **Chapter 2** gave an overview of housing theory and housing discourses in developing countries. Theoretical concepts and approaches discussed in Chapter 2 related to Marxist and neo-Marxist schools of thought, neo-liberalism, development theories and the notion of political economy. **Chapter 3** assessed housing theory and discourse in Western Europe and provided an extensive overview of the development of theory in the European context. Specific focus were placed on welfare state theoretical developments. Furthermore, the value of comparative and historical methodologies in interpreting welfare state theories were expanded on. **Chapter 4** outlined

the historical development of housing policies in both Western Europe and in developing countries. Conceptual themes in Chapter 4 focused on the dualities between formal and informal housing discourses, the application of welfare state intervention in providing housing for the poor and low-wage working class, and alluded to the contested multidimensional ideologies contained in ownership discourses. **Chapter 5** showed the relevance of the different theoretical frameworks in re-interpreting the historical narrative and ideological underpinnings of housing policy development in South Africa. The chapter illuminated the presence of welfare state theories within the current South African housing policy, and introduced pathways for expansion on these theories in future scholarly housing discourses in the post-apartheid era. **Chapter 6** used social constructivism to indicate how theoretical concepts on housing policy can be applied in implementation projects on grassroots level. Ultimately, the case studies endeavoured to provide a conducive platform for the evolvement of housing policies to be more socially and culturally responsive than what was the case at the completion of this thesis.

The following sections focuses on my personal reflections on the thesis. Thereafter, the scholarly contribution of the thesis and possible future publications on the content of the thesis are emphasised. The chapter further alludes to current and planned research activities which are a direct outcome of the research conducted for the thesis.

7.1   PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

I reached a 'glass ceiling' of knowledge saturation after years of textual analysis of post-apartheid housing literature where theoretical stances based on political economy theories were advanced in most post-1994 scholarly publications on housing. Searching for different sources of knowledge information, led to contemporary Western European theoretical developments on housing that did not yet found a foothold in the South African academia. This theoretical journey enriched my understanding of the ideological origin and concept formation of housing policies, and opened avenues to explore the relevance of theoretical content in applied studies on grassroots level. This section provides a reflection on the theoretical relevance of the thesis and my experiences in adapting theoretical concepts for implementation projects.

7.1.1   Theoretical considerations

Theoretical considerations related to complexities in interpreting theories in terms of being an ideological concept, a power regime, an evolving process or implementation strategy. Often, notions of theories as a process, strategy and product are interchangeably used without a thorough understanding of what the conceptual differences entail. Chapters 2 and 3 elaborated on the differences where processes are defined as fluid, changeable concepts and strategies that represent the

institutionalisation of processes to be implemented in a structured manner, while the product is the outcome of the strategy, often either through infrastructure or the house itself. The differences between the concept of housing as a process, strategy and product is essential once it comes to the interpretation of theories. In particular, the examples related to neo-liberalism in Chapter 2 showed that although housing processes might converge in path dependent ways, the manner these processes are applied as strategy and product are highly dependent on the geographical and ideological preposition of a certain country. Furthermore, the multi-layer argument in this thesis was that housing policy research must develop a more comprehensive understanding of the role of the state in relation not only to housing markets (neo-liberalism), but also include social and environmental variables in order to have value for both housing discourses and, ultimately, application in the wider society of the future. Theories and concepts either evolve with time to respond to their own weaknesses, or expand to be inclusive of conceptual dilemmas that arise with time. A good example is the way neo-liberalism evolved from an intellectual construct in academia to become a leading regime ideology in steering global housing policy development. The process of implementing the intellectual ideology as state strategies in the 1970s soon encountered a number of problems. Outcomes and 'products' (housing) of neo-liberal processes varied across geographical contexts. Variables such as socio-cultural ideologies and regime approaches became a determining factor on the way neo-liberal processes were institutionalised as state strategy or not.

Arguments for or against theoretical assumptions go beyond the scope of this thesis, and is a discursive practice on its own. The importance of the neo-liberal example is to show the fluidity of theoretical frameworks to evolve over time and that a variety of perspectives exist to interpret a social phenomenon. Interpretations, acceptance or rejections of theoretical stances are highly dependent on the social construction and ideological worldview of the contributors or interpreters of the theory. The journey of engaging with philosophical constructs, theoretical analyses and ideological interpretations left me with a comprehensive epistemological knowledge. However, I also became highly aware of inconsistencies within theories themselves in explaining social phenomena. Many times, theories advance over to time and display contradicting elements explaining their own assumptions (see the neo-liberal examples in Chapter 2). As illustrated in Chapter 3, a theoretical construct of the developed world cannot be universally applied in the context of developing countries, and sometimes adaptation of the theory can have greater value than a mere replication of the theory; though the underlying conceptual questions embedded in these theories proved to be of much value to inform the content of the previous chapters. Thus, guiding principles for Chapter 6 and this chapter have not been the theory itself, but rather the conceptual questions which arose from the underlying assumptions embedded in these theories.

7.1.2   Implementation of the case studies

The seminal work of Kemeny (1992), that the relationship between research and concepts is mutually inclusive and that concepts are socially constructed through research, influenced my decision to test the hypothesis through implementation of the case studies. Kemeny's tenure philosophies confronted my own world views and influenced a redirection of the thesis to incorporate implementation studies that were socially constructed to advance an evolving indigenous agenda within the housing policy environment. The conceptual questions which led to the explorative journey of implementing the case studies was adapted from historical methodologies: What choices and concept formations of housing pathways exist but rarely get reflected on in scholarly text? How can these concept formations be given a chance in an influential environment, such as a university, to exemplify its potential (albeit small-scale and in a specific geographical context) to advance housing discourses for the future? Further conceptual questions, embedded in the theories that guided the case studies, were: How can interpretations of discourse analysis knowledge be used constructively to influence macro level critical discourse processes in implementing case studies? Is it possible that perceptions of the social construct of housing can be altered to have a greater holistic perspective towards creating sustainable settlements that are interrelated with other themes, such as health, education and social security? Although the case studies were small-scale and geographically context-specific, valuable insights were gained in adapting theories to be applied in implementation projects.

Throughout the chapters, realities of informality and conflicting tenure ideologies kept on resurfacing in centuries of housing discourse narratives. Conversely, post-apartheid policy approaches and most scholarly teachings in the South African context, tended to fall on the other end of the spectrum, pursuing formalisation ideals and promoting political, economic ideological values in housing pathways. Admittedly, there is merit in formalising policies and political economic approaches towards housing. In particular, formalisation and subsidised approaches highlighting economic values can be a constructive way forward when applied in the context of housing for the low- and middle-income working class. This thesis did not oppose these strategies, but did challenge the applicability of an economically inclined model as the most appropriate housing option for the millions of households living in informal settlements. The main findings of these case studies were that self-help building technologies and skills transfer can make a significant contribution to address housing shortages in the country; in particular in geographical locations such as the Free State Province and other rural areas. Community mobilisation and participation can accelerate the process of bridging the gap between informal and formal housing processes. Using scholarly text as departure point, the implementation studies showed the potential of self-help technologies to house the poor, and ultimately all economic sectors in society. Skills transfer and technical assistance are key

variables in enabling individuals to utilise self-help technologies. The training was done over a 24-month timeframe, and without international funding, the application would not have been as widely applied in the Free State as was the case. The personalised approach and custom-made training component complicated replication of the case studies, though the people trained were utilising similar personal approaches when they applied their knowledge gained over the two-year period. Short timeframes of technical training are not advised, and continuous mentoring, interaction and support is essential to master basic technical skills to enable an individual to manage his or her own housing process.

Throughout the training, social and environmental processes were stressed. Community development was the prime objective and the outcome (physical structure) only became a by-product in achieving social and environmental change. The buy-in of the City of Cape Town in investing in a multimillion-rand project, which includes a great component of the innovative building technologies, might be a game changer in the way these technologies are viewed. With world-class technical experts (NBC and LWH) and visionary architects and engineers from the City of Cape Town driving the project, the potential of formalising and creating a basic unit standard for implementation of innovative building technologies could become a reality in the near future. However, the ideological propositions related to security of tenure and perceived security of tenure remain problematic, unresolved, and difficult to address without the intervention of influential stakeholders involved in legalised processes. Hopefully, the thesis succeeded in stimulating debates over the value of theoretical concerns in the South African housing environment and opened up discourses on the relevance of implementation studies in the interpretation of conceptual frameworks that underlie theoretical assumptions.

7.2 SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTION OF THE THESIS AND POSSIBLE FUTURE PUBLICATIONS

The relation between the theoretical stances and welfare state regime theories has been elaborated on in Chapter 3. Welfare regime theories discussed in this thesis led to two accredited publications. The context of these welfare theories have been included in a peer reviewed chapter in a book (Venter, 2010) and further explored in an international article in the high-impact journal, *Housing, Theory and Society* (Venter *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, the theoretical chapters informed the content of the funding proposal to the Government of Flanders's TeM programme developed for the South African context. The two million rand funding implementation enablement can be seen as an output result of this thesis, informed the content of many student reports from both the departments of Occupational Therapy and Anthropology.

Great potential exists to turn Chapters 2 to 6 into publishable articles and the content can be used to inform the theoretical content of postgraduate studies from various disciplines in the academia. Furthermore, although Venter *et al.* (2015) provided a synopsis on the value that welfare state theories can add to enrich scholarly discourses on housing in South Africa, each one of the different welfare theoretical stances mentioned in Chapter 3, warrants an in-depth study on its own. The content of welfare state theories can influence the development of at least four publications, or be further explored as theoretical frameworks for postgraduate studies. Some suggestions for publication include the following: Esping-Andersen's welfare typologies highlight the manner how power ideologies and regime structures influence welfare application in a given society. Exploring the multi-faceted concepts behind the **Esping-Andersen welfare state typologies** in more depth might open up constructive discourses on future housing policy development. The **'Wobbly Pillar' metaphor** provides a scholarly framework to investigate housing in relation to other essential welfare services such as health, education and social services. The **Biscmarck and Beveridge social rights** philosophical frameworks illustrate the influence of a country's ideological disposition on social rights and how these ideologies created path-dependent ways on how policies are applied in a specific country's context. Scholarly research on the post-apartheid housing policy can use these frameworks to consider the dualities between social rights discourses advanced by the South African Constitution compared to many competing ideas advanced through the housing policies. Kemeny's **tenure philosophies** (1992), in line with social constructionism, looked at the underlying ideological societal structures that influence a country's preference of one tenure system above another. Scholarly reflection can be enriched by exploring how the ideological values entrenched in indigenous African housing systems, compare to different value systems introduced by colonialism influenced directions of apartheid and subsequent post-apartheid urban planning.

Chapter 4 showed that concept formation of ideas evolve over time and the institutionalisation of concepts into policy do not form in isolation from the wider societal discourses. Therefore, tracing the origin of a concept and how it evolves since being conceptualised, provides a greater understanding of value systems entrenched in policy directions. Further scholarly potential exists to show how concepts on paper can be adapted to be applied in case studies focused on implementation. Chapter 5 included a historical narrative of different colonial regime approaches in colonised territories. Competing regime ideologies introduced by the Dutch, British and Afrikaner colonisers illustrated the relevance of path-dependency theories. Many of these regime systems explained the contradictory aspects present in post-apartheid housing policies. The impact of the Dutch and British colonisers in setting the context for housing policies is rarely mentioned in scholarly publications on housing policies in post-apartheid South Africa. Conceptual differences between social and market

ideologies, the dualities in informal and formal urban planning, and negative perceptions related to indigenous building methods can be traced back to social constructs advanced by the colonisers. The case studies presented in Chapter 6 can be analysed and criticised from different theoretical perspectives. Chapter 6 only provided a synopsis of each case study, and each case study provides opportunities for scholarly reflections from a wide variety of disciplines across the academia.

7.3   CURRENT ACTIVITIES AND GLIMPSES TOWARDS THE FUTURE

The outputs and contribution of this thesis were to open up dialogues between the value of theory, research and implementation. Academic outputs were not only accredited publications, but also included a variety of completed creative building projects as well as building projects in the process of completion. These buildings can be viewed as creative outputs in itself. Currently, discussions have been opened on how to submit the buildings as publications through the policy framework on the evaluation of creative outputs and innovations produced by the South African public higher education institutions?. Furthermore, the inclusion of academic disciplines not traditionally associated with the housing discourse, such as occupational therapy and the arts, opens up a whole new field of possibilities to enrich scholarships related to the built environment. A positive contribution of the research done for this thesis is the adaptation of occupational therapy to include curriculum changes to their student modules to include building technologies as therapeutic process in a variety of modules, ranging from second- to fourth-year students. Occupational therapy has invested more than R400 000 over the past two years in training 70 students from various year groups. The first occupational therapy students who have received training have recently graduated, and from informal focus groups conducted it seems that that many of them are committed to incorporate these methods in their practices. Tracing the career paths of these graduates in the future would shed light on the value this training have in the communities that they are working in. Furthermore, the UFS has awarded a further research grant to continue interdisciplinary implementation research between the CDS and occupational therapy.

The research implementation technologies conducted in this thesis also opened up legislative discourses with the City of Cape Town coming on board to invest in an innovative building project, with an estimated worth of R13 000 000. By approving building plans based on rational design (the first step of a lengthy process to incorporate new technologies in building codes), the City of Cape Town is now leading the legislation process towards building code adaptations to include innovative building technologies in the regulatory environment. Currently, two more formalised projects are in the discussion phase with NBC (South Africa) and LWH (Guatemala) that might be operationalised in Cape Town within the next two years. NBC will further the legal agenda by starting the second

process of developing a basic unit standard to these technologies to be tested before it can be formalised into the building codes. This is a time-consuming and costly process. Thus, inclusion and fast-tracking of these technologies in the building codes are highly dependent of capital investment and collaboration between the public and private sector.

Currently, avenues have been opened up through the Programme for Innovation in Artform Development (PIAD) of the Faculty of Arts. In 2016, PIAD contributors, Angela de Jesus and Dr Ricardo Peach, created collaboration opportunities between Dr Keith Armstrong (multimedia artist, and associate director of the Creative Lab Research Centre, based at the School of Creative Practice at QUT, Australia) and the CDS. Angela de Jesus secured grant funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation in the USA to explore the creative possibilities of artistic intervention in collaboration with Dr Armstrong, the CDS and the beneficiaries of the Flanders funding in the grassroots communities where they have applied their building knowledge. Implementation activities will be operationalised in the Free State in 2017. The aim of this research was to explore how technology, transdisciplinary research and experimental art could connect with and impact on South African communities. A project called Re-Future, was developed by Dr Armstrong. The Re-Future project is a long-term partnership between Dr Armstrong, the QUT Creative Lab Research Centre, the Free State Art Festival, the UFS, the CDS and the Department of Occupational Therapy, and the SLG social initiative. Furthermore, the QUT School of Creative Practice awarded two full-time doctoral scholarships in 2017 to the value of more than R1 000 000 each, for further research implementation agendas in the Free State over the next three years. Thus, the research initiated in this thesis is continuing. Morever, the thesis focused on the social and community aspects related to the building methods, while the dominant themes of regenerative development, climate change resiliency, environmental perspectives, and technical aspects have great scope for further research collaboration.

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ANNEXURE A

Social media and Start Living Green internet links

- https://www.facebook.com/Qala1Tala/

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNTRhYv3z1candt=94s

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=acUN8NB_vukandt=110s

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sIl8ceCcQG4

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJKP4ubJilM

- https://vimeo.com/177511135

- https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B0ld1R0LYkacTnVBNUhoell4dGc/view

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