

**PLANNING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING THROUGH INCLUSIONARY HOUSING
AGAINST THE APARTHEID SPATIAL LANDSCAPE IN THE WESTERN CAPE
PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

Raynita Nashlene Robertson

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Regional Planning
in the
Department of Urban and Regional Planning
Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences
at the
University of the Free State

Promoter: Prof Verna Nel

Bloemfontein

July 2017

ABSTRACT (English)

Past segregation-policies have left a profound imprint on the spatial landscape of the country, as well as the thinking of urban planners over the past six decades. Stuck in a rut, the planning and delivery of housing still replicates that of apartheid, rather than the desired integrated and sustainable human settlements plan. The continuation of unsustainable settlement patterns has a persistently negative effect on communities, the urban fabric and infrastructure; despite the recent policy and legislation geared towards integrated and sustainable human settlements. Instead, settlements and communities remain fragmented and disjointed, prone to social and economic ills linked to the distorted spatial structure. Thus, the aim of this research is to investigate more effective means for planning for integrated and sustainable human settlements through affordable and inclusionary housing in addressing the apartheid landscape and its related symptoms.

In this study, the researcher used qualitative research. Interviews and focus group discussions formed the tools used to investigate the potential of affordable and inclusionary housing to contribute to sustainable settlements, in Cape Town, the study area. Interviews were conducted with professionals and town planners in the built environment across different platforms to determine their perceptions regarding integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary housing and apartheid planning. The perceived thoughts, understandings and perceptions of professionals and town planners were tested against international (Birmingham, USA) as well as local (Cape Town) case studies, and brought into relation with the focus groups' experiences in these settlements.

Through this pollination of research methods, and gaining insights at different levels, the research proved that there are inconsistencies in the perceptions, understanding, implementation, and evaluation of broad definitions of key concepts, such as integrated and sustainable settlements, affordable housing, and inclusionary housing. These may contribute to the continuation of apartheid style development, despite many policy developments requiring well-located land for integrated settlements. Furthermore, the research results prove that there is a need for clarity as to what each of those concepts entails and how to apply them in practice, as well as measure them. Besides researching issues around the persistence of sustainable and inclusionary settlements,

and the lack of integrated and affordable housing, this study also makes recommendations towards turning the situation around and developing settlements that unlock human and economic potential. Part of this is to acknowledge the contribution Habitat III will make towards the integrated and sustainable human settlement and housing environment, in South Africa.

Keywords: integrated and sustainable human settlements, sustainable human settlements, sustainable housing, inclusionary housing, affordable housing

ABSTRAK (Afrikaans)

Vorige segregasie wetgewing het 'n onsegbarende impak op die ruimtelike landskap van die land, en ook die denkpatrone van stad- en streeksbeplanners oor die ses dekades, vasgelê. Die beplanning en lewering van behuising is nog steeds in 'n groef vasgevang; meer verteenwoordigend van die apartheidbeplanning en nie van die verlangde geïntegreerde en volhoubare menslike nedersettings nie. Die voortslepende onvolhoubare nedersettingspatrone het 'n volgehoue negatiewe effek op die gemeenskappe, die stedelike uitleg en infrastruktuur, dit is ten spyte van die huidige beleide en wetgewing gerig tot geïntegreerde en volhoubare menslike nedersettings. Daarom bly nedersettings en gemeenskappe gefragmenteerd en ontwrigtend; sensitief tot sosiale en ekonomiese uitdagings verwant aan die verwronge ruimtelike struktuur. Die doel van hierdie navorsing is om meer effektiewe beplannings maatstawwe vir geïntegreerde bekostigbare en geïntegreerde behuising te ondersoek, om sodoende die apartheidlandskap en sy verwante simptome aan te spreek.

Die navorser maak gebruik van kwalitatiewe navorsing. Onderhoude en fokus groep besprekings was van die instrumente wat die navorser gebruik het om die potensiaal vir geïntegreerde en volhoubare nedersettings, In Kaapstad (studie area), Wes-Kaap provinsie te ondersoek, deur middel van bekostigbare en geïntegreerde behuising. Onderhoude was geskeduleer met professionele beroepslui asook stads- en streeksbeplanners, in die beboude omgewing oor verskillende platforms om die persepsies aangaande geïntegreerde en volhoubare menslike nedersettings, geïntegreerde behuising en apartheid beplanning, te bepaal. Hierdie indrukke en persepsies is getoets teen internasionale (Birmingham, Alabama) asook plaaslike (Kaapstad, Wes-Kaap provinsie) gevalle studies waarby die professionele persone en stads- en streeksbeplanners se persepsies in verhouding gebring word tot die van die fokus groepe se ervarings.

Deur die kruisbestuiwing van verskillende kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodes, en deur die bekoming van insigte op verskillende vlakke het getoon dat daar teenstrydige en omsamehangende persepsies, begrip, implementering en evaluering van wye definisies van sleutel konsepte soos volhoubare nedersettings, bekostigbare behuising en geïntegreerde behuising betaan. Hierdie wanpersepsies kan lei tot die verdere apartheid styl van ontwikkeling, ten spyte van vele beleide wat spreek van goed geleë

grond vir geïntegreerde nedersettings. Die navorsingsresultate het verder getoon dat daar 'n dringende behoefte vir duidelikheid omtrent elk van hierdie konsepte nodig is, hoe dit geïmplimenteer moet word, asook hoe dit gemeet gaan word. Hierdie navorsing maak verdere voorstelle tot die verandering in stedelike nedersettings wat menslike en ekonomiese potensiaal ontwikkel. Deel hiervan is om erkenning te verleen aan Habitat III, soos dit 'n bydra sal maak tot die geïntegreerde en volhoubare menslike nedersettings en behuisingsomgewing, in Suid-Afrika.

Sleutel woorde: geïntegreerde en volhoubare menslike nedersettings, volhoubare menslike nedersettings, geïntegreerde behuising, bekostigbare behuising

DECLARATION

(i) “I, Raynita Nashlene Robertson, declare that the thesis (or publishable, interrelated articles or mini-thesis) that I herewith submit for the Doctoral Degree in Urban and Regional Planning 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.”

(ii) “I, Raynita Nashlene Robertson, hereby declare that I am aware that the copyright is vested in the University of the Free State.”

(iii) “I, Raynita Nashlene Robertson, declare that all royalties regarding intellectual property that were developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State, will accrue to the University.”

(iv) “I, Raynita Nashlene Robertson, hereby declare that I am aware that the research may only be published with the promoter’s approval.”

.....
Raynita Nashlene Robertson
July 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank God, who has been my Abba Father during this time. It was only by His grace, and his enduring mercy that I could start and finish this life-long dream. It is ten years later, and thank you God, for sparing me to make this a reality.

Thank you Noa, my dearest daughter for being part of this journey. With your excitement, and always being ready to help, I was able to push through. Even working in the restaurants, while you played, you were there. Thank you. I am doing this for you and me, for a better life.

To my Promoter, Prof Verna Nel, thank you for your continuous help and assistance, being my sounding board, for your guidance; and keeping me on track. You were my consistent backup and through this research, you helped me to walk out as a better person. Thank you for being you!

Thanks to the Faculty administrative team: sending me updates, keeping me informed, and connecting me to the right people at the right time. Thanks much to Antoinette Nel specifically, in her absence, and now also to Abongile Mgwele. A special thanks to Stewart Thomas who listened to my proposal and steered me in the right direction: little did I know what this journey would entail. You all helped me to finish this race well.

Not many knew of my PhD journey, but to my dear friends, far and wide, thanks for being part of this journey, encouraging me to finish well, and push through in excellence; even when I felt too tired for anything. Johru Robyn, thanks for encouraging me in the year 2000, to study further, to acquire new knowledge and to be the best. I did it! Professor Veruschka Fester, thanks for those regular reality checks, and asking those challenging questions. Even to my pastoral leaders, thanks for keeping me in your prayers, and cheering me on to remain strong and courageous.

Special thanks to the respondents for the research, with whom I conducted these interviews, as well as the focus groups, and the ward councillors. I appreciate your assistance, and being able to speak openly to make our future settlements better.

To my proof reader, Mrs. Lee Kemp, thanks so much for your help and professional conduct. It is in the last lap of the race that you helped me to round off this part neatly. I appreciate your input, guidance and corrections.

“The sum is greater than the parts” - Aristotle

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT (English)	ii
ABSTRAK (Afrikaans)	iv
DECLARATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xvi
LIST OF DEFINITIONS	xviii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND: SOUTH AFRICA'S SITUATION	1
1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT	5
1.2.1 <i>Affordable housing resulting in inclusionary settlements</i>	9
1.2.2 <i>The study area: Cape Town metropolitan area</i>	12
1.3 RESEARCH AIM AND GOALS.....	14
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	15
1.5 IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	15
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	16
1.7 OUTLINE OF METHODOLOGY	17
1.8 ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS	20
1.9 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS.....	21
1.10 CONCLUSION	21
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	23
2.1 INTRODUCTION	23
2.2 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM	23
2.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN.....	24
2.4 RESEARCH METHOD	26
2.4.1 <i>Interviews and interview schedule</i>	28
2.4.2 <i>Focus group discussions</i>	34
2.4.3 <i>Case Studies</i>	36
2.4.4 <i>Understanding affordable housing in context of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	37
2.5 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS.....	40
2.6 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF RESEARCH	41
2.7 LIMITATIONS	44
2.8 ETHICS.....	45
2.9 CONCLUSION	46
CHAPTER 3: OVERVIEW OF CURRENT SCHOLARLY KNOWLEDGE	47
3.1 INTRODUCTION	47
3.2 INTERNATIONAL VIEWS AND PROGRESS ON AFFORDABLE HOUSING TO CONTRIBUTE TO INTEGRATED AND SUSTAINABLE HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, INCLUSIONARY SETTLEMENTS	48
3.2.1 <i>United Kingdom</i>	50

3.2.2	Canada	52
3.2.3	India.....	55
3.2.4	Remarks on international inclusionary and affordable housing.....	57
3.3	INCLUSIONARY AND AFFORDABLE HOUSING: RELEVANCE TO THE URBAN THEORIES.....	60
3.3.1	Affordable housing linked to integrated and sustainable human settlements.....	64
3.3.2	Sustainable urban planning paradigms: context to affordable housing	66
a.	Smart growth.....	69
b.	New Urbanism	72
c.	In summary: Sustainable urban planning responding to affordable housing	75
3.3.3	Critical urban theory: Balancing the housing need in South Africa.....	78
a.	Right to the City.....	78
b.	Quality of life	80
c.	In summary: Critical urban theory responding to affordable housing.....	82
3.4	CONCLUSION	83
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING AND PLANNING POLICIES		86
4.1	INTRODUCTION	86
4.2	POLICY REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING AND PLANNING	86
4.2.1	Planning in global South	87
4.2.2	Historical development of Apartheid landscape	90
a.	Segregated settlements in South Africa.....	91
b.	Need for different approach to settlement planning.....	96
c.	Colonialism and dormitory suburbs.....	99
d.	Apartheid planning	100
e.	1990s fragmented settlements	104
f.	Urbanisation affecting settlements.....	105
g.	Post 1994 response to housing challenge.....	106
4.2.3	Policy review and post-apartheid landscape.....	109
a.	The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP) of 1994	114
b.	White Paper on Housing of 1994	115
c.	Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995	115
d.	Constitution of South Africa No.106 of 1996 and Bill of Rights.....	116
e.	Urban Development Strategy of 1995.....	117
f.	Housing Act No. 107 of 1997.....	118
g.	Rental Housing Act No. 50 of 1999 (amended in Act 43 of 2007).....	120
4.2.4	From White Paper 1994 to the Integrated Urban Development Framework.....	120
a.	Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000.....	120
b.	Breaking New Ground	122
c.	Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP).....	124
d.	National Housing Code, 2009.....	126
e.	Social Housing Act No. 16 of 2008	127
f.	National Development Plan 2012.....	128
g.	National Outcome 8	128
h.	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act No. 16 of 2013	129
i.	Draft Human Settlements Green Paper	130
j.	Integrated Urban Development Framework of 2016.....	131
4.3	HABITAT II	132
4.4	SOUTH AFRICA'S CURRENT CHALLENGES	135
4.5	CRITIQUE OF CURRENT HOUSING APPROACHES	136
4.6	CONCLUSION	140
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS		142
5.1	INTRODUCTION	142
5.2	RESULTS FROM THE INTERVIEWS	142

5.2.1	<i>Characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	143
5.2.2	<i>Interlinkage of BNG and Habitat II</i>	148
5.2.3	<i>Underlying principles of affordable and inclusionary housing</i>	154
5.2.4	<i>Contribution of inclusionary housing to integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	156
5.2.5	<i>The role of the town and regional planners in the context of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	161
a.	Policy and Law	163
b.	Incentives	166
c.	Projects	167
d.	Implementation	168
e.	Funding	168
f.	Partnerships	170
5.3	<i>Conclusion: summary of interview results</i>	171
CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDIES		174
6.1	INTRODUCTION	174
6.2	CASE STUDY: BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA	174
6.2.1	<i>Relating to previous research: Segregation cause more problems to affordable housing</i>	177
6.2.2	<i>Presenting the data: Affordable housing projects as case study</i>	178
a.	Project 1: Elyton Village	182
b.	Project 2: Tuxedo Terrace	184
c.	Project 3: Park Place	187
6.2.3	<i>Summary: Birmingham, Alabama</i>	190
6.3	CASE STUDY: CAPE TOWN	195
6.3.1	<i>Segregation and poverty in Cape Town</i>	196
6.3.2	<i>Affordable housing projects in Cape Town</i>	198
a.	Project 1: Westlake Village	199
b.	Project 2: Pelican Park	207
c.	Project 3: Melkbosch Village	215
6.3.3	<i>Summary regarding affordable housing projects: Cape Town</i>	220
6.4	CONCLUSION	224
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		229
7.1	INTRODUCTION	229
7.2	SYNOPSIS OF THE BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH STUDY	230
7.3	SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS	231
7.3.1	<i>Vagueness on definition and characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	231
7.3.2	<i>Different professions and environments have different interpretations of affordable and inclusionary housing</i>	233
7.3.3	<i>Inclusionary housing contributes to integrated and sustainable settlements</i>	234
7.3.4	<i>Role of town planners to create settlements that are more integrated and sustainable</i>	240
7.3.5	<i>South African housing and planning policies do not create an enabling environment to plan and develop inclusionary housing as a form of affordable housing</i>	241
7.4	CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE	243
7.5	CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY	247
7.6	PAVING THE WAY FORWARD FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	248
7.7	PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING	250
7.8	CONCLUSION	251
CHAPTER 8: REFERENCE LIST		253

ANNEXURES	293
ANNEXURE 1: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE TO SA RESPONDENTS, AND COVERING LETTER ...	294
ANNEXURE 2: ETHICS LETTER	300
ANNEXURE 3: MAPS	301
ANNEXURE 4: ANTICIPATED INTERVIEWS AND THOSE THAT WERE ACTUALLY INTERVIEWED (FOR SOUTH AFRICA PERSONS).....	302
ANNEXURE 5: RESEARCH PROTOCOL	304
ANNEXURE 6: FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS/GUIDE	309

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. No	Title	Page
1.1	<i>Cape Town in context of the Western Cape, South Africa</i>	13
2.1	<i>Persons interviewed functioning in the town and regional planning environment</i>	30
3.1	<i>Aspects of affordable housing planning – linked to the principles of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	65
3.2	<i>Sustainable housing in context of global challenges</i>	68
4.1	<i>Spatial organisation of the segregation city</i>	103
4.2	<i>The Apartheid city and the succession of municipal systems</i>	105
4.3	<i>Number of houses delivered in the Western Cape</i>	107
5.1	<i>Views on BNG in relation to Istanbul declaration</i>	151
5.2	<i>Summary remarks as received from respondents during interviews</i>	160
5.3	<i>Summary of remarks with recommendations</i>	165
5.4	<i>Affordable housing challenges in South Africa</i>	169
6.1	<i>Birmingham in context of the USA</i>	175
6.2	<i>Demographics of Jefferson County, Birmingham</i>	175
6.3	<i>Location of affordable housing projects</i>	180
6.4	<i>Location of the selected affordable housing projects within Jefferson County, Birmingham, AL.</i>	181
6.5 and 6.6	<i>The before (1938) and after product (2012)</i>	182
6.7	<i>Street view of the units to Elyton Village</i>	183
6.8	<i>A playground in the Tuxedo Terrace neighbourhood offers local children a chance for outdoor physical activity</i>	185
6.9	<i>Example of family units in Terrace Junction, on bus route</i>	186
6.10	<i>The approved layout plan of Tuxedo Terrace</i>	187
6.11	<i>Examples of town houses, facing onto the main road and the communal children play areas to the back of the site</i>	188
6.12	<i>Planning human settlements, taking cognisance of the environment</i>	190
6.13	<i>Segregation, according to race, in the Cape Town metropolitan region</i>	197
6.14	<i>Future growth areas proposed for Cape Town area</i>	197

6.15	<i>Location of Westlake Village</i>	199
6.16	<i>Overcrowding conditions in Westlake Village</i>	201
6.17	<i>Informal trading in Westlake Village</i>	201
6.11	<i>Vandalised palisade at channel bridge, with refuse dumping on site</i>	201
6.19	<i>Graffiti on property walls, to the back of the wetland</i>	201
6.20	<i>Extended house encroaching over the boundary</i>	201
6.21	<i>The entrance access and back of Silvertree, secured complex</i>	202
6.2	<i>Location of Pelican Park</i>	208
6.23	<i>Some of the housing typologies throughout the development</i>	209
6.24	<i>Active public participation process</i>	209
6.25	<i>The access road, dividing the low income from the gap housing area (followed by a green belt) to the right</i>	210
6.26	<i>A 3-bedroom single stand house for sale, in the gap market area</i>	210
6.27	<i>Construction site for the further extension of the gap housing</i>	211
6.28	<i>Advertisement board to the office for gap housing</i>	211
6.29	<i>Pelican Park shopping centre, neighbouring the development, on Strandfontein road</i>	211
6.30	<i>Some of the houses already have an informal structure in backyard, and further informal trading happening on erf. Note the DSTV dishes</i>	212
6.31	<i>Location of the Melkbosch Village</i>	216
6.32	<i>Olive close, the low income housing section</i>	216
6.33	<i>Manatoka Heights, one of the cluster houses in the development</i>	217
6.34	<i>Vandalised park on the right, nothing left of it</i>	218

LIST OF TABLES

Table. No	Title	Page
2.1	<i>Application of the research design</i>	25
2.2	<i>Breakdown of persons interviewed</i>	33
2.3	<i>Focus groups discussions for the case studies</i>	35
2.4	<i>Commonalities cutting across the understanding of integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	38
2.5	<i>Addressing the trustworthiness of the data</i>	41
3.1	<i>Advantages and disadvantages of affordable housing through inclusionary housing</i>	61
3.2	<i>Affordable housing options that lead to integrated and sustainable human settlements</i>	63
3.3	<i>Interpretation of concepts and theories relevant to affordable housing</i>	75
5.1	<i>Commended examples of case studies raised by the respondents</i>	158
6.1	<i>Public housing in Birmingham, Jefferson County</i>	179
6.2	<i>Summary of lessons learnt through case studies</i>	227
7.1	<i>Summary of findings in relation to the case studies meeting the BNG definition and the theories</i>	238

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AHF	Affordable Housing Framework
ANC	African National Congress
APP	Annual Performance Plan
BC	Before Christ
BEPP	Built Environment Performance Plan
BNG	Breaking New Ground
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CoGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DEADP	Department of Environmental Affairs & Development Planning
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DoH	Department of Housing (now Human Settlements)
FLISP	Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme
GTZ	Gesellschaft Technische Zusammenarbeit
HABD	Housing Authority of the Birmingham District
HSDG	Human Settlement Development Grant (previously the housing subsidy)
HSS	Housing Subsidy System
HUD	(USA) Housing and Urban Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDZ	Industrial Development Zone
IHP	Inclusionary Housing Policy
IRDP	Integrated Residential Development Programme
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NA	Not Applicable
NDoHS	National Department of Human Settlements
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
PPP	Private Public Partnership

RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RSL	Registered Social Landlords
SACPLAN	South African Council for Planners
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SHRA	Social Housing Regulatory Authority
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, No. 13 of 2013
TND	Traditional Neighbourhood Development
TOD	Transport Orientated Development
UK	United Kingdom
UISP	Upgrade of Informal Settlement Programme
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
WC-PSDF	Western Cape Provincial Spatial Development Framework
ZAR (R)	South African Rand

NOTES:

- ZAR to US Dollar exchange rate, for the year 2016, ranged between R14 and R17 per \$1.
- 1 foot = 30.5 cm
- 1 mile = 1.609 kilometres

LIST OF DEFINITIONS

Town/Urban and regional planning	as per definition of Planning Profession Act 36 of 2002 is both the organisational process of creating and maintaining a plan in terms of the Act. This definition applies in a similar context as that of city planners (USA).
Planner	According to the Planning Profession Act 36 of 2002, a planner means a person who exercises skills and competencies in initiating and managing change in the built and natural environment to further human development and environmental sustainability, as contemplated in section 2(a), and who is registered in one or more of the categories contemplated in section 13(4). Synonymous with city planning, urban planning, town and regional planning.
Integrated sustainable settlements and human	Well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity (National Department of Housing, 2004:3).
Affordable housing	Affordable housing refers to the provision of housing through the private sector/market, for households with an income between R3 501-R15 000 (US \$292-938) total household income per month (where housing cost constitutes a maximum of one third of the household expenses). It includes both ownership and rental tenure that may be provided by private developers or government. The affordable housing concept provides for a range of tenure options. Cross subsidisation to provide for economic opportunities in this project (Rust, 2006:7) is required.
De-concentration of poverty	The process of moving away from a situation in which large numbers of poor people live in specific areas with very little opportunity to move into areas that are more affluent (Goetz, 2003:12).
Gentrification	The process of replacing (and displacing) the poor population of a neighbourhood with the affluent, as well as reorienting the district along upscale lines (NewGeography.com).
Urban	Are cities and towns that are usually characterised by higher <i>population</i> densities, high levels of economic activities and high levels of <i>infrastructure</i> . It includes formal and informal areas for the purposes of the study (StatsSA, 2014:5).
Adequate housing	According to UN-Habitat (2015), adequate housing must, at a minimum, meet the following criteria: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Tenure security: occupants of housing must have some degree of tenure security that guarantees

	<p>legal protection against forced evictions, harassment and other threats. Protection against forced evictions is considered an integral part of the adequate housing concept.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure: access to safe drinking water, adequate sanitation, energy for cooking, heating, lighting, food storage or refuse disposal are considered an integral part of the concept of adequate housing. ○ Affordability: housing is not considered adequate if it is so expensive that it compromises the occupants' ability to enjoy other human rights. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Habitability: housing is not adequate if it does not guarantee physical safety and protect against cold, damp, heat, rain, wind, other threats to health and structural hazards. Neither is it considered adequate if it does not provide enough space. ○ Accessibility: accessible housing refers to options provided by the state and/or private enterprises and considers the needs of disadvantaged and marginalised groups. ○ Location: housing is not adequate if it does not provide easy access to employment opportunities, health-care services, schools, childcare centres and other social facilities, or if it is located in polluted or dangerous areas. ○ Cultural adequacy: housing is adequate if it respects and considers the expression of cultural identity.
<p>Integrated/inclusive settlements</p>	<p>Following President Jacob Zuma's proclamation in 2009 to change the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements, the focus shifted from housing being just a roof over people's heads, to providing sustainable and integrated human settlements where people can work, pray, play and have access to amenities required for their day-to-day living. It should agree with policies, be well located land and well connected. <i>The objective of integrated human settlements implies that the housing offered needs to have adequate access to services, amenities, transport services and economic services</i> (Housing Development Agency, 2014:1).</p>
<p>Inclusionary housing</p>	<p>Inclusionary housing in South Africa implies the harnessing of private initiative in its pursuit of housing delivery to middle- and higher-income households to provide affordable housing opportunities to achieve a better socioeconomic balance in residential developments and contribute to the supply of affordable housing (Western Cape Provincial</p>

	Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2009:5).
Sustainable Development	“development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987).
Sustainable settlements	The UN Commission on Human Settlements states, that sustainable human settlement development ensures economic development, employment opportunities and social progress, in harmony with the environment (Hague, 2008:151). It incorporates the key principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (Agenda 21) and of the UN Conference on Environment and Development. The sustainability of human settlements entails: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ balanced and appropriate geographical distribution in keeping with national conditions; ○ promotion of economic and social development, human health and education; ○ conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components; and ○ maintenance of cultural diversity as well as air, water, forest, vegetation and soil qualities at standards sufficient to sustain human life and well-being for future generations.
Sustainable human settlements	In the South African context, sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life are defined by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable; ○ access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity; ○ security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; and ○ access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance.
Stallard Commission	The Stallard Commission was established owing to African labour protests in the Witwatersrand, permanent African migration into towns and the emergence of squatter settlements close to towns. The Commission encouraged racial segregation, as long as it did not undermine the foundation of White economic privileges. Its recommendations form the basis for the Urban Areas Act (Worden, 2012:82).
Not In My Backyard Syndrome (NIMBYism)	In plain language...the motivation of residents who want to protect their turf. More formally, NIMBY refers to the protectionist attitudes of and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing an unwelcome development in their neighbourhood... residents usually concede that these 'noxious'

	facilities are necessary, but not near their homes, hence the term 'not in my back yard' (Dear, 1992:289).
Soweto	South Western Townships (https://www.allacronyms.com/SOWETO/South_Western_Townships)
Social inclusion	The HSRC employed social cohesion as a descriptive term to refer to “the extent to which a society is coherent, united and functional, providing an environment within which its citizens can flourish” (HSRC, 2012:15).
Backyard dwellings	are one of the largest housing sub-sectors in South Africa and make a significant contribution to the provision of rental housing to households whose needs are not addressed by government subsidy programmes or the private market (Tshangana, 2013:3). The households stay in a structure in the backyard of a formal house, contributing via rent for their shelter and other rudimentary services (electricity, water, sanitation).
Gated communities	Also known as gated developments, are commonly categorised as lifestyle spaces (golf estates, country clubs, retirement villages), and prestige and security zones (gating as crime prevention strategy) (Lemanski, 2005:3).
Township establishment	These township establishments include the residential units, place of worship, with limited public open spaces (Poulsen, 2010:24).
Mega projects	Mega projects are big projects consisting of a range of housing projects, linked with other land use and a variety of transport options. Much of these projects links very well with the neighbouring settlements, but their architecture is borrowed from European/New urbanism/smart cities principles (Poulsen, 2010:24).
Housing Subsidy System (HSS)	The main objectives of the Housing Subsidy System can be regarded as providing progressive access to adequate housing, creating socially and economically viable communities, ensuring balanced and sustainable spatial development, provision of choice, sustainability, transparency and equity, co-ordination of state investment, efficiency and effectiveness, and applying creativity and innovation (NDoHS, 2014).
MyCiTi	is a high-quality bus-based transit system that delivers fast, comfortable, and cost-effective urban mobility with segregated right-of-way infrastructure, rapid and frequent operations, and excellence in marketing and customer service. This is a concept known as Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) (City of Cape Town, 2016:12).
Finance Linked Individual Subsidy	In 2010, the DoHS and the National Treasury announced the creation of the Housing Guarantee Fund, a R1 billion fund to be set up to incentivise the

	private sector to supply housing units at lower prices and encourage low-income earners to build their own homes (Tissington, 2011:41). In his 2010 Budget Vote Speech, the Minister of Human Settlements referred to the creation of an enabling environment for the provision of 600 000 new loans in the affordable housing sector. The Minister of Human Settlements and the Minister of Finance are promoting this initiative to attract the private sector to assist households with access to home loans and make the Finance-Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) more responsive to affordability challenges faced by the target market, reducing the qualifying income bands and making long-term fixed interest rate capital available. The aim is to allow low-income earners to access a fixed interest rate that would not fluctuate over time and “would give working families certainty about their commitments in terms of the home loan.”
Industrial Development Zones	IDZs refer to national directives to identified regions of state investments (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:143).
Special Economic Zones	SEZs are typically understood as mainstream economic and industrial development tools (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:143). The new SEZ policy intends to fulfil the following goals: reindustrialising South Africa, consequently promoting growth and creating sustainable employment and jobs, and promoting a regionally diverse industrial economy in underdeveloped regions.
RDP	South African citizens over the age of 21 with a total household income of less than R3 500 per month can apply for an RDP house (Turok, 2015:2). These houses are currently 42m ² in size and consist of a kitchen, bathroom with toilet, and a living area. RDP houses could sell for anywhere between R70 000 and R250 000 or more, depending on refurbishments to the property and its location.
Provincial Finance and Management Act No. 1 of 1999	A policy to enable the provincial government to regulate financial management in the national government and provincial governments.
Local Government: Municipal Finance Management Act No 56 of 2003	A policy to set in place finance and supply chain processes to enable the municipality to operate their funding streams.
Rental Assistance Demonstration	Was created to give public housing authorities (PHAs) a powerful tool to preserve and improve public housing properties and address the \$26-billion nationwide backlog of deferred maintenance (http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/RAD).
Spaza shops	Small grocery shops or convenience stores (Liedeman, Charman, Piper & Petersen,2013). (The name spaza derives from township slang meaning an

	imitation of a real shop.) For decades spaza shops have played an important role as retailers of household grocery items in township communities. They are also important incubators of entrepreneurship, providing the business foundations for generations of South African families whilst bringing additional income to households. These small shops trade items that are regularly in demand by the locals and that can be easily acquired from wholesalers or distributors. The core items are: bread, milk, grain staples, cool-drinks, soap, cigarettes and alcohol.
Segregation	The classification and separation of people due to race. This separation pervaded all aspects of life, including separate schools, housing, and public facilities (http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/terms.php).
Medium Term Strategic Framework	The politicians five-year time frames are set in the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF), the Government's strategic plan for the 2014-2019 electoral term. It reflects the commitments made in the election manifesto of the governing party, including the commitment to implement the National Development Plan (NDP). The MTSF sets out the actions Government will take and targets to be achieved. The MTSF is structured around 14 priority outcomes, which cover the focus areas identified in the NDP and Government's electoral mandate. These are made up of the 12 outcomes, which were the focus of the 2009-2014 administration, as well as two new outcomes (social protection, nation-building and social cohesion) (Western Cape Government, 2016:4).
HOPE IV	Since 1993, Hope IV has been the engine driving the revitalisation of the USA's most distressed public housing developments by providing grants and unprecedented flexibility to address the housing and social services needs of their residents. Under the Obama administration, this programme had been expanded and renamed Choice Neighbourhood programme (Brunick & Maier, 2010:184). This would allow federal resources to be used to build and rehabilitate affordable housing and revitalise communities in need of new investment.
Section 8 vouchers and certificates	Whereas affordable housing policy originated with the construction of public housing developments, the growth of the voucher programme has meant that policy now relies overwhelmingly on private rental housing (Metzger, 2011:2).

1.1 Background: South Africa's situation

Cities are the core of society where much business, interactions, investments and activities of different natures take place. It is within this demarcation that significant issues such as water, waste management, sanitation, transport systems, access to information, affordable housing, disaster risk reduction, education and capacity-building, should be planned for to ensure sustainable urban development (Jepson & Edwards, 2010:420). However, to have all these aspects successfully operational in a static city, especially (affordable) housing, it can only happen in an inclusive manner. However, with an ever-growing population, a city is challenged to plan proactively for its growing housing needs, in context of its infrastructure, social and economic needs, and technology (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:677).

Taking cognisance of the global progression of cities, and the urgency in creating sustainable human settlements globally, the provision for housing remains challenging. More and more countries are enforcing systems and creating enabling mechanisms. However, with the growing populations and migration, there is never sufficient provision for housing, lest the creation of (sustainable) human settlements is undertaken (Oberholzer & Burger, 2013:52). Similarly, South Africa, as a Global South country, is trying to stay abreast of urbanisation and its related challenges, yet it remains caught between first world progression, and third world regression.

After the 1994 elections, the government committed itself to developing sustainable cities that are more equitable and liveable. Other high ideals include pursuing mixed land use development, a more compact urban form, facilitating higher densities, and integrating land use and public transport planning to guarantee more responsive and diverse environments, whilst reducing travelling distances (Cevero, 2013:4, Thorne-Lyman, Yake, Nemirow & Fogarty, 2013:16). However, despite the high ideals, free public housing has contributed to the problems rather than alleviating them (Kihato, 2013:4). This urban development is highly unsustainable and has been condemned

due to its high social, economic and environmental costs, which are often borne by the poor (Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake, 2013:4; Pieterse, 2004a:82; Tonkin, 2008:19). Rather than the creation of compact, vibrant human settlements that incorporate a range of housing types and densities, as well as a variety of urban opportunities and activities, housing delivery in South Africa has been characterised by low density, sprawling settlements (Adebayo, 2010:3). Despite all these well-intended policies, the apartheid spatial landscape has remained evidently as:

- The legacy of Apartheid in the form of extreme economic inequality, social polarisation and spatially divided cities obscures the good intentions of nation building wherein people, as per the South African Constitution, should have access to “adequate shelter” (Wilkinson, 1998:226; Hamann & Horn, 2015:40).
- South African housing policies have fortified rather than addressed the spatial inequalities and inconsistencies of Apartheid (Lallo, 1999:45; Huchzermeyer, 2001:325). As such, the new housing developments were so remotely located and configured to preclude the formation of integrated communities (Wilkinson, 1998:226; Huchzermeyer, 2001:326).
- Through *ad hoc* planning, and lack of forward planning at municipal and provincial level, the Apartheid planning and segregation between racial groups, land uses and settlements have further exacerbated (Frescura, 2014; Turok, 2001:2354). It is hereto that Turok (1994:243) observes, “*Planning was an instrument of crude social engineering, causing great hardship and imposing unnecessary social burden on the economy. The imposition of racial segregation dislocated communities and entrenched inequality in the built environment, marginalising much of the population.*”
- The social fabric of the South African settlements has created other challenges such as poverty traps, slums, crime, overcrowded housing, unemployment, and so on (Cross, 1996:5; Findley & Ogbu, 2011:1). Thus, housing that is one of the biggest contributors to urban sprawl, brings along other spatial challenges, fragmentation, and unsustainable settlements (Oldfield, 2002:30).
- The escalating housing backlog (Bond & Tait, 1997:14) is enhanced by the unavailability of basic services, infrastructure and high unemployment levels against the inability to reduce poverty (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:676; Cross, 1996:5).

It was during the late 1990s that practitioners and scholars began to point out that the prominent focus on the delivery of houses overshadowed the importance of creating sustainable communities. This **unsustainable approach** towards human settlement development has raised civil society's expectations that planners should become more proactive to materialise the dream of integrated and sustainable cities (Bertaud, n.d.:1). Furthermore, Huchzermeyer (2001:328) and Rust (2003:17) argue that there is no simple or straightforward way in which South Africa can come to terms with the legacy of its past in the field of housing policy, planning and many other similar areas. As such, the symptoms of such incoherent planning are evident today in settlements in Cape Town, which remain segregated, with not fully integrated and less than sustainable human settlements, despite many governmental interventions (Geyer & Mohammed, 2015:15; Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:16).

Addressing these social problems requires a collective approach, which will facilitate the development of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Donaldson, 2001:1) and not fragmented, segregated or splintered due to inequalities (Pieterse, 2009:1). It is herein that the research on mixed-income or inclusionary housing (Tonkin, 2008:183) often debates that the rationale for mixing individuals from different income groups in one residential development is that it has specific social benefits, of which the most important is a "de-concentration of poverty", while the concentration of poverty has severe long terms social and economic costs (Motsepe, 2013:50; Cross, 1996:5). Thus, sustainable human settlements are synonymous with dignified communities, as underpinned in the *Ubuntu* principles; that is, the understanding that "I am what I am because of who we all are." It is a quality that includes the essential human virtues of compassion and humanity (Osman & Arvanitakis, 2013:2).

In realising the constraints and dire need to change these unsustainable and segregated settlements from being further created, there is a need for South Africa to change the urban planning approaches and thinking towards inclusionary planning (race, income, land use, etc.). However, although inclusionary housing policy has been silent and not highly regarded in South Africa, the pertinent aspects of inclusionary housing leans towards integrated and sustainable human settlements. Learning from other countries, it is through this that affordable housing can provide a better quality

of houses, with a variety of tenure options, a more integrated settlement, a variety of choices for socio-economic facilities, walkability and cheaper use of public transport.

Due to the inability to redress the apartheid spatial landscape through the creation of integrated and sustainable human settlements in the complex town and regional planning environment, it seems best to be addressed through inclusionary housing in the provision of affordable housing. In as much as inclusionary housing brings a range of solutions, it has been the private sector's responsibility to provide housing and stimulate investment (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:372; Greenberg, 2010:119; Khaki, 2009:65). Should government embark on expanding its portfolio to include the provision of inclusionary housing through affordable housing, it will enable a broader range of choices for the citizens within housing programmes, and create an environment to enable the production of dignified communities through a range of infrastructure and amenities (City Alliance, 2010:14). Through this holistic approach, the new human settlements can reflect (economic, social and environmental) sustainability, in addition to mixed land use and inclusionary planning (Western Cape Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2009:17; Brunick, 2010:5), to create more inclusive settlements (Cevero, 2013:15).

Learning from international inclusionary housing policies that focused on more inclusiveness has created other by-products, such as the enhancement and strengthening of exclusionary households, races and class, as well as preventing the dislocation of households (Mekawy, 2014a:1932; Meda, 2009:156; Brunick, 2010:5). While an attempt is made towards inclusiveness, this in itself is not sufficient, and other initiatives, beyond policies, need to be introduced. As such, learning from Europe, Meda (2009:157) proposes that through urban regeneration and renewal operations, settlements can become more inclusive. Residential segmentation is generally thought to reflect a lack of social interaction in mixed neighbourhoods (Lelevier, 2013:413).

1.2 Problem Statement

Today, more than 20 years after the dismantling of the Apartheid regime (year 1994), and 363 years of successive colonialism (since 1652), planning and service delivery continue in the same manner as it did then. However, more subsidised housing was delivered during the past two decades in South Africa, compared to any, inequalities of apartheid - especially amongst the lowest income households - through the complexities and hybrid challenges of housing delivery was a key element of this timeframe and became one of the critical areas of much awaited delivery after the 1994 elections (Pottie, 2003:122; Turok, 2001:2354).

It was in this low- income group that the greatest housing need and backlog was concentrated, compared to the higher income levels (a combined household income of R3 501 – R12 000 per month), or what we understand as the “gap market”. The **gap market was always left behind**, as it was perceived that their need was not that critical, or that they could provide for themselves sufficiently (Lemanski, 2017:104; Hogarth, 2015:35; Cirolia, 2014:2). Hence, during this time, the South African government was able to make progress towards delivering housing, in terms of the quantity of units but not necessary quality of settlements (Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake, 2013:1). As such, these housing provisions did not always contribute or attract much social, economic, transport or communication infrastructural investments, as it was costly to develop these further from the urban areas (Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake, 2013:2; Rust, 2003:3; Greenberg, 2010:119; Ndabeni, n.d.:29). Also, due to the generational history, this housing stock will remain and has expanded beyond the current Apartheid spatial footprint (Zizzamia, Schotte, Leibbrandt & Ranchhod, 2016:2). Consequently, although these households acquired houses, it does not imply that the quality of life for these beneficiaries was enhanced (CSIR, 2012:13; Bond & Tait, 1997:24).

Under the current low-cost housing delivery model, the development of integrated human settlements is also hindered by **inadequate coordination** between the

different spheres of government¹ and among provincial government departments (South African Cities Network, 2014:79), as it relates to the misalignment of bulk infrastructure spending and plans for the provision of amenities such as schools, clinics, libraries and other community facilities (Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, 2010:6; Landman, 2004a:24). In recent years, through municipal planning processes, there has been an attempt towards alignment in planning (Nel & Denoon-Stevens, 2015:22). With under-resourced municipal capacity, especially in the housing and planning arena, the municipality is stretched in forward planning and delivering for their inhabitants, and in such instances provincial departments have to intervene.

The spatial planning requirements at the time were framed within a **political context** that was intended to keep people apart along racial lines and, by default, socio-economically. In addition to creating racial sub-divisions, this form of planning often placed black workers on the fringe of urban settlements, far from work opportunities (UNDP, 2014:61). In the social contract for human settlements (National Department of Human Settlements, 2014:5) there was a renewed assurance towards using housing and human settlement development as an occasion to break these patterns while constructing settlements that were integrated, as well as reduced social and economic inequalities.

It is evident that much had been written concerning the challenges faced by the **apartheid city** and its negative implications (Pieterse, 2004a:82; Tonkin, 2008:19; Pieterse, 2009:1; Adebayo, 2010:3; Watson, 2009a:156). Also, many models and theories were developed in order to address the post-Apartheid impacts on planning, finances, and social dynamics of communities (CSIR, 2012:15; Wegener, 2000:227; Wray, Musango, Damon & Cheruiyot, 2013:309; Van Niekerk, Mans, Maritz, van Huyssteen, Beukes & Green, 2015). However, little progress had been made in the how-to of planning and implementation, in order to change the Apartheid spatial planning in this discourse (Swilling, 2010:230; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:679), even the associated effects such as poverty and socio-economic ills (Du Plessis, 2015:3). The challenge is to look at it through a holistic lens, to find sustainable solutions for

¹ According to the Constitution of South Africa No. 108 of 1996, there are three spheres of governance, operating at different levels, with their own mandates, especially in relation to housing development.

inclusive human settlements. As such, the urge to plan for the community, in understanding the greater need for all and then to create enabling communities and integrated sustainable human settlements, was revealed in numerous housing and land policies and housing-related programmes over time, but these did not achieve the desired results (Landman, 2004a:25; Oberholzer & Burger, 2013:52). This resulted in government and many professionals exploring other housing programmes and means of delivering housing so that the settlements that are developed, reflect integration rather than segregation or fragmentation (Turok, 2001:2350) and are sustainable instead of being poverty traps (Cross, 1996:5).

Thus, in moving towards redressing these Apartheid settlements, the researcher proposes solutions *via* affordable housing to enable cities to become resilient, functional environments that provide vital services, facilities and economic opportunities for all; that is, the heart of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Du Plessis, 2015:3). Noting the negative effects such as counter productive investment and beneficiaries' lives not enhanced, the South African housing development arena now has to find other ways of planning and delivering human settlements, which are affordable, inclusionary and sustainable (Landman, 2004b:27).

Post-apartheid cities must now deal with growing urbanisation (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:677; Du Plessis, 2015:4), going hand in hand with the burgeoning of informal settlements especially in areas not habitable (StatsSA, 2014; Presidency, 2013a:56; Pottie, 2003:125). The backyard dwellers are adding to the existing strains, as they are challenged by living in a dignified manner due to the limited infrastructure services (Rust, 2003:18; Tonkin, 2008:34) and social facilities (Kihato, 2013:4), making the competition for scarce resources more intense. Hence, South African towns and cities display many effects of urban sprawl (Tonkin, 2008:19; Du Plessis, 2015:4). It is the latter that manifests as partitioning of activities and land uses, the suburban or township ethos, no centralised ownership of land or planning of land development, all transportation dominated by privately owned motor vehicles; all very much typical of the Apartheid spatial landscape (Hamann & Horn, 2015:40; Neuman, 2005:15). Settlements depicting these inequalities (between urban and rural, as well as amongst suburban areas), become visible throughout South Africa as segregation, fragmentation, sporadic, and leapfrog development (Pieterse, 2009:1; Adebayo,

2010:3; Watson, 2009a:156; Osman, Arvanitakis & Sebake, 2013:1; Talen, 2012:332). Tonkin (2008:19) argues that urban sprawl involves more than only low densities and is a complex and contested subject that ultimately severely ingrains segregation (Geyer & Mohammed, 2015:4; Van Niekerk et al., 2014:2). Against this distressing background, there is a need to depart from the free and subsidised housing model (Kihato, 2013:5) and rather embark on a directive to proactively plan for **inclusive settlements**, through affordable housing, as it seems that this could be one of many answers to change in the Apartheid spatial landscape (Haferburg, 2016:267).

It is argued that this **model is unsustainable**; as planners and developers continue to push the boundaries of urban areas, extending urban sprawl demands a much higher investment in services and infrastructure in areas where economies of scale are particularly low (Fleming, 2013:6; Rossouw, 2016:3). Residents on the periphery are struggling with crime and unemployment (Turok, 2010:1). They bear the costs of isolation and segregation, know well the life of shared toilets and rooms, of queues outside clinics, of the early mornings and long commutes to work (UNDP, 2014:62). Therefore, this separation entrenches spatial segregation of classes, which in Cape Town still all too often means segregation of races (Newman & Schuermans, 2013:578; Turok, 2016a:11).

As noted by the Minister of Human Settlements: *“everyone is well aware that the current delivery model is unsustainable, and bold policy decisions need to be made to ensure that housing recipients are not merely beneficiaries of housing, but also partners and contributors in the process of building sustainable neighbourhoods”* (Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, 2016:18). Thus, to continue in this manner – financing the current “free housing” delivery model – is unsustainable and ineffective. Khaki (2009:61) argues that the provision of affordable housing in the Western Cape province (WCP) is a dire need, and exponentially escalating. It will demand much more in terms of funds and commitment to change these settlements, and it will take a few generations to achieve or see some of the first signs of inclusive settlements.

The **legacy of colonial and apartheid spatial planning** runs deep underneath South Africa’s exterior and persists to govern resource distribution, spatial use patterns and

social (dis)connections (Berrisford, 2011b:249; Presidency, 2015:2; Khan & Thurman, 2001:36). Constrained and disparate access to economic opportunities, unequal infrastructure and housing provision, inadequate transportation options, and disconnected communities all serve to hold Cape Town back from its full development potential (Fleming & Makalima-Ngewana, 2012:29). Hence, affordable and inclusionary housing is not only possible in the Central Business District (CBD) but also necessary (Fleming, 2014:1). The high demand for residential spaces, along with high vacancy rates in the lower end of the office market, shows the advantage of more affordable housing entering the CBD (Watson, 2014:15). Thus, property owners and developers are inspired to fill their buildings to receive rent, and residents want places to live in the CBD, to be near the CBD's economic and social benefits (Litman, 2016:34; Brown-Luthango, Makanga & Smith, 2012:14). This indicated a major opportunity for affordable housing.

1.2.1 Affordable housing resulting in inclusionary settlements

The introduction painted a gloomy picture of the Western Cape; however, the Provincial Vision has moved forward and speaks of "*An opportunity society for all citizens, includes the development of integrated and sustainable human settlements with access to social and economic opportunities for all the province's citizens*" for the term 2012-2017 (Western Cape Government, 2016:9). In addition, during Minister Bongisela Madikizela's 2016/17 budget speech, he noted that his department's second strategic goal is accelerating the provision of houses in the gap or **affordable market** by collaborating with the private sector, financial institutions, etcetera. (Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, 2016:2). His department is also taking innovative actions to make homes affordable to this income category. However, as argued by De Kam, Needman and Buitelaar (2013:6) and Lemanski (2017:104), the provision of inclusionary housing is not only relevant in terms of affordability and housing need, but rather directed towards that of housing policy; challenging the anticipated housing and urban planning provision for the Western Cape Province.

This in itself suggests that at provincial level, the government is working towards integrated and sustainable human settlements. A greater focus is thus directed

towards providing for the affordable housing market. Furthermore, attaining this clear vision requires alignment with National governments, Western Cape Provincial governments and Cape Town's approaches with a common understanding of **providing affordable housing** that creates integrated settlements.

Affordable housing definitions vary amongst countries and income groups, which are calculated in a manner that enables low-income households and emerging markets to be able to afford other basic needs (GTZ, 2015:9; Dulchin, Gates & Williams, 2013:1). The market for **affordable housing** represents a broad range of market opportunities that varies widely (GTZ, 2015:9). As such, Fleming (2016:5) notes that the term "affordability" is a relative term and this proceeds from Tomlinson (2007a:14), who considers income, as well as to market availability.

In proceeding with this vision, and common understanding towards providing for affordable housing, it is worth investigating applicable approaches that will result in inclusionary housing and ultimately in integrated and sustainable human settlements. To implement such vision requires the investigation of **applicable approaches**. One such solution lies in the provision of inclusionary housing. As such, inclusionary housing relates to creating better communities by producing affordable housing and simultaneously stimulating social inclusion (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:11). The latter includes racial and ethnic integration, as well as income-mixing with the latter typically employed to achieve integration (Basolo, 2011:1; Tonkin, 2008:182). Tonkin (2008:183) clarifies that inclusionary housing also refers to mixed-income housing, which provides housing developments that integrate a range of income groups either within the same building or in the same development.

Additionally, in some instances, inclusionary housing occurs when city planning ordinances require that a certain percentage of new residential development in that area be set aside for occupancy by families of very low-, low- and moderate-income levels (Brunick, n.d.:9; Schuetz, Meltzer & Been, 2009:452). Similarly, **inclusionary housing is a means of using the planning system** to create affordable housing and foster social inclusion by capturing resources created through the marketplace (de Kam, Needham & Buitelaar, 2013:2). It is also argued that the term refers to a regulation, law or programme that necessitates or offers incentives to private

developers to incorporate affordable or social housing as a part of market-driven developments (Hickey, Sturtevant & Thaden, 2014:18; Calavita & Mallach, 2010:9). This can be done either by including the affordable housing into the same development, building it elsewhere, or contributing money or land for the production of social or affordable housing *in lieu* of construction (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:2; Brunick, n.d.:5; Hirt, 2013:293). However, given the apartheid planning and history of South Africa, the two main aims of enforcing **inclusionary housing policies** are first, to increase the supply of affordable housing in the market, and second, to provide inclusive and affordable sustainable housing neighbourhoods that are more integrated. This supports urban policies on the integration of all classes, income groups and race classifications, which will change the country's spatial landscape (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:143; Greenberg, 2010:111; Ganiyu, Fapohunda & Haldenwang, 2015:351).

With this understanding of what affordable and inclusionary housing can offer, the arguments **against mixed-income and land use densification** are generally based on the idea that central city land is costly, therefore subsidising housing on it, is uneconomical. Hence, the thinking is that expensive land should rather be sold at maximum price value (so the argument goes) and used to subsidise more houses on their fringe where land is cheaper (Denoon-Stevens, 2014:131; Harrison & Todes, 2015:152; Nel & Rogerson, 2009:144). As such, it is also believed that the way to solve housing backlogs is through releasing the high-value central city property assets and using the funds to cross-subsidise housing investment elsewhere. However, Onatu (2012:75) proved that mixed income housing development includes various socio-economic strata in one settlement development. In such developments, people's comfort is not compromised, discrediting the vision of integrated sustainable human settlements. It is with this broad understanding of inclusionary housing and affordable housing that the researcher proposes that through planning interventions, the spatial legacy of apartheid can be addressed to create integrated and sustainable human settlements via affordable housing.

The scope of planning for affordable housing, in a complex environment with a given negative history, creates a burden and demands a determination for town and regional planners to bring about change. Providing for affordable housing in the Western Cape

province contributes to deepened **planning for complexities**. Not only does this relate to long term planning, but requires planning pro-actively within this hybrid, complex and dynamic environment to provide for **sustainable housing**, in a secure settlement that enhances residents' dignity (Samara, 2011:6; Greenberg, 2010:111; Ganiyu, Fapohunda & Haldenwang, 2015:351). Tonkin (2008:19) argues that much of this is seen as the responsibility of town and regional planning, in collaboration with other supporting disciplines such as engineers, community developers, economists, and others. Through dedication and recognising the needs of the beneficiaries, planning and design can open up a range of potential for integration, efficiency, affordability and community development, that will not only change the Apartheid spatial landscape, but also create inclusive settlements (Onatu; 2012:72; Lemanski, 2017:106). Hence, it is argued that more should be done in terms of affordable housing in Cape Town, and moreover, the central city area of Cape Town.

1.2.2 The study area: Cape Town metropolitan area

This research focuses on Cape Town metropolitan area as the **study area** (refer to Figure 1.1). It is the second largest city in South Africa. Affectionately known as the “mother city”, it is home to about 3.4 million people (StatsSA, 2014:5). The researcher analysed how the apartheid spatial landscape created further segregation and related challenges. Like the Western Cape Province strategies, although the City of Cape Town's strategic plans address aspects of integrated and sustainable human settlements, the symptoms, and experiences thereof, are to the contrary.



Figure 3.1: Cape Town in context of the Western Cape, South Africa
 Source: www.Cape-town.net:1

Relevant to this study, Cape Town has been characterised as a **"dual city"** and a **"divided city"**, terms referring to horizontal (economic/class) and vertical (race/ethnicity/cultural) divides respectively (Leildé, 2001:4; Turok, 2013:168; Turok, 2016a:11). This reality is the result of decades of systematic planning according to apartheid principles and inappropriate planning guidelines (Berrisford, 2011a:210), which have resulted in extraordinary socio-economic and other distortions at enormous cost (Khan & Thurman, 2001:36), especially in larger cities (SALGA, 2014:5). The consequence of rapid metropolitan growth is that a large proportion of the segregated city now encompasses neighbourhoods that did not exist when statutory residential segregation was abolished during the transition of democracy (Swilling, 2010:230; Seekings, 2010:9; Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:17). Changing the structure of Cape Town has proven problematic, particularly in terms of housing. Hence, Turok and Borel-Saladin (2014:679) contend that the massive urban growth over the past 25 years or so, has not been tied to the kinds of urban infrastructure, energy and transport systems that are appropriate for sustainable human settlement development. It is hereto that Fleming and Makalima-Ngewana (2012:29) noted that Cape Town is confronted with a **double urban planning** crisis of resilience and long-term sustainability. The problems are described as "complex and deeply entrenched

in the urban fabric" (Crane & Swilling, 2008:267). Increasing levels of urbanisation have put unexpectedly large social, environmental and economic pressures on the city's existing infrastructural components, throwing into question the city's ability to maintain functional operations in the longer term (Turok, 2015:1; Tomlinson, 2007a:4; Nel, 2011:331). Furthermore, spatial growth has led to the invasion of the city's fragile ecosystem through low-density green-fields developments that further aggravate the environmental pressures and social separation embodied in the spatial composition of the Apartheid City (Samara, 2011:44). Watson (1998:335) evokes the spatial effect as "the spatial imprint of apartheid ideology on South African towns and cities" (Newton & Schuermans, 2013:578).

1.3 Research aim and goals

The key purpose of this study is to explore how inclusionary housing through the provision of affordable housing, can change the Apartheid spatial landscape. It is understood that housing is a mechanism that unlocks investments and infrastructure, but with Apartheid planning, settlements enforced segregation. The secondary objectives include:

1. Consider perceptions relating to integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary housing and affordable housing.
2. Identifying and evaluating commended affordable housing projects in Cape Town as well as Birmingham, Alabama (USA).
3. Determining how the town and regional planning discipline, together with other stakeholders, can contribute to changing the Apartheid spatial landscape through affordable housing.

While the instrument of inclusionary housing has proven to be successful internationally, this study seeks to see how it can be adapted to South African circumstances and what will be required in terms of planning and policy development to implement it effectively. In planning for integrated and sustainable human settlements, the settlements' character should display integration and sustainability. There is an opportunity to bring change, should South Africa want to create that of inclusionary, integrated and sustainable human settlements.

1.4 Research questions

The main question in this study is “how can planning for affordable housing through inclusionary housing change the Apartheid spatial landscape of the Western Cape province, South Africa?”

To answer this question, the researcher investigated further components of this research, by answering the following research sub-questions:

1. What are the characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements?
2. What contribution can inclusionary housing make to integrated and sustainable settlements?
3. Are the underlying principles of affordable and inclusionary housing the same?
4. What role did (town) planning play internationally to create more inclusionary settlements through affordable housing?
5. To what extent do South African policies create an enabling environment to plan and develop inclusionary housing as a form of affordable housing?
6. What changes are necessary to bridge the gap between the town planning and political ideals regarding inclusionary settlements and the reality of the current fragmented (post) Apartheid South African city?

1.5 Ideological framework

The researcher found answers to her research questions, through the **social constructivist approach** which is viewed through our current reality (Creswell, 2013:74). It is here that the researcher had to be mindful of the following: who was included (and excluded) from participation, data gathering techniques, analytical and reflective processes, and the transparency of the reporting. Some of the research questions were underpinned by the thinking of how Apartheid’s symptoms are continuing and spreading, despite the demise of the Apartheid regime. Furthermore, the professionals and planners could express their realities during the interview processes, pertaining to planning, strategies, and processes having an impact on affordable housing.

1.6 Significance of the study

Planning for human settlements cuts across many disciplines, stakeholders and policies (UN, 2010:4; Onatu, 2012:75). Yet it remains complex to assemble the positive attributes of these aspects onto one platform, to divert into a holistic manner of planning (Smith, 2017:13). This is critical in the South African context, in moving beyond the norm of the greater research focus placed on Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing, or the impact Apartheid had on low-cost housing compared to that of affordable housing. It is through the lens of inclusionary housing that affordable housing and related built environment aspects such as transport, the provision and greater choice of services and amenities, can add value to the post-Apartheid settlements, and thus bring change to them, over time.

Onatu (2012:75) proved that, for integrated and sustainable human settlements, as well as mixed development projects to be successful, will require a range of aspects to function optimally, and this lies beyond policy. It is from these premises the researcher considered the range of policies with sound principles in place. However, they have made little contribution towards the creation of (integrated and) sustainable human settlements, or even inclusionary settlements, as these have not been created in the Western Cape, especially in the BNG dispensation. Furthermore, Choguill (2007:145) argues that in order to be sustainable, housing initiatives must be economically viable, socially acceptable, technically feasible and environmentally compatible. In this instance, the researcher is moving away from Choguill's (2007:147) limiting view, and fleshing out specifics towards the planning role to make these inclusionary and affordable housing projects work, given the Apartheid landscape. The researcher challenges the town planning discipline, realising more should be done at all levels, at all spheres across all built environment disciplines, in collaboration with the communities. A range of policy recommendations, considerations and contributions for planning, as well as to inclusionary housing are made in the final chapter, drawn from the research.

1.7 Outline of methodology

This study is based on qualitative (and to a lesser extent quantitative) research design grounded in the **phenomenological approach**. Furthermore, “the value of a phenomenological approach in theory and practice, is that it stresses the uniqueness of local contexts and knowledge at a time that planning is increasingly coming into conflict with local values, especially over the issue of sustainability” (Whittemore, 2014:301). This recognition of conflicting rationalities is of utmost importance, particularly for this study. While planners may wish to remove the biases generated by differences in knowledge, power and skill, and navigating the mire of planning debates via an idealised model of communication, this can be counterproductive. Creswell (2013:76) notes that a phenomenological study designates the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences. The basic purpose of phenomenology is to lessen individual experiences relating to a phenomenon, to a description of their universal essence.

The “specific phenomena” that the study concentrated on were the perceptions of town planners, and related professionals working at different entities at different levels, on Apartheid planning, integrated and sustainable human settlements, affordable housing and inclusionary housing. Their views were tested against case studies within the City of Cape Town metropolitan area. Learning from Birmingham, Alabama’s inclusionary housing approaches, enabled the researcher to reflect on the post-apartheid future of South Africa, moving towards integrated and sustainable human settlements.

A qualitative research approach is commonly used in the social and human sciences, on complex and contingent phenomena, such as human settlements (Porta & Keating, 2008:21). It is in this research environment that concepts such as inclusiveness and integration are based on perceptions, measured against the history of Apartheid, and the spatial landscape and patterns it created (Pieterse, 2004a:98; Landman, 2003:11; Samara, 2011:181). The interviews with the professionals were tested against the case studies and focus group discussions. As further discussed in Chapter 3, multiple theories exist pertaining to housing delivery, as well as multiple data and research on settlement patterns related to the study area and topic.

However, this research was guided by a **literature review** (reports, journals, website reviews and commentaries on the topics, as well as books), investigating deeper into aspects such as (affordable and inclusionary) housing, and human settlement creation as it relates to the Western Cape and the broader South Africa, while taking Apartheid planning into consideration. As noted by De Kam, Needham & Buitelaar (2013:2), planning for (affordable) housing and urban planning are usually studied separately, but through this pollination, the researcher anticipates finding solutions to the South African housing and planning challenges. The researcher's findings were tested and explored against the current literature, enabling her to answer the research questions.

However, there are no clearly defined criteria to measure sustainable, affordable, inclusive settlements. In finding commonality based on (international, national and Western Cape specific) research, the researcher resorted to the BNG definition of sustainable human settlements, in addition to that of inclusive settlements (Housing Development Agency, 2014:1). Given the lack of a formal definition, the researcher has evaluated a range of definitions associated with integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary settlements, affordable housings, and so on. In the literature studied (Landman, 2012; CSIR, 2012; UN Habitat, 2012a and 2014a and Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, 2004), there are different opinions to the underlying principles of sustainable, affordable, and inclusive settlements. Also, flowing forth from the earlier portion of this chapter focusing on integrated and sustainable human settlements, the researcher will use the **definition** within the Breaking New Ground Policy: Comprehensive Plan (BNG) (National Department of Housing, 2004:21). According to the Breaking New Ground Policy (BNG) (National Department of Housing, 2004:4), sustainable human settlements are defined as:

well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity.

It is in this regard that one of the BNG's specific objectives is to utilise housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable integrated human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring.

Furthermore, by undertaking **empirical studies**, as part of the qualitative research process, a variety of case studies were used. These case studies analysed affordable housing in Birmingham, Alabama as an international study, looking closely at how integrated and sustainable human settlements were created. This **comparative analysis** focused on Birmingham, Alabama, as it has similar characteristics to Cape Town and was once noted as the most segregated town in 1963 (Connerley, 2006:7). While Birmingham legally solved its issue of being a segregated city, and having segregated schools decades ago, the resulting *de facto* separation of blacks and whites geographically has plagued Birmingham's progress and image ever since. The researcher identified similarities and differences in the affordable and inclusionary housing scenario between the two cities based on the literature review, and desktop studies, as part of **exploratory research** (Creswell, 2013:74). Data from these international studies is complemented by an examination of three Cape Town affordable housing projects.

A selection of **affordable housing projects**, *inter alia*, Westlake Village, Melkbosch Village, and Pelican Park, were commended by some of the respondents. These affordable housing projects were at least four years old and enabled the researcher to evaluate, draw from lessons learnt, and then make recommendations to the potential future affordable housing projects. Part of the case studies allowed for **focus group discussions**. Two group discussions, based on male and females, have taken place within these communities.

In noticing the similarities of Birmingham to Cape Town, South Africa, recommendations are made that can be considered in the South African context. The findings of the Alabama case studies lend credibility to the argument that affordable housing through inclusionary housing is possible in the Western Cape province. Furthermore, based on the literature reviews and analysis of the respective housing projects and communities, the researcher studied the inclusiveness of those housing projects, taking into consideration the new urbanism principles that have been applied. It is in this regard that this research undertook a **phenomenological analysis** to describe the trends, in support of empirical findings of the literature (Creswell, 2013:74).

Also, the researcher conducted a **survey** to compare the perceptions of professional planners, and related professionals in the built environment, of the components of integrated and sustainable human settlements, affordable housing and inclusionary housing, with each other, as well as the literature. The survey used a **semi-structured interview** technique with standardised interview questions.

A **sample** of planners was identified, who are knowledgeable about Apartheid planning, housing, human settlements, and to a lesser extent that of inclusionary and affordable housing, by a sampling method known as criteria or purposive sampling (Creswell, 2013:5). These professionals were practicing within the three spheres of government, private sector, research institutes or academia. As some respondents were not available for the interview, they nominated another person, using the snowball sampling technique (Babbie & Mouton, 2011:58).

Four interviews per group were sufficient to divulge the topics at hand. For this, interview questions had been developed, and those questions were posed to all the persons in the sample (Refer to Annexures 1 and 4). This enabled the researcher to compare the perceptions and make relevant recommendations.

1.8 Assumptions and limitations

The researcher's **case studies** were limited to the Cape Town metropolitan area. She then generalised to the greater Cape Town, but this consistency weakens when pulling these findings through to the Western Cape province – in terms of housing (especially affordable housing and inclusionary housing) as well as the town and regional planning discipline.

The researcher envisaged testing the views of the professionals and planners against that of the respective case study groups. However, after a few site visits, the researcher realised that undertaking such focus group discussions, community expectations of housing provision or better living conditions, to be provided by government, would be raised. This was not only due to some of the appalling living conditions in the Cape Town case studies, but also because of the tensions

surrounding the municipal elections planned for August 2016. As housing is a politically sensitive issue, unrest and tension within communities can cause great disruptions amongst communities, have a hampering effect on service delivery, and community infrastructure; and that these community frustrations can skew the research findings. It was approximately nine months later that the researcher followed up with the councillors working in these areas, and secured focus group discussions with them during May-June 2017.

1.9 Outline of Chapters

This thesis is organised into a number of chapters as set out below. Chapter 2 will focus on the research methodology, which explains the research design pertinent to this study. Chapter 3 is dedicated to a literature review, where relevant related articles, and legislation, will be analysed and interpreted, drawing from linkages that influenced housing provision and planning. This will be built upon using the planning theory that is discussed later in the chapter. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the South African housing and planning policies, as it affects the planning for affordable and inclusionary housing. From here on, Chapter 5 discuss the findings from the interviews, based on four of the research questions. To validate these findings, the researcher interrogated two cities' case studies (Birmingham, Alabama, as an international study versus Cape Town, South Africa as a local study), with their respective affordable housing projects, that are presented in Chapter 6. Based on the researcher's findings, she concludes with Chapter 7, making recommendations, affecting the town planning discipline, the inclusionary housing policy and programme, as well as some broad underpinning considerations affecting the future of human settlement development of South Africa. Future research topics and potential research are also proposed.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has set the scene for this research. It stated that the South African settlements are experiencing planning complexities in terms of segregation, dysfunctional settlements, and over-capacitated infrastructure against incoherent planning in the three spheres of governance (Harrison & Todes, 2008:150; Turok &

Borel-Saladin, 2015:686). International studies have proved that segregation's causes affect the prosperity of everyone in a metropolitan area, and has cost implications over generations on a regional level (Pendall, Treskon, Novara & Khare, 2017:20). Dealing with the symptoms will not change the post-Apartheid settlements. Planning for settlements are still undertaken in isolation, and housing alone has not progressed towards a full human settlements definition (Orfield, 2006:102).

The formation of settlements has evolved over the centuries through the effects of migration and urbanisation, but also through developments, political influences and planning laws (World Economic Forum, 2015:15). South Africa came under the microscope through this study as colonial and Apartheid planning were investigated. These specific planning regimes had an impact on specifically the delivery of housing in urban areas. Given the findings from this review of the literature, it became evident that Apartheid had a great impact on the planning and settlement formations, which was further entrenched through planning policies and regulations for many generations (The Presidency, 2015:26).

Housing is a mechanism that will unlock other opportunities, investments and infrastructure; it is thus critical that relevant housing programmes (such as affordable housing) should be prioritised over the others (for example BNG or UISP). This is regarding affordable housing that lends itself to inclusion, integration and sustainability, criteria which were left behind in planning for the greater housing market. Despite well intended strategic and sectoral plans, many of these challenges still prevail in Cape Town. Sustainable housing and sustainable human settlements seem far-fetched in this Apartheid disposition. The next chapter contains the research methodology, wherein the researcher discusses her methods.

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a brief introduction to the housing arena in South Africa, with specific focus on Cape Town. Furthermore, attention was paid to the exploration of concepts such as integrated and sustainable human settlements, Apartheid settlement planning, affordable housing, and inclusionary housing, against the backdrop of the Apartheid spatial landscape. Although these earlier mentioned concepts had been used for the past decades amongst many professionals in a variety of disciplines, they were interpreted and understood differently, especially against the inherited Apartheid legacy (UNDP, 2014:21; Fleming & Makalima-Ngewana, 2012:32). Finding a niche where these concepts will intercept with affordable housing, is the journey the researcher has embarked upon, through this study. It is against this background that this chapter justifies the approaches and methods followed by the researcher. She also presents her research instruments, the limitations of the study, as well as the ethical aspects of this study. This will enable her to present her findings in the later chapters, as well as then draw conclusions and make recommendations at the end.

2.2 The research paradigm

Urban planning, as a process of guiding and controlling land use and environmental management, aims to facilitate the provision of a quality living environment (Siu & Huang, 2015:293). Towards this end, urban planners seek to ensure that a city's physical, social, economic and environmental developments are both favourable and sustainable (Mekawy, 2014b:1939; Duranton & Guerra, 2016:5). Furthermore, in the South African context, urban and regional planning, as a discipline, tends to be perceived as contributing to a physical layout and subdivision to the neglect of the human experiences (Mphambukeli, 2015:98). Despite this perception, this study is

based on a qualitative research design grounded in the **descriptive phenomenological approach**. Phenomenological research design approaches are widely used in the social sciences, and increasingly in urban and regional planning practice. According to Creswell (2013:76) and Finlay (2009:7), a phenomenological study describes the common meaning of several individuals' lived experiences, with the basic purpose of reducing individual experiences of a phenomenon to a description of universal essence.

The researcher studied the perceptions and understanding of concepts such as sustainable human settlements, integration, inclusionary housing, apartheid planning, and affordable housing amongst the professionals, government officials and academics. The respondents' perceptions arose from their work experiences in planning for settlements, developing policies, or the provision of housing. It was here that the researcher established how affordable housing through inclusionary housing can change the apartheid spatial landscape. Pertinent hereto, the role of the town planning discipline was investigated.

2.3 Qualitative research design

There is a clear link between the conceptualisation of the research question, and how this relates to the respective data sources, methods and research questions developed during this stage. As contained in Table 2.1 below, the research methods include interviews, focus group discussions and site visits that were compared against the respective housing projects' approved layout plans. The research protocol is contained in Annexure 5.

Table 2.3: Application of the research design

Research questions	Data sources (sample)	Methods	Examples of interview questions
What are the characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements?	<p><i>Parastatals</i></p> <p><i>Private sector</i></p> <p><i>Approved housing project layout plans</i></p> <p><i>Site visits</i></p> <p><i>Case study communities</i></p>	<p><i>Interview</i></p> <p><i>Interview</i></p> <p><i>Comparative analysis against research criteria</i></p> <p><i>Focus group discussions.</i></p>	What are the features/critical factors of integrated and sustainable human settlements?
What contribution can inclusionary housing make to integrated and sustainable settlements?	<p><i>Officials</i></p> <p><i>NGO</i></p> <p><i>Private sector/developers</i></p>	<p><i>Interview</i></p>	<p>What would you recommend South Africa should undertake to implement affordable housing and inclusionary housing in terms of policy, planning, implementation, funding sources, etc.</p> <p>What would you recommend South Africa should undertake to change the Apartheid spatial landscape?</p>
Are the underlying principles of affordable and	<p><i>Officials</i></p>	<p><i>Interview</i></p>	<p>What is your understanding of affordable housing and inclusionary housing? Do you know of such</p>

inclusionary housing the same?			examples and best practices?
What role did (development and town) planning play internationally to create more inclusionary settlements through affordable housing?	<i>Parastatals</i> <i>Case study: Birmingham, Alabama – literature reviews</i>	<i>Interview</i> <i>Layout plans, Structure plans, Strategic plans, Community review reports and blogs.</i>	
To what extent do South African policies create an enabling environment to plan and develop inclusionary housing as a form of affordable housing?	<i>Parastatals</i> <i>Academia</i> <i>Case study communities</i>	<i>Interview</i> <i>Interview</i> <i>Focus group discussions</i>	What would you recommend South Africa should undertake to change the Apartheid spatial landscape?
What changes are necessary to bridge the gap between the town planning and political ideals regarding inclusionary settlements and the reality of the current fragmented (post) Apartheid South African city?	<i>Provincial and national government and municipal officials</i> <i>NGO's</i> <i>Academia</i> <i>Case study communities</i>	<i>Interview</i> <i>Interview</i> <i>Interview</i> <i>Focus group discussions</i>	What would you recommend South Africa should undertake to change the Apartheid spatial landscape?

2.4 Research Method

This research uses a qualitative research method. According to Creswell (2013:44), the aim of **qualitative research** relates to understanding some aspects of social life, and its methods, which generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis

(Patton & Cochran, 2002:4). Relevant to this research, Creswell's (2013:44) definition of qualitative research is that it begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive or theoretical frameworks that inform the study of the research problems in addressing that meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. He argues that to study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting, sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The advantage of using qualitative research methods is that they investigate the *why* and *how* of decision-making and the related actions, be it at personal, institutional or societal levels.

Mason (2002:1) argues that qualitative research is a highly rewarding research approach because it challenges us to engage in things that matter. In this manner, the researcher and participants (as those to the interviews and focus group discussions) can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, the understanding, social processes, and the significance of meanings they generate, relevant to the research topic (Holliday, 2007:122). To this end a variety of research methodologies are used that bring along variation, dynamism, richness and context.

In doing justice to the intent of qualitative research, the researcher considers the underlying concepts and theories, which underpin the research, and test that against literature and focus group discussions, relevant to the case studies. In this thesis, the researcher structured her research process to answer the following questions:

- How was the research problem formulated?
- What types of data had been collected?
- What methods were used to collect data?
- Why were the specific methods or techniques of data analysis used?

It should be noted that the researcher used a combination of exploratory and explanatory approaches. Through these approaches, the researcher engaged with

professionals, and town and regional planners, to gain an understanding of their perceptions to pertinent concepts that affect sustainable human settlements. Examples and potential case studies were raised by the respondents that led to determining the successfulness of those concepts, taking the review of current knowledge contained in the literature into account. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change. As the researcher presents a range of perspectives of those who participate in this research, the researcher progressed to formulate a “judgement” or conclusion (Clarke & Dawson, 1999:2). A summary of the researcher’s approach is contained in Annexure 6. To best respond to the research questions, the researcher considered a range of qualitative research methods, as discussed below.

2.4.1 Interviews and interview schedule

The **interviews** were undertaken during 15 October 2015 – 10 March 2016, and then during June 2017, with professionals and planners in the built environment. Each interview took under 40 minutes. Furthermore, the interviews were conducted face-to-face, telephonically and through email. The first two ways of interviewing were more successful, as incomplete answers could be rephrased. However, the email response required a follow up telephonic conversation, where the unclear responses could be resolved.

Relevant to this topic, the researcher interviewed planners mostly from the Western Cape province (refer Annexure 4). This study did not only want to focus on the registered planners (and this was not used in the cut off criteria), as it was worth investigating what the other non-registered planners, or those from similar disciplines (geographers, housing specialists, strategic planners, financial advisors, etc.) perceived and experienced in the post-Apartheid environment of South Africa, in respect of providing for (integrated and sustainable/affordable) housing. An allocated time frame of five months was set aside for interviews, and through snowball sampling,

the researcher engaged with well-informed planners that were initially selected, or that were recommended to her.

To proceed with the selection of respondents, a **purposeful (or criterion) sampling** process was used (Nieuwenhuis, 2007:79; Leedy & Ormrod, 2010:145). Through purposeful selection, potential respondents were selected up front. This was verified against the range of articles published that were relevant to the research topic. Additionally, for governmental officials, it was critical that the interviewees were knowledgeable about their area (appointed for more than three years) with relevant human settlement knowledge and experience. Although it is subjective, the researcher relied on her own judgement in choosing who participated in the study. The researcher believed that she could obtain a highly representative selection (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010:145). Therefore, the persons considered had to meet the following criteria:

- knowledgeable about Apartheid planning, integrated and sustainable settlements, inclusionary housing, spatial planning, urban planning, and housing;
- a town and regional planner or being functional in a planning-related environment such as town and regional planning, strategic planning, environmental planning or policy and research; and
- have experience and exposure to town and regional planning environments and have been working at different geographical settlement scales (national, district, town, site, etc.).

In some instances, the intended persons were not available, but they were able to recommend other persons. In these exceptional cases, through **snowball sampling**, the intended respondents could recommend other knowledgeable persons. Thus, a non-random purposive snowball sampling strategy was used for the study. The snowball strategy is a form of purposeful sampling in qualitative research that, according to Creswell (2013:206), typically proceeds after a study begins and occurs when the researcher asks participants to recommend other individuals for the study. The starting point with the snowball sampling is contacting one or more respondent/s who belong to the population. Through this snowball/referral process, the researcher was able to interview a total of 18

knowledgeable persons. It is important to note that Boyd (2001) regards two to ten participants or research subjects as sufficient to reach saturation and Creswell (1998:65,113) recommends “long interviews with up to ten people for a phenomenological study” (cited by Groenewald, 2004:11).

Figure 2.1 below depicts the respondents interviewed for the study.

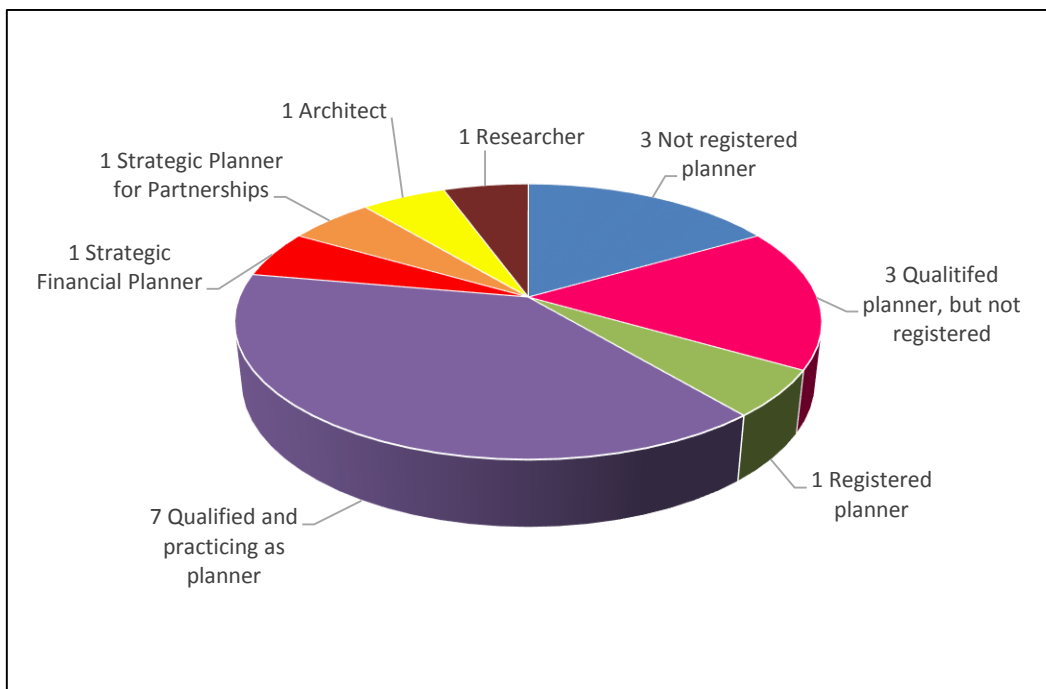


Figure 2.1: Persons interviewed functioning in the town and regional planning environment
Source: Author, 2017

This research used in-depth interviewing, also known as **semi-structured interviewing**; that is, a type of interview that researchers use to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the interviewee’s point of view or situation; it can also be used to explore interesting areas for further investigation (Clarke & Dawson, 1999:91). As such, the **semi-structured interviews** consist of a questionnaire with place for the interviewer to record the respondent’s answers. This type of interview involves asking informants open-ended questions, and probing wherever necessary to obtain data deemed useful by the researcher (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010:184). As in-depth interviewing often involves qualitative data, it is also called qualitative interviewing. Furthermore, in semi-structured interviews “the researcher

has a list of questions, or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply” (Bryman, 2004:15). Their strength therefore lies in that they are flexible. Robinson (2002:35) opines, “that face-to-face interviews offer the possibility of modifying responses and investigating underlying responses. This elicits more thinking and applications to the broader understanding.”

The **interview schedules** were distributed in advance to the identified persons, so that they were informed of the questions, and based thereon, could decide if they were willing or able to participate, and to what extent. Part of the introduction allowed the respondents to answer in part, should they feel uncomfortable responding, or to not undertake the research. However, all interviewees completed the questionnaire willingly, within the initial five-month period of research.

The researcher was also the **interviewer**, which had added benefits such as being familiar with the history, background, policies, issues and cultures of the South African housing environment (Clarke & Dawson, 1999:23). The interviewer followed a guideline of questions, and the answers were recorded, often handwritten, in short hand notes. The interviewer, although supplied with a guideline, had flexibility to explore issues in greater depth, depending on the circumstances of the particular respondent. Hence, the goal of qualitative research was to understand how respondents perceived the main issues of the research, so that some insight may be gained into these issues (Babbie & Mouton, 2002:56).

Based on the interview questions, the respondents confirmed the suitability of the selected case studies, and the prominence thereof as viewed by the professionals, officials, developers, and other role players in the human settlement field. It is through qualitative research that the case studies and interviews were conducted.

The sample selection ensured good representativity from non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private sector, academia, and the three spheres of South African government officials, as contained in Annexures 4 and 5. This extensive sample table is summarised in Table 2.2. In all these instances, these are mature professionals that had been working in the planning and housing arena for some years, and have a good understanding of the South African and USA political climate and housing provision challenges. From a population of 34 persons, only 22 people were interviewed and they are summarised in Table 2.2. An example of the questionnaire is attached in Annexure 1. From this sample, thirteen were male and nine were female, all well-established professionals. This reflects the fact that the town and regional planning discipline is male dominated, and fewer females embark on this field, with roughly 66-60% males and 40-45% females being registered professional or technical planners in South Africa (SACPLAN data, 2016). Most have some human settlements (that is broader than housing) background and are from a town and regional planning background.

Furthermore, the researcher had an initial 50% response rate to the interviews. Some of the intended interviewees (Prof Karina Landman, Prof Mark Swilling, Prof Edgar Pieterse, and Prof Sue Parnell) were not available to be interviewed, but they made recommendations of other knowledgeable persons who could be considered. It was at this level (the 15th interview) that the research reached saturation point, and the researcher did not pursue any additional interviews.

Table 2.2 below gives an overall snapshot of the interviewees.

Table 2.2: Breakdown of persons interviewed

	Face to face	Email/Post	Telephonic	Response rate	Total
Cape Town, South Africa	10	2	6	(18/36) 50%	18
Birmingham, Alabama	0	4	0	(4/10) 40%	4
TOTAL	10	6	6	(22/46) 47.8%	22

Source: Author, 2017

Secondary research sources, such as Census 2011, the Housing Subsidy System (HSS), and reports relating thereto, were used. The primary and secondary research led to interpretative maps, tables, photos and diagrams, which the researcher then analysed through settlement patterns and trends, as well as the case studies that revealed the level of inclusiveness/integration and how sustainable these are.

In order to determine how South Africa can move forward from segregation planning, the researcher had to find cases where other countries had progressed in changing their spatial landscape. The lessons learnt from international experiences, and interviews are captured in Chapters 5 and 6. On an international front, Birmingham, Alabama (USA) was the best fit, and much literature was available. While being declared as the most segregated town in 1963, there were now different opinions as to whether Birmingham is still segregated, partially segregated or no longer segregated. However, after many follow ups – even after the identified time frame of 15 October 2015 until 10 March 2016 – with the private sector, city planners, University, Councillors and bloggers of Birmingham, the researcher resorted largely to literature and could have a few interviews conducted (as contained in Table 2.2).

2.4.2 Focus group discussions

Maree (2007:90) argues that focus groups can deliver data rich in detail, data not easily obtained through quantitative research methods. It is during these discussions, that the groups were able to debate and discuss their ideas, perceptions and attitudes towards certain topics. Firstly, the researcher introduced herself to the group, and thanked the Councillor that spread the word, and distributed notices to the households of the upcoming focus group discussions. Thereafter she provided the rules of engagement to the groups. Each session with the focus groups ran for approximately 30 to 45 minutes. Although some conflicts arose during these discussions, the researcher was able to refocus the group, and ensure that each person was able to voice their opinions. With this peaceful rule of engagement, the focus group respondents felt comfortable to raise their honest opinions in a respectful manner. Some of them came afterwards to further discuss their remarks, which enabled the researcher to ensure that their responses were also contextualised, interpreted and understood – adding value to the research at hand.

The researcher was also the moderator of these interviews. She made cryptic notes, capturing the surrounding environment of the location, interaction levels between participants and their body language. As stressed by Breen (2006:471), the group remained anonymous; the moderator confirmed that, in the use of their inputs to the research, confidentiality would be maintained. In each of the groups, the group members felt at ease and willing to speak openly about their housing experiences and to make recommendations to government and the City of Cape Town. Much of this input can be seen and interpreted in Chapter 6.

Table 2.3: Focus groups discussions for the case studies

Scheduled visits to Case studies	Focus group discussions	Number of housing units
<p>Melkbosch Village</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saturday, February 2016 (morning). • Saturday, 1 July 2017 (afternoon). 	<p>Saturday, 10 June 2017</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two groups of 5 men = 10. • Two groups of 5 women = 10. • One group of 5 high school scholars = 5. 	175 housing units
<p>Westlake Village</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saturday, 10 February 2016 (morning). • Saturday, 8 July 2017 (afternoon). 	<p>Saturday, 24 June 2017</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three groups of 5 men = 15. • Three groups of 5 men = 15. 	700 housing units
<p>Pelican Park</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saturday, February 2016 (morning). • Saturday, 8 July 2017 (afternoon). 	<p>Saturday, 25 June 2017</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two groups of 5 men = 10. • Two groups of 5 women = 10. 	3200 housing units
Total	75 people	4075 housing units

Based on Table 2.3 above, the findings of the interviews were compared against those of the **focus groups** to find similarities, but also to determine what the differences in perceptions and experiences are at different levels compared to grassroots level. All the findings are discussed under themes, relevant to the research, in Chapter 6.

2.4.3 Case Studies

The researcher is Cape Town based, hence knowledgeable about this area and able to make recommendations in such a context. The selection of the local case studies was made, knowing the progress made in the delivery of affordable housing in the Western Cape Province. With this understanding, she interrogated literature while the interviews confirmed her choice of affordable housing projects as case studies. The researcher limited her case studies to only three, within the city of Cape Town: **Pelican Park** (as the housing project is still under construction) versus that of **Westlake Village** (completed in 2003, and recommended as a successful project) and **Melkbosch Village** (completed in 2009). This variety of case studies allowed the researcher to find commonalities, trends and detect best practices that can be considered for future projects.

As noted earlier under paragraph 1.8, these case studies were selected as they are the recently developed projects, after the introduction of Breaking New Ground (BNG), with the thinking of integrated and sustainable human settlements. The City of Cape Town envisioned these three affordable housing projects as enabling integration, being inclusionary, sustainable and addressing the growing backlog (City of Cape Town, 2012:8). Moreover, as revealed in Table 2.3, these case study settlements were visited on different occasions during the time of this research. Taking photos, and comparing the linkages and synergies of communities against that of the intended lay out plans, summarised against diagrams; raised questions, that were tested against theories. Through **participant observation**, the researcher was also able to indicate the degree of social cohesion that exists between neighbours, or within the community; as well as the tolerance towards each other.

Similarly, the researcher considered Birmingham, Alabama in terms of its affordable housing projects. With reference to the three local housing projects as **case studies**, the researcher made her selection based on literature reviews, as well as the validation of the respondents' recommendations. Based on these analyses, the

researcher determined to what extent these affordable housing projects are integrated and sustainable human settlements, as well as to what extent they contributed to changing the apartheid spatial landscape, as intended. It is based on these case study findings, literature reviews and interviews, that the researcher made recommendations for future affordable and inclusionary housing projects.

2.4.4 Understanding affordable housing in context of integrated and sustainable human settlements

Since BNG (2004:4) and UN Habitat II, much research had been done to understand what sustainable human settlements entail, how they should be planned, and how they unfold (UN Habitat 2013:5; Oberholzer & Burger, 2013:54). Through further studies which looked at addressing the basic needs and human rights of people, there was also a drive to look into the quality of life of inhabitants (Goss, Busgeeth & Le Roux, 2009:11; UN Habitat, 2016:10; Van der Merwe & Roelofse, 2013:12). Similarly, attention was also paid to conceptualise and understand the application of affordable housing (Mpehle, 2014:72; Khaki, 2009:61; Ganiyu, Fapohunda & Haldenwang, 2015:351).

However, in looking at similar research, similarities related to human settlements and affordable housing were unpacked and are depicted in Table 2.4. It is here that the researcher found commonalities in terms of the segments of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Refer to Figure 2.1 as well as paragraph 3.3). Some of these aspects are also contained in the broader concept of affordable housing. It is against these criteria that all the case studies were evaluated.

Table 2.4: Commonalities cutting across the understanding of integrated and sustainable human settlements

Source	Broad definition
UN	<p>The UN Commission on Human Settlements states, “Sustainable human settlement development ensures economic development, employment opportunities and social progress, in harmony with the environment.” Also, it incorporates the key principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (Agenda 21) and of the UN Conference on Environment and Development. The sustainability of human settlements entails:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • balanced and appropriate geographical distribution in keeping with national conditions; • promotion of economic and social development, human health and education; • conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components; and • maintenance of cultural diversity as well as air, water, forest, vegetation and soil qualities at standards sufficient to sustain human life and well-being for future generations.
Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (1976)	<p>“Human settlements mean the totality of the human community – whether city, town or village – with all the social, economic, environmental, spiritual and cultural elements that sustain it.”</p>
CSIR (year 2009)	<p>Mixed housing refers to developments that have a mix of building or unit types, a mix of tenure forms (ownership, rent-to-buy or rental units), mix of income groups (facilitated by affordable housing and market-rate housing in the same development) and a mix of land uses (residential, commercial, public-open space and business).</p>
HDA (year 2014)	<p>Following President Jacob Zuma’s proclamation in 2009 to change the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements, the focus shifted from housing being just a roof over people’s heads, to providing sustainable and integrated human settlements where people can work, pray, play and have access to amenities required for their day-today living:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • in agreement with policies • on well located land • and being well connected <p>The objective of integrated human settlements implies that the housing offering needs to have adequate access to services, amenities, transport services and economic services (Housing Development Agency, 2014:1).</p>
DoHS: BNG	<p>In the South African context, sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life are defined by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable; • access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity; • security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; and • access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance.
Du Plessis & Landman (2002)	<p>Sustainable human settlements are places such as villages, town, cities and their communities which enable inhabitants to live a way that promotes the principles of sustainable development and sustainability.</p>
Sustainable medium-density housing: A resource book (DAG)	<p>The pertinent factors being addressed is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • curb urban sprawl • densify • community cohesion and ownership • range of housing types and tenure alternatives • sustainable design • resident participation • vibrant environments • partnerships • forward planning

In summary, all the above-mentioned research contains aspects of (integrated and) sustainable human settlements, affordable housing and inclusionary housing. However, it is perceived that integration and quality of life contribute to sustainable

human settlements (CoGTA, 2016:60). It is here that CoGTA and Cross (2009:4) argue that in order to improve the quality of life for all South Africans, they need to have full access to all basic services, as well as multiple economic, cultural and social opportunities in urban areas. As noted in Chapter 1, the researcher used the BNG definition for integrated and sustainable human settlements, as it encapsulates all the intended aspects of the research.

2.5 Data collection and Analysis

All the **interview responses** and **focus group** discussions were transcribed and then captured as soon as the results from the interviews were captured. None were discarded or considered as insignificant or irrelevant. The responses from the South African respondents were tabulated, summarised and compared using diagrams. These themed results were interpreted and further tabulated to summarise findings. All of the cleaned respondents' feedback was assembled into diagrams, figures and tables. Furthermore, where the respondents chose not to respond, it was coded with NA (Not applicable) so that their non-responsiveness did not negatively affect the research, or skew the results and related interpretations. Pertinent remarks as made by the respondents (during the interviews, or during focus group discussions) were quoted. These remarks create the vibrancy of qualitative research, as stated earlier by Mason (2002:1).

South Africa has developed many **policies** since the demise of the Apartheid regime (Pieterse, 2007:2; Beall, Crankshaw & Parnell, 2000:281; Powell, 2012:12). The housing related policies were analysed against the respective discourses/timeframes. Pertinent hereto is to determine the intent (goal/vision) of each policy, how it was implemented and the success thereof. In the human settlements environment, much research was done on the effectiveness of the post-apartheid policies, and how the RDP housing products rather prolonged the Apartheid inhibitions. Also, although the spirit of these Acts had sound principles, vision and approaches, they create loopholes that stimulated new policy directives. In analysing these policies, the reader should be

mindful of how planning is ingrained through policy, and the impact the policy has to have on further planning implications (Dulchin, Gates & Williams, 2013:6; Onatu, 2012:68). By analysing the ranges of policies, the researcher could put forward some considerations to be made in relation to inclusionary and affordable housing, bringing a change to the Apartheid spatial landscape, through a town and regional planning lens.

2.6 Trustworthiness of research

As qualitative research adds to the richness of research, there still needs to be confidence in the data (Lincoln & Guba 1985:10). Pertinent hereto, the aspects of generalisation, internal validity, reliability and objectivity are considered. It is here that in analysing the data, the researcher ensured the trustworthiness thereof, as contained in Table 2.5 below.

Table 2.5: Addressing the trustworthiness of the data

	Definition	Treated/controlled during research
Credibility	According to Lincoln & Guba (1985:18), credibility means the concept of internal consistency, where the core issue is how we ensure rigour in the research process and the way we communicate to other people that we have done so.	<p><u>Continuous observation</u>: Through regular site visits, on different days and times, the researcher was able to attain the social cohesion, dynamics and interactions amongst the community members.</p> <p><u>Extended participation</u>: The researcher allowed for adequate time to learn and apply the culture of human settlement, as well as build trust amongst the respondents and focus groups.</p> <p>All of the respondents were professionals, and in accountable positions. The respondents speak</p>

		from an informed base, able to debate their position.
Transferability	<p>The degree to which the results of a research can apply or transfer beyond the bounds of the project (Shenton, 2004:67). Transferability implies that results of the research study can be applicable to similar situations or individuals.</p>	<p>This research was undertaken in the Cape Town, a metropole in the Western Cape province of South Africa. This will influence the selection of case studies as well as the selection of respondents.</p> <p>A wide range of housing, human settlement and planning organisations were considered for this research. The town and regional planning is a scarce skill, even in the Western Cape province.</p> <p>The timing of the data collection is critical. Although much of this was undertaken October to March (from late spring, summer to early autumn), the season has an impact on the people's behaviour and willingness to be involved, other than the critical times at university and end of calendar year syndrome.</p>
Dependability	<p>We can define dependability in qualitative research as the stability of data over time and over conditions (Shenton, 2004:67). Dependability can be compared to reliability in quantitative studies. In other words, dependability is an evaluation of the quality of the integrated processes of data collection, data analysis, and theory generation.</p>	<p>The interview schedule was tested with a colleague. It was found that it was too long, and some of the questions had to be shortened/restructured, or removed. This allowed the researcher to successfully complete such an interview within 45 minutes, but could also be done in a 35 minute window.</p> <p>In addition, the researcher ensured that the interviews were undertaken in an environment the respondent was comfortable with, for example their offices, a coffee shop, or a neutral place.</p> <p>During the first reiteration, the researcher was not able to engage with the focus groups, due to the</p>

		<p>sensitive time (prior to the local elections). The researcher tried again the second time, closer to the end of the research, to include those case study focus group discussions, to add value and depth to the research, other than the interviews.</p> <p>The completed questionnaire schedules are available and can be verified and scrutinised.</p>
<p>Confirmability</p>	<p>Confirmability in qualitative research means the degree to which the outcomes could be confirmed or corroborated by other people (Shenton, 2004:67 and Lincoln & Guba, 1985:27).</p>	<p>Throughout the study, the researcher documented her process and progress to the study. This not only enabled the replication of a similar study, but also to be accountable to the ethics and manner this research was conducted.</p> <p>The steps ensured the study outcomes are the result of the experiences and perceptions of the respondents, compared to that of the researcher. The group of records is the back office to the summaries and interpretation of the study. This includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transcripts and written notes of the interviews, including remarks concerning the respondent's conduct during the interview. These results were grouped according to themes, where it was interpreted to address the research questions. • Site visits to the case studies included remarks to the date of visit as well as critical observations made to people, condition of the settlement (rudimentary municipal services, play parks maintained, pollution,

		<p>condition of houses) people engaging with each other.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hand written records of the above were kept in file, and as the research progressed, the researcher made notes to each of the above aspects, as it could influence the research. <p>A schematic interpretation to the work plan for the study, can be seen in Annexure 6.</p>
--	--	--

2.7 Limitations

The researcher intended to conduct focus group discussions within each of the respective housing projects. The interview discussions were to obtain an understanding of their involvement in the project (from conceptualisation to community involvement), as well as inhabitants taking ownership of their community and houses. However, the intended focus group discussions did not occur due to the following reasons:

- The City officials were not available for an interview and were not prepared to be available on site for the focus group discussions. As an alternative, the researcher contacted the Councillors (telephonically) to arrange for the focus group discussions, and the success thereof is captured in Chapter 6.
- DAG was the only NGO that was available for this interview. Much of their inputs are included in Chapter 5.
- In terms of the Birmingham, Alabama interviews, the researcher was sent from pillar to post, with much time lagging in between responses. However, four respondents could share in their planning and affordable housing experience, and relate that to the South African housing environment. Much of the data is contained in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.8 Ethics

The interviews were **piloted** with a colleague to get a feel of how the flow of the interviews would go. Based on the pilot, it was estimated that they would take about 40 minutes. Some of the questions were then restructured or condensed to take a maximum of 30 minutes to complete, thereby accommodating the respondents' time. Furthermore, for this research to be successfully undertaken, it has been critical that the researcher maintained a high standard, as underpinned in the research ethics. Some crucial aspects are listed below, and the researcher has adhered to them:

- The researcher obtained consent to undertake the completion of the questionnaires and to conduct interviews. In this undertaking, the researcher allowed the respondents to choose whether they wanted to respond to all questions, should they feel confident in responding. The respondents were free to stop the interview at any time, or not to participate at all.
- The researcher used standardised questions, allowing for consistency with interview questions. An example of this interview schedule is attached to Annexure 1.
- Although the researcher is employed by the Western Cape Provincial Department of Human Settlements, she endeavoured to remain unbiased and not compromise the integrity of this research. She tried to maintain this throughout the research, including planning, data collection, and analysis. As the researcher was also the interviewer, she was able to limit bias by ensuring that she maintained a neutral stance (all respondents were treated the same, no familiarity was allowed, and the respondents were clear about the intent of the research) as well as asking many open-ended questions during the interviews.
- The respondents were at ease during the interviews and agreed that their names be made visible through this study.
- The researcher had sought to refrain from plagiarism, by giving credit to work done by other and similar researchers. Therefore, she ensured that she consistently cited those works properly.

- The researcher will not misuse privileged and sensitive information. In maintaining the intended confidentiality, the data acquired will only be used for the purposes of this research, to acquire the PhD degree, and the contributions it will make to the research field.
- Integrity of the data was maintained through raw data as well as secondary data that was acquired, and interpreted. The researcher ensured that she was meticulous in record-keeping, to make sure that accurate observations could lead to consistent findings, and that this research can be replicated elsewhere, gaining the same results.

In abiding to these research ethics, the researcher obtained approval from the UFS Ethics committee, which is attached as Annexure 2.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a description of the methodology for this study. The researcher presented her research method and the accompanying techniques to proceed with the qualitative research design, grounded in a phenomenological approach. She also presented her approach in coding the data, and how she analysed the raw data to be presented in an analytical format, ready to draw linkages and reasoning, to be able to substantiate or not her literature reviews. This research methodology was well accepted by the Ethics Committee, and from this base the study proceeds to the next chapter, which is the Literature review and Planning theory context, which will create the platform for the Findings and analysis in the chapter 4.

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter paid attention to the context of this research, and relating that to the research methodology. This section sets out the theoretical framework of the thesis. According to Lester (2005:458), a theoretical framework guides research activities, by using an established, coherent explanation of certain sorts of phenomena and relationships. Similarly, Eisenhart (1991:210) has described a conceptual framework as "a skeletal structure of *justification*, rather than a skeletal structure of *explanation*." It is hereto that this chapter will present an argument that the concepts chosen for investigation, and any anticipated relationships among them, will be appropriate and useful given the research problem under investigation (Lester, 2005:458). The researcher will present the theories, in relation to Apartheid settlements and how they address pertinent aspects to affordable housing, and sustainable urban planning.

Against the above-mentioned understanding, this chapter looks at some countries and how they progressed to plan and provide for affordable housing through inclusionary housing. In learning from their best practices, Cape Town has room to consider this avenue as a possible means to plan and provide for affordable housing. In observing other countries' progress, the researcher will present the platform for South Africa, tapping into the planning theories (Fainstein, 2000:452; 2000:10; Talen, 2006:168) as it illustrates how such concepts are coupled in understanding and communication of the subject matter.

Most particularly, this chapter presents the quest to the rights of the city for all citizens, in linking that with inclusionary and affordable housing. In as much as smart and new urbanism principles are well embedded in modern planning, it is the human aspects such as quality of life, diversity and participation that bring a balance to urban and

spatial planning (Watson, 2013:82). It is herein that South Africa must deal with the wicked problems or stubborn realities of post-Apartheid housing and the drive towards integrated and sustainable human settlements (Du Plessis, 2013:3).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the “knowledge” as it stands, on the subject, and to identify gaps in the research, based on the findings, remarks and recommendations made in this field. This entails investigating the Apartheid and post-Apartheid policies that further entrenched the Apartheid spatial landscape, despite their intentions to redress those settlements. Furthermore, it creates the platform for further research in this limited research topic in the South African context related to urban planning, affordable housing and inclusionary housing. However, the researcher also presents planning theory concepts, such as smart growth and new urbanism that find a balance with the rights to the city and quality of life, as these theories have been endorsed and have become international standards accepted as sustainable urban planning.

3.2 International views and progress on affordable housing to contribute to integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary settlements

In Chapter 2, the researcher argued that the Apartheid planning created segregated and fragmented settlements. To redress this, the researcher considers inclusionary housing as a means to provide affordable housing, so as to create integrated and sustainable human settlements. As such, each country has custom fit their inclusionary housing policy to their market, legislative requirements, and economic environment. Mah (2009:1) argues that inclusionary housing is a tool to help create mixed-income communities, and it has been used internationally as a method to increase the affordable housing stock, which will then also create an integrated and sustainable settlement. Even so, internationally, the current approaches are all well intended and necessary but still not sufficient in addressing the dire need for affordable housing (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:10). Some pertinent factors, such as political stability and visionary thinking, are critical to lead the way in how affordable housing

should be strategically positioned in their environment, planned for, and how it will be implemented. Furthermore, embedded in policies, affordable housing provision cuts across a variety of disciplines bringing along some challenges that require synchronisation, prioritisation and innovation (Patel, 2014:1). Affordable housing is a global opportunity that is real and relevant, with its own challenges (O'Neil, Volmert & Taylor, n.d.:3).

Inclusionary housing and inclusionary zoning are used interchangeably, and sometimes used loosely to either include mandatory or voluntary approaches, even informal agreements amongst stakeholders to the development. Noting the success and competing challenges, even up to court level, inclusionary zoning remains one of the successful pillars of an inclusionary housing programme (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:10).

The concept of inclusionary housing originated in the United States of America (USA) (US Department of Housing & Urban Development, 2015:15; Seitles, 1996:1). Throughout USA housing history, the focus was on Government providing free/public housing to the neediest. As noted earlier, although inclusionary housing and inclusionary zoning is used loosely in research and in the USA, it does provide for the low and moderate-income households to be included in the market-driven development (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2016:16). It is also synonymous with “fair deal” housing and public housing.

It is in the affordable housing arena that housing becomes more complex, and brings along additional challenges compared to low income housing provision. In this complexity, affordable housing is custom fitted to each country's needs (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:14). Pertinent hereto is ensuring that well located land is strategically used to bring the poorer people closer to a variety of land uses. Through accessibility to opportunities and ability to exercise choices, these households, gain options to choose between cheap (public) transportation modes. Critical in this, a range of income groups, age groups and income levels can live, work and play in one settlement, without suffering discrimination. Needless to say, it was essential that such affordable housing provision addresses inclusionary housing, and brings along a

greater sense of integration within settlements (South Africa Cities Network, 2014:125).

In this section, attention will be paid to discover what the first world countries (UK, USA, and Canada) and a third world country (India) have done to address their segregation (relevant to socio-economic or physical barriers, and planning) through housing. Significant hereto is to determine what systems and procedures they put in place to work towards integrated and sustainable human settlements, even if that lends itself to “the right to the city” or “new urbanism” principles. It is through these discussions, that the researcher will determine which of those best practices and lessons learnt South Africa can take forward, and implement in its context.

3.2.1 United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom (UK), public housing is often referred to by the British public as "council housing" and "council estates", based on the historical role of district and borough councils in running public housing (Lupton & Power, 2004:27). The Affordable Homes programme is one solution towards the government’s long-term economic plan, which envisaged the provision of affordable shelter as well as enabling people to get back into work.

The UK housing history under **Wilson's Labour government** (between 1964 to 1970), allowed for an accelerated pace of new buildings, which required further replacement and upgrades over time (Boland, 2014:775). Furthermore, the UK government encouraged home ownership and ensured the success of this policy, by introducing the Option Mortgage Scheme 1968, which enabled the low-income house buyers fit for subsidies.

From the 1970s, housing related NGOs have increasingly been operating in the social housing arena. As social housing became known as Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) and public housing from 1996, it then included both council and RSL housing. Through this standardisation process, rent was structured through the “rent

restructuring” policy in 2002, throughout England by 2012 (Prinsloo, 2008:76). It was during 1997-2010 that the Labour Government moved council housing away from local authority management, and transferred it to occupants through the Large Scale Voluntary Transfers (LSVT). However, not all stock could be transferred to the Housing Associations (HAs), as some were poorly maintained and cost too much to upgrade. In some local authority areas, the tenants rejected the transfer option (Prinsloo, 2008:76). It was after 2012 that the **Right to Buy** was introduced, resulting in the movement of some of the best stock from public tenanted to private owner occupation, adding further pressure on affordable housing needs. After some further restructuring, by 2012, Housing Associations are now referred to as “Private Registered Providers of Social Housing” (PRPs).

In the UK, each local municipality has a Housing Strategy to ensure that council houses are let fairly and fulfil the council's legal obligations; deal with people in need; and contribute to sustainability of housing estates, neighbourhood regeneration, and social inclusion. This is contrary to South Africa's housing dilemma as it is regarded as an “unfunded mandate” (Fiscal and Finance Commission, 2013:5).

National governments since the early 1990s have also encouraged "**mixed tenure**" in regeneration areas and in "new-build" housing estates, offering a range of ownership and rental options, with a view to engineering social harmony through including "social housing" and "**affordable housing**" options. It is argued that the evidence base for tenure mixing remains thin (Prinsloo, 2008:77). However, the Affordable Homes programme is a key part of the government's long-term economic plan. Understanding the evolutionary progress that UK made towards affordable housing, especially since 1964, it is evident that policy in itself is not sufficient to provide inclusionary housing. In moving towards a greater provision for affordable housing by the government, Evans & Hartwich (2005:39) argue that communities are eager to build their own houses, while maintaining the character of the settlement. This clear shift in the British culture of centrally-planned development – a system established by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act and embraced to this day by politicians of all parties – has resulted in a woeful shortage of affordable, desirable, high-quality housing. With the support of the Planning and Compensation Act of 1991, a codified “planning gain” (*alias* mandatory development zonings) are included in the

requirements for affordable housing. Also, the reforms of the English planning systems from 2001 onwards not only had implications to the town planning discipline, but also in addressing the cultural changes in the housing and built environment programmes at government and local municipal levels (Inch, 2010:16). The lesson learnt from the UK, throughout government, and the respective councils, is that a concerted effort had to be made to collaborate with the beneficiaries and the broader private sector, to make a commendable impact on their integrated human settlements.

3.2.2 Canada

Canada is one of the most desirable places for professionals to migrate to (United Nations, 2009:7). This brings along greater pressures, in not only the provision of shelter, but also affordable shelter for the broader housing market. Hence, the Canadian definition of middle-income housing affordability relates to the housing segment provided by the private sector and is not typically subsidised. This is contrasted with low-income housing, which is typically subsidised by government programmes (Cox, 2015:9). The term “affordable housing” is often used to denote low-income housing, which includes subsidised housing and social housing (Lee, 2016:10). The distinction between housing affordability (middle-income household affordability) and affordable housing (low-income household affordability) is not always clear.

As early as the 1950s, Canadian municipal governments began to play a greater role in developing and implementing policies regarding form and density of municipal housing in residential districts. Similarly, and of significance in Canada, is the amalgamation of local municipal city planners with that of the policy makers during the year 2004 (Miljan & Spicer, 2015:4). This brought along greater success stories, of successful projects with principles of sustainability being applied to (Cox, 2015:9). However, this restructuring created delays in the affordable housing supply due to land use regulations, which have further negative implications for policy makers (Green, Filipowicz, Lafleur & Herzog, 2016:10) and are in the process of being de-

amalgamated (Miljan & Spicer, 2015:4). As such, Canada's public housing consists of a block of purpose-built subsidised housing operated by a government agency, often simply referred to as community housing, with easier-to-manage town houses (Miljan & Spicer, 2015:4).

Similar to South Africa, Canada has had a middle-income housing affordability crisis (Cox & He, 2016:5). This is why the federal government of Canada announced in 2001 that it would help stimulate the creation of more affordable rental housing (UN, 2003:3). By 2004, 1.7 million Canadians had housing affordability issues. Thus, Canadian government public policies have intervened when affordability of housing is stressed to the point that home ownership becomes inaccessible even to individuals with full-time employment. The continuum of affordable housing in Canada includes markets for rental as well as ownership, emergency shelters for the homeless and institutional housing. Given this broad spectrum, the Canadian government is addressing the housing need beyond the income brackets, to include that of demographic, social and health needs. Subsequently, the federal, all provincial and territorial governments have agreed on an Affordable Housing Framework (AHF) to provide \$1.36 billion over five years for an affordable housing programme. However, the Affordable Housing Framework 2011–2014 announced by the federal government in July 2011, agreed that in order to improve "*access to affordable, sound, suitable and sustainable housing*", a wide range of solutions are required to respond to the diversity of affordable housing programme needs and priorities specific to each jurisdiction.

The funds made available under AHF, have been ring-fenced and inform the Investment in Affordable Housing (IAH), which is directed towards funding affordable housing at provincial and territorial (district) level. Although the federal government makes these funds available, the provincial and territorial contributions are also made to this fund, to collaboratively address the affordable housing challenges with the private and non-profit sectors. Hence, Miljan & Spicer (2015:4) notes that provinces and territories are reminded that it is their responsibility to design and deliver affordable housing programmes, but they will have flexibility in how to invest federal

funds (matched by provinces and territories) through programmes and initiatives, as long as the overall intended outcome is reached, which is "*to reduce the number of Canadians in housing need by improving access to affordable housing that is sound, suitable and sustainable. Initiatives under the Framework can include new construction, renovation, home-ownership assistance, rent supplements, shelter allowances, and accommodation for victims of family violence.*" The federal government provides guidance for municipal planning documents; which enable the certainty of project readiness for revitalisation, as per identified areas. In this undertaking, urban revitalisation within the urban neighbourhoods (inner-city) are based on sound principles of sustainability, which becomes critical. Also, through infill housing it brings along re-investment in inner-city neighbourhoods, inclusion of affordable housing in private housing developments to secure social mix, citizen participation as well as circulating transport systems (Cox, 2015:9).

Housing prices and construction costs have risen dramatically in Canada, as they have elsewhere in the world (Cox, 2015:1). Income levels in the upper quintile have increased exponentially while those in lower quintiles have remained stagnant (Miljan & Spicer, 2015:4). The ongoing rising inequality gap presents a significant challenge for Canadian households, who are "priced out of rental and ownership housing markets."

For the most part, Canadian public housing projects never acquired a bad image because they were better designed. On the one hand, much of Canada's affordable housing lies within the sphere of Private Public Partnership (PPP) – through a range of stakeholders, different funds are streamed towards a settlement to make it viable, sustainable and inclusive, ensuring that over the long term it is affordable. On the other hand, the early advocates of public housing in Canada managed to ensure that a mean-spirited "warehousing" of poor people at the lowest possible cost never replaced the social objectives of providing decent low-rent accommodation. As such, the large-scale projects, that were only directed towards housing the very poor, were harming both the residents and surrounding neighbourhoods. Smaller-scale projects,

developed and managed by local groups, including the residents themselves, were preferable for tenants and more acceptable to the communities being asked to accept them. Thus, Lee (2016:43) argues that affordable housing should enhance the city's neighbourhoods; it gives full meaning to the widely accepted term "complete communities".

In 2014, The New York Times reported that Canada had developed the most affluent middle class in the world (Cox & He, 2016:6). Canada has no slums to match the physical and social deterioration in the Global North and South inner cities. Also, the Canadian cities are not overwhelmed with citizens sleeping in shelters, streets or subways. Although there are homeless people in Canada, compared to the need for affordable housing, they are relatively low. The housing planners and policy developers of Canada agrees that it will require more than policy reforms to address the middle income affordability crisis in Canada (Cox & He, 2016:6).

3.2.3 India

Similar to South Africa, India has experienced rapid urbanisation. The years 1990-91 became the turning point for India in terms of economic reforms, where the new middle class emerged (Rai, 2012:420). Despite these economic reforms, India experienced challenges and a range of limitations on planning and provincial levels with its master planning, much related to integration of spatial planning, and the link between housing and transport beyond urban areas (Mahadevia, Joshi & Sharma, 2009:5). Shrey, Kandoi & Srivastava (n.d.:12) argue that much of this planning was focused on providing for the current need, without any long-term planning. Roy (2009:86) argues that India cannot plan its cities, and hence address all the challenges associated with urbanisation. This is eminent in the overcrowding and appalling living conditions that impact on the households' health, creating a greater resource burden to government (Firdaus & Achmad, 2013:499). Furthermore, given the shortage and under supply of housing, massed informal settlements are cleared to make way for offices and these

households are moved to high rise buildings, to not always well located or spacious units (Tipple & Speak, 2005: 338).

However, *Escale Responsable* (2010:16) argues that over the past five years, a concerted effort was made to address these challenges amongst Government, developers, policy makers as well as NGOs and professionals such as architects. Thus, to address this combination of developmental challenges, the Indian government decided to restructure urban planning by focusing on inclusionary housing. In the year 2013, the Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Yojana, drove a new process and initiative that had a pro-poor focus, especially for slum upgrading (Shrey, Kandoi & Srivastava, n.d.:11). Integrated urban planning linked with industrialisation and provision of affordable housing and public services was considered as a means to provide channels for social mobility, skills acquisition and consider demand to help broaden India's economic dynamism (City Alliance, 2014:35). Furthermore, this meant that a strategy could be developed to remove planning related constraints to affordable housing. In learning from other developed countries' best practices, this means that urban renewal and inclusionary housing required developers to build certain percentages of housing for Economic Weaker Sections (EWS) and Low-Income Group (LIG) segments; and developers to plan for affordable housing provision (McKinsley Global Institute, 2014:31; *Escale Responsable*, 2010:6; Rai, 2012:419). The urge to find a solution and create integrated and sustainable human settlements has become the driver for the Indian government as well as developers. Measures were put in place, such as minimum standards of habitation; provision of basic amenities; cost of the dwelling unit; and location of the house (McKinsley Global Institute, 2014:31) to ensure sustainable and affordable settlements are created.

India appears to be more advanced in providing inclusionary housing, especially for to mixed income developments (KZNPA Housing Portfolio Committee, 2016:17). It seems that due to the cross subsidisation to the mixed developments, it becomes affordable to the lower income households. Another benefit is that integration is achieved through providing relevant social amenities, commercial sites and other employment opportunities, schools, crèches and clinics.

It was estimated that in 2009–10, approximately 32% of the population was living below the poverty line, hence the huge demand for affordable housing. The shortfall in urban housing is estimated at 18 million units, which are largely concentrated in the economically weaker parts of India. Some developers are developing **low cost** and affordable housing for this population (McKinsley Global Institute, 2014:31).

It is, however, clear that the policy framework and regulations for affordable housing needs to be addressed (McKinsley Global Institute, 2014:31) because, as in the USA, they have an impact on the housing market (Firdaus & Achmad, 2013:499). Consequently, it has been proposed that the state moves away from Government subsidised housing, to rather consider incentives for housing developments. It is here that the implementation of inclusionary housing should provide for town planning zoning and broader policies that will lead to housing and human settlement reformation.

3.2.4 Remarks on international inclusionary and affordable housing

In view of the critique on current housing approaches, South Africa needs to divert its approach towards robust integrated and sustainable human settlements. In learning from other countries, it is evident that affordable housing in South Africa can succeed, not only to change the Apartheid spatial landscape, but also to address service delivery going hand in hand with quality of life in settlements. Thus, should South Africa want to address the symptoms of (post) Apartheid, and work towards integrated and sustainable human settlements, it is necessary that South Africa learn from other countries' best practices, and not continue with the old way of planning, hoping for better results.

In learning from the UK, the following are pertinent:

- Similar to the South African transfer of ownership challenges, there is a need to allow for rental options, as this notably gives the young professional persons the ease of mobility, creating choices and fluidity in the housing market.
- Currently, all the local municipal housing is (supposed to be) addressed in the municipal IDP. However, the municipal integrated planning over the five-year term is not sufficient and lacks forward planning.
- Urban planning, properly directed, is important (Rae, 2011:336). However, urban planning that is intended as a force for good cannot be justified if it decreases the quality of life of those households. In commenting on urban containment policy in the London area and its association with retarded housing affordability, *The Economist* characterised its consequences as “severe” (Cox, 2015:64).

Similarly, the following lessons could be learnt from Canada:

- It is interesting to note that Canada has no slums to match the physical and social deterioration in South African inner cities; nor are Canada's cities burdened by citizens sleeping in shelters, streets, and subways. This difference can be ascribed to the role of the Affordable Housing Framework with the commitment of all levels of government to implementing it. In South Africa, there is a lack of direction and focus on how affordable housing can provide for its citizens. It should be noted that the Canadian AHF is clear on its intent, market, and visionary solutions. However, as will be seen in Chapter 4, South Africa has many policies, with sound principles in place, yet, no clear plan on how to accomplish that vision, and thus make an impact on the impoverished South African settlements.
- What accounts for these differences? Put simply, Canada's governments -- federal, provincial, and local -- have made a commitment to assist those not served by the private housing marketplace. There is widespread agreement that the market cannot build affordable large-scale housing projects well, even if massive subsidies are handed to private firms.

- In South Africa, there is no flexibility in the use or allocation of the human settlement development grant (HSDG). Although the provincial government advises and assist local municipalities, there is no certainty that those conceptualisations, or the wishful identification of intended projects, will result in actual projects, delivering on affordable housing, and making a difference in the households' quality of life, or integrated and sustainable human settlements, as will be discovered in some of the case studies of Chapter 6.
- Affordable and inclusionary housing is an area that the South African housing provision market should investigate. Currently the National Housing Code is very prescriptive (in terms of housing programmes, as well as norms and standards). However, there is a need not only to plan based on household income, but also on other aspects of the community, as well as their projected future growth.

In learning from India, the following were observed, and are relevant:

- India has been creative in addressing their informal settlement housing need and challenges, by including a combination of housing programmes/instruments, that will address the communities' current need, but also allow for future expansion and population growth.
- Housing stock has an impact on long-term planning, that affects many generations into the future. Government should not only plan for current households, or heads of households with their dependents, but also allow for convertibility, flexibility to adjust over time, without much legal and planning implications for municipalities. In this, affordability should remain the critical aspect.
- For the past 20 years, South Africa's planning and housing provision in urban areas was largely focused on providing for the current need, due to the huge backlog. There is a need to undertake long-term planning more vigorously at all spheres of government in collaboration with communities and the private sector.

In acknowledging the lessons learnt from all the above countries, the researcher will build on these gaps, which will inform the policy reviews in Chapter 4, as well as the feed into the qualitative research findings of Chapter 5.

3.3 Inclusionary and affordable housing: Relevance to the urban theories

Taking cognisance of all the trends, challenges, as well as the concerted effort that is being made on an international level towards developing integrated and sustainable human settlements, researchers can ask: “what kind of housing should be considered or planned for, that lends itself to integrated and sustainable human settlements?”

Inclusionary housing is one of many options to create these integrated and sustainable human settlements.

International studies on inclusionary housing made the researcher question to what extent this housing programme also allows for integrated and sustainable human settlements. Monk (2016:1) argues that inclusionary zoning policies can either increase the share of affordable housing or break up the socio-economic and/or racial segregation of a city. Table 3.1 below notes the advantages against the disadvantages of providing affordable housing through inclusionary zoning.

Table 3.1: Advantages and disadvantages of affordable housing through inclusionary housing

Advantages	Disadvantages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthens communities: Inclusionary housing produces affordable homes and apartments for low and moderate-wage workers and households such as police officers, firefighters, and other public sector employees; seniors; young families; and social service professionals and service sector workers such as day care instructors, home health care aides, and security guards (Brunick, 2010:3). • Prompts market-driven, fiscally responsible solutions: Inclusionary housing harnesses the power of the market place to produce affordable homes and apartments without significant outlays of public subsidy. This preserves existing public revenues for other community needs, including housing programmes to serve extremely low-income families who are unlikely to be the main beneficiaries of an inclusionary housing program (Litman, 2016: 27) • Supports smart growth principles and protects against disinvestment: Inclusionary housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Shift of the Cost of Providing Affordable Housing to Other Groups in Society: Critics claim that inclusionary zoning changes the financial characteristics of real estate developments and reduces the saleable value of the development upon completion (Litman, 2016:27). • Breaking Up Pockets of the Poor: A lingering criticism of inclusionary zoning is that it “distills” the most upwardly mobile poor from central neighbourhoods and artificially transports the citizens who could do the most for reviving central city neighbourhoods to the suburbs (Burchell & Galley, 2000:8). • More Development/Induced Growth: Development would require a density bonus, thus producing an overall greater number of units outside the center because affordable housing would be provided at the developer’s expense (Burchell & Galley, 2000:9). • Urban upgrade, and regeneration can lead to gentrification over time. • Slow pace of development in the provision of affordable housing,

<p>contributes to smart growth and reinvestment in already developed areas by making it possible to produce affordable housing in the urban core and not only on the suburban fringe (Grant, 2009:12).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhances economic and racial integration: Inclusionary housing promotes economic and racial integration, which can lead to a host of positive social and economic outcomes such as improved schools, decreased crime, and reduced poverty, all of which have not only significant social benefits, but also significant fiscal benefits to city government (Reid, 2015:1). • Overcomes “Not In my Backyard Syndrome” (NIMBYism): Inclusionary housing helps to demonstrate that affordable housing can be successfully mixed with market-rate housing, thereby helping to overcome longstanding stereotypes (California Association of Realtors, 2016:1). 	<p>creates other negative side effects such as more people competing for the limited houses available, raise prices on market rate houses (Brunick, n.d.:2).</p>
---	--

In observing these benefits of inclusionary housing, as contained in Table 3.1 above, they are similar to that of integrated and sustainable human settlements. Similarly, Litman (2016:1) summarises other ways communities can be supported and encouraged to use affordable housing development, which will lead to integrated and sustainable human settlements. On the contrary, research has also proven that there

are negative effects in the provision of inclusionary housing. In comparison, communities can be evaluated against the advantages and disadvantages as listed in Table 3.2, noting their ability to further contribute to integrated and sustainable human settlements.

Table 3.2: Affordable housing options that lead to integrated and sustainable human settlements

Description	Advantages and Disadvantages	Most Appropriate Applications
Help homeowners maintain older housing stock	Can be a relatively inexpensive way to provide safe and affordable housing	Where there is an abundant supply of inexpensive but deteriorating housing stock
Government sponsored and subsidised housing	Serves special needs; tends to be costly, and generally cannot meet the total demand for lower-priced housing	To serve special housing needs, including workforce housing where development costs are very high, such as in successful and attractive cities
Encourage abundant private development on inexpensive, urban-fringe land	Can provide relatively inexpensive housing; Has high infrastructure and future transport costs, and so is not affordable overall	In cities where population growth justifies urban expansion, with planning to create complete and walkable new neighbourhoods along utility and transit corridors
Affordable housing mandates	Can create new affordable housing without government subsidy; Potential is generally modest, and unless housing demand is very strong will reduce total housing development, particularly middle-priced units	Only apply where housing demand is very strong to avoid reducing total development.
Remove unjustified restrictions and costs for urban infill	Tends to reduce the total costs of housing production, which increases total housing supply and allows markets to respond to demand; Impacts are unpredictable and may be slow; Infill development can impose costs and controversies	Apply wherever possible, and in conjunction with other strategies

Source: Litman, 2016:1

Through unpacking inclusionary and affordable housing, it becomes clear that there are no one size fits all approaches in providing for less segregated, or integrated settlements. As argued by Pendall, Treskon, Novara & Khare (2017:15), the causes and effects of segregation are complex, with many dynamics at play. As stated by the UN (2016:79), segregation is a proxy for the “social distance” between groups; that is, segregated minority populations who would benefit from spatial proximity to higher-income white groups, lack access to the quality schooling, safety and social connections that could lead to new employment opportunities.

3.3.1 Affordable housing linked to integrated and sustainable human settlements

Researchers have noted that for affordable housing to be successful, there is no one-size-fits-all, and a combination of the above-mentioned options should be applied (Monk, 2016:3; Aurand, 2010:1020). Furthermore, Brunick (n.d:2) records the benefits of affordable housing, having similar benefits as those principles of integrated and sustainable human settlements, as depicted in Figure 3.1 below. This built on the argument that affordable housing can contribute to integrated and sustainable human settlements, given the cross cutting dynamics as depicted in Figure 3.1.

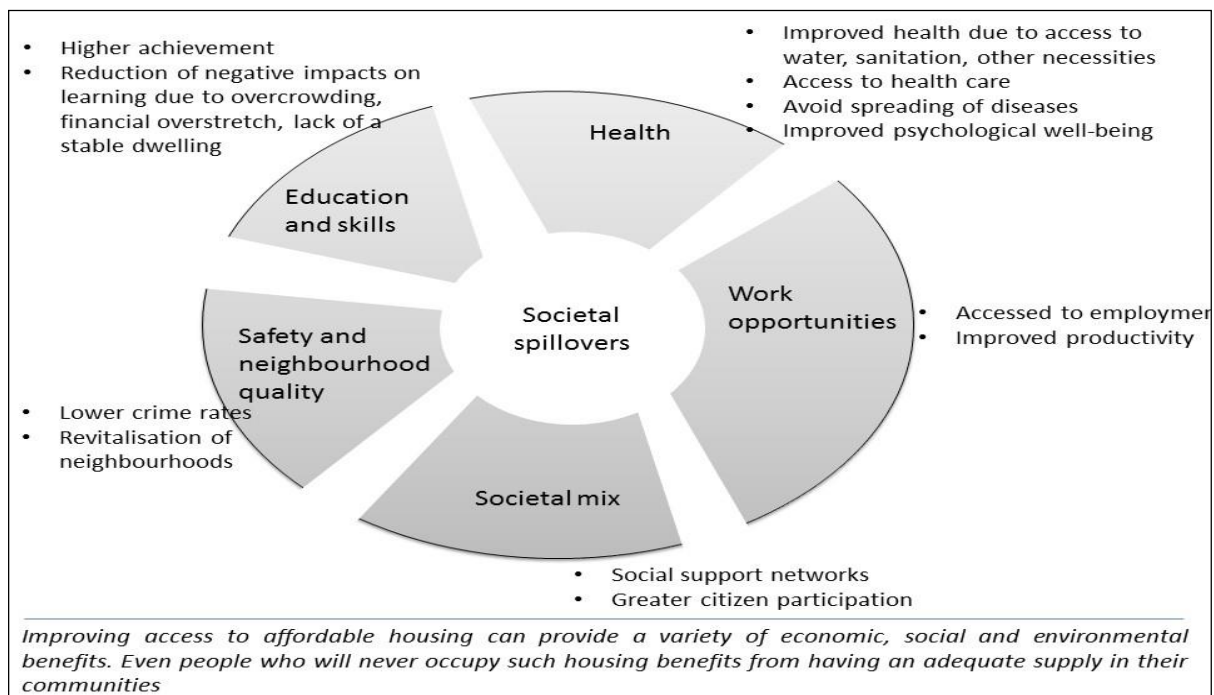


Figure 3.1: Aspects of affordable housing planning – linked to the principles of integrated and sustainable human settlements.

Source: Brunick (n.d:2)

It is in realising the consistencies and similarities that exist between the principles of affordable housing, inclusionary housing and integrated and sustainable human settlements; that the researcher noticed the principles of smart growth and new urbanism underpinning the principles of sustainable development (Brunick, n.d:2; Ikeda & Washington, 2015:15). These principles concurred with this research, and became the relevant theory to the affordable and inclusionary housing argument. However, the researcher also argues that all should have access to quality of life, and integration, in the city, as derived from the RSA Constitution’s Bill of Rights. Given the Apartheid history where segregation prevailed, the researcher questions these rights against urban and critical theories.

3.3.2 Sustainable urban planning paradigms: context to affordable housing

It has become critical to ensure settlements are developed in an integrated and sustainable manner to move beyond only providing for households, but to a level of community development and empowerment, as well as to that of a country (Greenberg, 2010:111; Ganiyu, Fapohunda & Haldenwang, 2015:351). In working towards more sustainable planning, the complex web of inter-relationships between sustainability and housing are addressed by policies for sustainable housing (South Africa Cities Network, 2014:5). **Sustainable housing** offers a spectrum of opportunities to promote economic development, environmental stewardship, quality of life and social equality, while mitigating against the risky convergence of the problems related to population growth, contentious urbanisation, slums, poverty, and infrastructure (Turok, 2014:4; UN Habitat, 2014a:10; World Economic Forum, 2015:10).

With reference to Figure 3.1, a range of policies should thus reflect a spectrum of underlying circumstances to achieve sustainability in housing development (along the four dimensions of sustainability – environmental, social, cultural and economic). This includes impacts on the environment, climate change, durability of homes, economic activities in housing and their links with the wider economy, cultural and social fabric of communities and impacts of housing on poverty alleviation, social development, and the quality of life (Okeke, 2014:12; Cross, 1996:5). Some of these policies and programmes are underpinned in declarations such as:

- Brundtland Declaration (Sustainable Development): The 1987 Brundtland Commission and its report (Our Common Future), which called for “*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs,*” placed the issue of sustainable development at the core of urban policy and planning concerns. The concept of sustainable development in turn gave rise to the ‘green agenda’

in planning and the subsequent development of governance methodologies such as Agenda 21 (Watson, 2009a:161).

- Vancouver Declaration, 1976 (Conference on Human Settlements): *“Noting that the condition of human settlements largely determines the quality of life, the improvement of which is a prerequisite for the full satisfaction of basic needs, such as employment, housing, health services, education and recreation, etc. Recognizing that the circumstances of life for vast numbers of people in human settlements are unacceptable, particularly in developing countries, and that, unless positive and concrete action is taken at national and international levels to find and implement solutions, these conditions are likely to be further aggravated”* (UN Habitat, 2016:2).
- Global Strategy for Shelter, 2000: *“Recognizing that, despite such efforts, more than one billion people have shelter unfit for human habitation, that this number will increase dramatically, partly as a result of population and urbanisation trends, and that determined measures must be taken aimed at profiting from these trends, rather than being penalized by them... Decides that the main objective of the Strategy is to facilitate adequate shelter for all by the year 2000, that the main focus should therefore be on improving the situation of the disadvantaged and the poor”* (UN, 1998:1).
- Habitat 2 Istanbul Declaration, 1996: *“endorse the universal goals of ensuring adequate shelter for all and making human settlements safer, healthier and more liveable, equitable, sustainable and productive. Our deliberations on the two major themes of the Conference – adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world – have been inspired by the Charter of the United Nations and are aimed at reaffirming existing and forging new partnerships for action at the international, national and local levels to improve our living environment”* (UN Habitat, 1996:1).

These declarations over the past 30 years have laid the foundation for the creation of (integrated and sustainable) human settlements. Through Habitat III, a “New Urban Agenda” was introduced (Croese, Cirolia & Graham, 2016:241; Satterthwaite & Dodman, 2016:2). However, despite the dedicated move towards more sustainable and liveable settlements, the grave challenges, such as rapid **urbanisation**, have become a factor to be planned for and considered (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:679). Urban planning decisions and strategic design thinking in the context of rapid urbanisation must take account of the need for social equity, mobility patterns, global competitiveness and energy-efficiency (World Economic Forum, 2015:14; Pflieger, Kaufmann, Pattaroni & Jemelin, 2009:1422). Thus, in the context of sustainable human settlements, **sustainable urbanisation** necessitates that cities generate better income and employment opportunities, and expand the necessary infrastructure for water and sanitation, energy, transportation, information and communications. Additionally they must guarantee equal access to services, lessen the number of people living in slums, and uphold the natural assets within the city and surrounding areas, and taking the increasing demand into consideration (StatsSA, 2014:3).

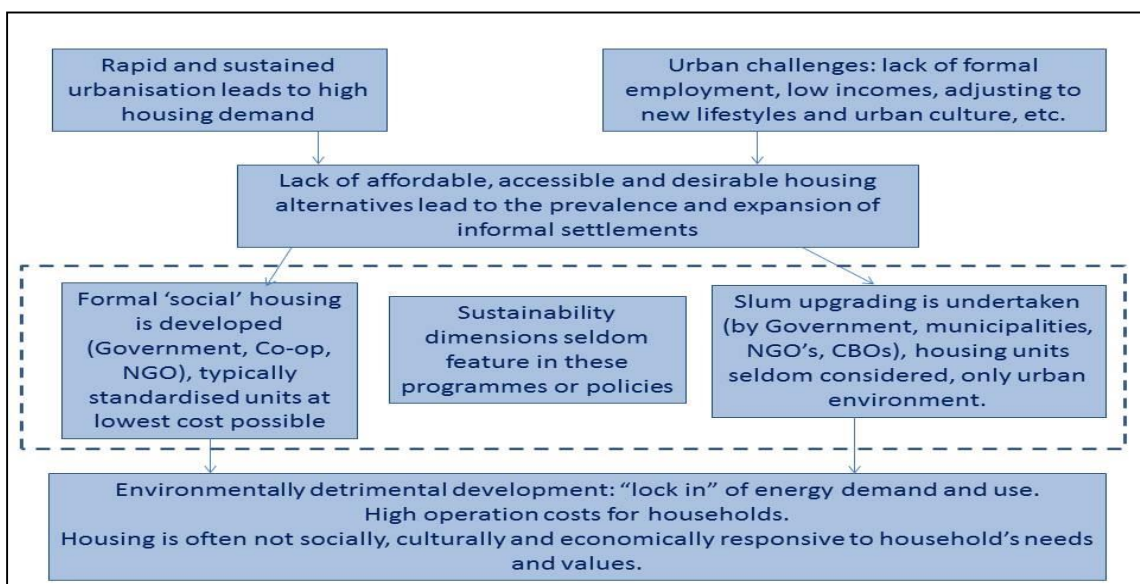


Figure 3.2: Sustainable housing in context of global challenges
 Source: UN-Habitat, 2011:10

Hence, in grappling with urbanisation and its related consequences, the question arises: “how do we plan for human settlements?” As the world wrestles with challenges of urbanisation, the solutions to housing shortages are becoming complicated, especially in providing for affordable housing (Clos, 2015:2). In the past few years, on

an international level, there have been ongoing debates on planning and the creation of resilient communities, which lend themselves towards integrated and sustainable human settlements (Muzondi, 2014:647; UN Habitat, 2014c:16; World Economic Forum, 2015:1). In addressing this debate, finding answers and being inspired by new ideas should produce resourceful means to create sustainable human settlements.

It is in understanding these glaring realities of the past decades, that many town planners debated the theoretical aspect of their discipline, questioning why people do what they do (Bengs, n.d.:3; Oranje, 2014:7). Friedmann (2003:8) remarks that there is no planning without a theory about how it ought to be practiced. It is here that planners argue that planning ought to be in, or reflect the general or public interest, clearly having a theory of planning in mind (Bengs, n.d.:3). Thus, advancing from this theoretical understanding of the South African human settlement challenges (as contained in chapter 1), the researcher acknowledges that the global north countries have progressed by decades ahead of the global south in finding workable solutions for their cities, despite their impeding challenges. They have found alternatives to deal with these challenges to make affordable housing work. Many of the alternatives stem from “smart growth” and “new urbanism” theories. Since about 1980, various types of urban planning movements have emerged, attempting to provide a physical model for the realisation of a sustainable city (Landman, 2004b:32). Relevant to this study, smart growth and new urbanism are the pertinent theories that will provide a framework for this study.

a. Smart growth

In 1970, urban and transportation planners began to promote the idea of compact communities and cities, when the concept, published by Peter Kalorpi, titled "urban village", based on public transport, walking and cycling instead of taking the car, was met with general acceptance (Kolbadi, Mohammadi & Namvar, 2015:210). However, the problem of acquiring the land, and the high costs of construction and widening of highways (including degradation of protected lands with historic value), caused some

organisations to raise other ideas for the designs of transport. Thus, the USA Environmental Protection Agency suggested "smart growth" as a way of reducing air pollution, as a way to manage these challenges.

In response to the industrial city of the early 20th century, planners firstly wanted to de-densify these congested areas (Hall, 2002:24; Forsyth & Crewe, 2009:416), preferably to see people living in suburban single-family homes, which they thought fostered health and morality relative to urban apartment living (Grant, 2009:14; Banister, 2008:8; Boelens, 2011:548). Today, urban planners often develop planning tools to limit congestion, to facilitate easy transportation, and to protect the environment by requiring cities to be more compact and walkable (Handy, 2002:148; CUTA, 2004:1; Coggins & Pieterse, 2015:304).

According to Ye, Mandpe & Meyer (2005:301), the term *smart growth* has been a part of the USA planning lexicon for more than a decade, and an ever-widening range of organisations have come forward to endorse smart growth principles. Kolbadi, Mohammadi & Namvar (2015:210) remarked that there is no single definition of smart growth. The only common point among the views is that smart growth is a development, which protects resuscitation of central cities and older suburbs, as well as developing public transport, walking and cycling, and preserves open spaces and agricultural lands (Ikeda & Washington, 2015:15; CUTA, 2004:1). Through many adoptions amongst many organisations within USA, while the terms themselves remain ill defined, the definitions of smart growth also assert the importance of developing a "sense of community" and promoting "liveability." (Staley, 2004:266).

According to various studies (Kolbadi et al., 2015:210; Daniels, 2001:272; Staley, 2004:273), smart growth has both advantages and disadvantages, which by using the solutions, can be adjusted. Ye et al. (2005:301) expand the general understanding of smart growth to note that it contains elements that promote equality, and increase the availability and variety of opportunities for transportation, which is ultimately in favour of low-income households (Song, 2005:262). Smart growth creates balance between

the environment and development, it enables growth, while at the same time the open spaces and vulnerable nature and water resources are protected (Daniels, 2001:272).

By applying zoning, new development is limited to certain areas (Daniels, 2001:272). Overall, the choice of smart growth in some countries and its successes, its use as a long-term strategy in organising the urban areas of countries, will have the desired results (Staley, 2004:273; Song, 2005:262). This will only happen if the various aspects are considered, and its principles and techniques occur according to the change in attitudes and lifestyles over time and due to spatial differences (Staley, 2004:273).

Smart growth has stimulated much critical debate. Sirr, Stewart & Kelly (2006:10) argue that the smart growth principle that promotes infill and brownfield development has applications in both older decentralised neighbourhoods and inner-city areas that have been abandoned. This principle helps to realise the full potential of existing underused infrastructure, such as rail tracks or old abandoned industrial sites, and the preservation of built heritage in a more efficient manner (Kushner, 2002:48). According to Theart (2002:20), smart growth also adds more regulations and promotes densification with no further outward growth (Daniels, 2001:277). Critics of smart growth concentrate on specific principles of smart growth, such as more compact design, and from this they conclude that smart growth plans solely for dense cities where everyone walks or used rail transport (Sirr, Stewart & Kelly, 2006:10). Advocates of smart growth suggest this is a selective way of treating the concept.

The adoption of **smart growth** is not always smooth or easy (Smart Growth Network, 2001:15). In many communities, initial attempts to deal with the negative effects of growth focused simplistically on limiting new development (Downs, 2007:376). As a result, tensions rose between efforts to manage growth and perceived threats to affordable housing (Refer to Table 3.3 below). The adoption of strict growth management policies, which aim to stop growth without making provision for new development, raises legitimate concerns about increasing housing costs because of a

diminishing supply of land and housing. Unfortunately, these situations have created a perception that smart growth and affordable housing are opposing forces. The smart growth housing orientation is intended to create “*opportunities for communities to slowly increase density without radically changing the landscape*” (Staley, 2004:266; Downs, 2005:371; Ellis, 2002:263; Sirm, Stewart & Kelly, 2006:4). In reality, smart growth represents an opportunity for communities to achieve more sustainable growth and improve affordable housing (Ikeda & Washington, 2015:15; Smart Growth Network, 2001:15; Downs, 2007:377, CUTA, 2004:2; Daniels, 2001:277).

The concept of smart growth within a South African context has been evaluated by Theart (2007:4), considering ways on how to implement smart growth principles in its cities to achieve sustainable living environments (Landman, 2004b:26). Noting the various contributions, it can make to a settlement in its totality, housing options, and their affordability, are another challenge to which there exists no clarity.

b. New Urbanism

Although the theory of New Urbanism started as a movement in the field of urban design in the USA in 1980 (Elshater, 2012:829; Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000:339), it has progressed and expanded to many other countries. As such, it enhances the pedestrian movement in neighbouring units (Newman & Kenworthy, 1996:8). New Urbanism recognises that physical planning ideals have a deeper meaning and significance than just interesting architecture and good site design (Talen, 2002:184). Also, it promotes narrow, pedestrian-oriented streets, accessible public space, small blocks and neighbourhoods containing a mix of land uses (Kushner, 2002:61). As such, New Urbanist theory is directed toward building a physical design that fosters a sense of community, and citizen participation in planning is a central component of that goal's achievement (Kushner, 2002:63). Indeed, new urbanists' definition of “neighbourhood” is one that includes the idea of diversity. Duany, Plater-Zyberk, and Speck (in Caberera & Najarian, 2013:429) argue that highly segregated communities “do not provide for the full range of society,” and that “true

neighbourhoods” are those that incorporate people from various races, classes, and ethnic groups.

Ikeda & Washington (2015:15), in agreement with Theart (2002:7), note the benefits of this form of urbanism as:

- a mix of compatible land uses;
- creating housing opportunities and choices for a range of household types, family sizes, and incomes;
- creating walkable neighbourhoods;
- fostering communities with a strong sense of place;
- preserving open space, farmland, natural beauty, historic buildings, and critical environmental areas (CUTA, 2004:1);
- providing a variety of transportation choices;
- making development decisions predictable, fair, and cost-effective;
- encouraging citizen and stakeholder participation in development decisions (Smart Growth Network, 2001:14);
- promoting greater public safety; and
- ensuring overall greater functionality and efficiency.

Talen (2002:180) argues that, through New Urbanism, one can create social equity. It is by providing access to public goods and services on an equitable basis (Newman & Kenworthy, 1996:9). Thus, there is a clear link between New Urbanism and the goal of accessibility. This link is provided through three interrelated principles: compactness, mix of housing units and improvements in transportation (Talen, 2002:180; Forsyth & Crewe, 2009:417). New Urbanism places emphasis on public space, a celebration of civic buildings, and the goal of beautification from the City Beautiful Movement (Kushner, 2002:68). Notable among its social goals is a commitment to provide “*a range of housing choices to serve people of diverse ages and income levels*” (Smith, 1999:55).

The thinking of New Urbanism is a previously unseen opportunity for the creation of **affordable housing** (Jacobs, 1993:5). Although not explicitly expressing a desire to create affordable housing, this implies that ideal New Urbanism communities are accessible to families and individuals at many income levels (Talen, 2006:237). As such, it provides an opportunity to rethink traditional development patterns, often by reviewing zoning and other restrictions that have resulted in economic segregation, and an overall lack of housing sufficiently affordable for all income levels. All of these are relevant to the South African context.

Critics of New Urbanism are relatively few, perhaps because the movement has been developer-driven, rather than originating from idealistic political, academic, or grassroots-based organisations (Kushner, 2002:62). The latter are nevertheless quickly getting on board the movement. Criticism is most frequently lodged by suburban subdivision advocates who fear reduced support for freeways, street widening, and parking expansion. Such critics also fear lowered property values caused by abandoning the suburban lifestyle for high-density urban communities (Forsyth & Crewe, 2009:416). Another wide-spread debate concerns the economic consequences of sprawl (Daniels, 2001:271).

Ellis (2002:1) notes that, despite the many debates and critiques against New Urbanism, it has remained a resilient, practical and well-founded alternative to conventional land development practices. New Urbanism will succeed in many suburbs, because there is strong market demand and aggressive developers motivated to produce New Urbanist developments (Kushner, 2002:73). The problem is that marketing and development constraints currently favour suburban or non-urban sites (Caberera & Najarian, 2013:438).

Table 3.3: Interpretation of concepts and theories relevant to affordable housing

	New Urbanism	Smart growth
Environmental	No principles dealing directly with environmental issues.	Preserve open space and critical environment areas. Strengthen and direct development towards existing communities.
Physical	Mixed land use. Compact neighbourhood. Eco-building.	Mixed land use. Adopt compact building patterns and efficient infrastructure design.
Mobility	Pedestrian and transit friendly neighbourhood. Fine network of interconnecting streets. Hierarchy of street networks.	Create walking neighbourhoods. Provide a variety of transport choices.
Social	Provide a civic building and public gathering places. Provide a range of parks. Create a range of housing types. Reinforce a safe and secure environment.	Encourage community and stakeholder collaboration. Create a range of housing opportunities and choices.
Psychological	Architecture and landscape should be linked to context. Preserve historic areas.	Foster distinctive, attractive communities with a sense of place.
Economical	No principles dealing directly with economic issues.	No principles dealing directly with economic issues.
Political	Control evolution.	Make development decisions predictable, fair and cost effective.

Source: Kushner, 2002:73

c. In summary: Sustainable urban planning responding to affordable housing

Since the introduction of sustainable development by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 (Jepson & Edwards, 2010:420), sustainability as a theoretical basis for human system development has been discussed extensively in and between different fields. The list below consists of land development principles that can be directly derived from the definition of sustainable development (El Din, Shalaby, Farouh & Elarine,

2012:87). Still, Jepson & Edwards (2010:421) believe that some of the 14 principles capture the essential land-use dimensions of sustainability that are applicable to all communities:

- 1) Jobs/housing balance: Proximity in terms of the crucial human system activities of living and working will increase productivity and efficiency, as well as reduce natural resource consumption and waste generation.
- 2) Spatial integration of employment and transportation: Facilitated access will improve systemic connectivity and increase productivity and efficiency among the residents of the human system.
- 3) Mixed land use: Increased proximity and diversity in terms of available interactive opportunities among the residents of a community will result in reduced transportation energy consumption and improved organisational efficiency.
- 4) Pedestrian access (walking and biking) to work and leisure: Increasing the amount of non-motorised transportation will reduce transportation energy consumption and protect against resource depletion and pollution, as well as having positive health impacts on the residents of a community.
- 5) Housing affordability (for all income groups): A lack of affordable housing for all income groups is a manifestation of a lack of empowerment among some residents of the community (as agents in a system). The provision of adequate housing for all income groups will help protect against social (systemic) dysfunction.
- 6) Housing diversity (of style, type and tenure): Sustainable systems are marked by diversity in terms of agents and interactions. A diverse housing stock will encourage interactions among people with more diversity of backgrounds, interests and skills.
- 7) Higher density residential development: Development that is more compact will reduce the development pressure on open space, which is an essential biological and agricultural resource necessary for preservation of both the local human community as well as the human system in general.
- 8) Resident involvement and empowerment: Increased organisational capacity among the residents of a neighbourhood increases the ability of that neighbourhood to identify and respond appropriately to changing conditions.

- 9) Social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering): Increased social contact among the residents of a community can improve the community's ability to organise and respond to changing conditions.
- 10) Sense of place: A sense of place increases attachment to place. This increases the propensity toward meaningful involvement and interaction, which improves a community's ability to organise and respond to changing conditions.
- 11) Inter-modal transportation connectivity: Increased connective efficiency will (a) create the opportunity for increased frequency of interactions among the residents of a community, and (b) reduce dependency on modes that are polluting and highly energy-consumptive.

Pertinent to number five, affordable housing becomes critical in the principles of sustainability. However, affordable housing cannot stand in isolation; it needs to be balanced in relation to the other thirteen aspects. In bringing all these principles into planning for settlements, a more sustainable, integrated settlement can be created.

The development approaches of smart growth and new urbanism have been directly associated with sustainable development. These two have become relatively mainstreamed in the USA in terms of both their recognition and their integration into development and planning goals and policies. Growth management and smart growth principles can result in historic and open space preservation, and new towns built with traditional neighbourhood design - complete with mixed uses. Smart growth and new urbanism advocate affordable housing as integral to their models of development (Ross, n.d.:10).

In combining the characteristics and the lessons learnt, the researcher noticed the principles of smart growth and New Urbanism cutting across the aspects of affordable housing. Some of the underlying principles of smart growth were commended by Brunick (2012:2) and Ikeda & Washington (2015:15). To the contrary, Kushner (2003:272), states that the goals of smart growth and New Urbanism are lofty, and in most American urban areas, unattainable. Yet the opportunity to create attractive alternative housing opportunities, designed around transit and walkable neighbourhoods in an efficient, higher density pattern throughout the region along

transit corridors, may be the only rational model to accommodate anticipated population growth, improve access to home ownership and affordable housing, and allow for an increasingly popular lifestyle.

Landman (2012:52) argues that South Africa has followed similar trends in sustainable urban planning, through mixed housing developments. Many of these mixed housing developments reflect new urbanism and smart growth principles. Contrary to existing fears, mixed housing projects do not embody the stereotypical image of European low-income public housing estates or “matchbox” low-income housing developments in South Africa. They often include vibrant environments that offer a range of on-site amenities and facilities, in close proximity to other urban facilities.

3.3.3 Critical urban theory: Balancing the housing need in South Africa

Contrary to the sustainable development approach, critical urban theory flows from the experience of practice in developing the potentials of existing urban society. Critical theory is intended to illuminate and inform the future course of such practice (Marcuse, 2009:186). Critical urban theory can provide some illumination on why this situation exists. It is concerned with the question of whose right to the city is involved, who are the potential actors, the “agents of change”, and what moves them to either propose or oppose basic change. Pertinent to this argument, this research moves from the basis of the right to the city, as well as quality of life. Many of these principles are endorsed in the international Human Rights of people (UN, 1948:2). In being mindful of these, only two theories will be discussed and will then be contextualised in respect of housing.

a. *Right to the City*

The father of the “right to the city” movement, Henri Lefebvre, conceived of the right as being “like a cry and a demand” by the inhabitants of the city, for sharing in the

fullness of urban life. The right to the city therefore requires meaningful access to the city and that which it offers (Isandla, 2011:3). The concept of “right to the city” has been used extensively by academics in a range of disciplines, in attempting to understand and challenge the structural inequalities prevalent in cities, as well as by various activist organisations aiming to upend these inequalities (Coggins & Pieterse, 2015:4). Also, over the past 30 years, “social exclusion” and “social inclusion” have increasingly been used in the literature on social policy (Cardo, 2014:11).

Lefebvre’s theory consists of claims of habitation (to inhabit the city, to use its spaces and share in its spoils), appropriation (to be present in, to experience and make use of the fullness of the city) and participation (to imagine the city and to constitute its form, meaning and operation, through the practices of daily life). In this, the basic needs of households are to be addressed (Coggin & Pieterse, 20011:3). Also, the right to the city is framed by a strong ethical base and (interlocking) actions to reduce inequality across the local, city, region, national and international scale (Isandla, 2011:6; Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:155).

The World Charter on the right to the city represents an important step towards elaborating the content of this package, although it arguably remains insufficiently precise and specific to function as blueprint for the legal articulation of the right. According to the World Charter, the right to the city is defined as *“the equitable usufruct of cities within the principles of sustainability, democracy, equity and social justice.”* (UN, 2005). It proposes an adequate standard of living and transcends the conventional legal division of rights into categories comprising civil and political rights and socioeconomic rights (Coggin & Pieterse, 2011:6).

Like most of the global South, the startling figures of poverty, burgeoning of informal settlements, the inability of government to always provide against the ever-growing expectations in South Africa, all channel this debate to enquire how urban planning can create better opportunities and access that will enable the creation of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:148). Migrants

anticipate that when they move to urban areas, they should have access to those services and facilities; in other words, they think that it is your right (Myers, 2011:103; Isandla, 2011:5). As Cape Town has experienced rapid urbanisation, it has been in the spotlight the past ten years. Looking at the plight of informal settlements, access to land and housing, the future of Table Mountain and surrounds, as well as the living conditions on the Cape flats and so on, many debates have occurred concerning the rights of these people (Donaldson, Du Plessis, Spocster & Massey, 2013:632; Samara, 2011:91; Brown-Luthango, Makanga & Smith, 2012:3; Oldfield, 2002:31). It is through this perception of “the right to the city” that the number of petitions, strikes and protests have been increasing over the past decade (Alexander & Kane-Berman, 2014:25). It is no longer only the poor and marginalised persons that contest for their rights, but also advocacy planners, heritage and environmental conservationists, as well as human rights fighters (Coggin & Pieterse, 2011:3) that engage about the ability of the city to address their needs.

According to Marcuse (2009:195), critical urban theory, dedicated to supporting a right to the city, needs to expose the common roots of the deprivation and discontent, and show the common nature of the demands and the aspirations of most of the people. A critical urban theory can develop the principles around which the deprived and the alienated can make common cause in pursuit of the right to the city.

b. Quality of life

Quality of life has been used in a wide range of contexts, including the fields of international development, healthcare, political science, built environment, education, recreation and leisure time, and social belonging (El Din, Shalaby, Farouh & Elaraine, 2013:87). However, urban quality of life is not a simple term that has a clear or agreed definition but is a complex concept, which might be defined differently by various disciplines. The term “urban quality of life” is not used to merely describe physical features but to describe all the relationships, dynamics, and relationships that exist

between those physical features. Thus, the definition of urban quality of life is systemic and complex rather than linear or elementary.

The concept “quality of life” is a concept, that triggered much interest recent years. However, it dates back to philosophers like Aristotle (384–322 BC) who wrote about “the good life”, “living well” and how public policy can help to nurture it (El Din, Shalaby, Farouh & Elaraine, 2013:87). Much later, in 1889, the term quality of life was used in a statement by Seth: “*we must not regard the mere quantity, but also the quality of ‘life’ which forms the moral end*” (El Din, et al. 2013:87). Quality of life has been the focus of many studies but consensus as to how it should be defined has not been reached.

Although different perceptions exist as to what the factors are that influence quality of life for a city’s citizens, the researcher found that walkability and access to (public) transport are pertinent to contribute to a better life, but also to make the settlement integrated for all (Duranton & Guerra, 2016:19; Shamsudin, Abu Hassan & Bilyamin, 2012:173). Bookman (n.d.:3) argues that quality of life for citizens is at best planned at neighbourhood scale. Here, sufficient and authentic attention will be given to housing, schools, commercial and retail facilities, employment, parks and recreation, health care and day care, as well as personal security and neighbourhood safety. In addressing these dimensions, consideration will be given to plan and provide for integrated and sustainable human settlements.

In as much it is argued that everyone should have a right to the city, residents’ quality of life within the urban areas has been questioned (UN Habitat, 2016:1). Fainstein (2000:452), in seeking to influence practice in a diverse world, debates three approaches as they relate to the conscious widespread improvement in the quality of human life, within the context of a global capitalist political economy. For cities and human settlements to sustainably maintain their economic, social and environmental health, they must be liveable (Okpala, 2009:25). To be liveable, cities must minimise negative economic, social and environmental externalities (UN Habitat, 2014a:54). To

minimise negative externalities, cities must effectively plan and manage their development and future expansion (UN Habitat, 2014:56). Urban planning therefore has a crucial role to play in realising sustainable urban development.

c. In summary: Critical urban theory responding to affordable housing

Issues of equity, inclusion, race, access and ownership remain unresolved in many communities around the world, even as we begin to address the challenges of affordability, climate change adaptation and resilience (UN Habitat, 2014c:28; Landman, 2004a:28). These humanistic approaches to plan and provide for individuals, households and communities are neatly encapsulated in the International Charter to Human Rights, and addressed through the Constitution of South Africa's Bill of Rights. However, since 1994, with the endorsement of post-Apartheid policies, many of these policies speak of equity and sought correction to the past's wrong doings (Landman, 2004a:28). This created a sense of entitlement, and housing thus became a highly politically sensitive issue. While the right to freedom of movement, safety, environmental protection and economic opportunity are recognised in both the South African Constitution and the International Declaration on Human Rights, the urban planning and enforcement mechanisms that protect or enable these rights are poorly understood. This is largely because these rights are exercised or denied collectively, not individually, and at various geographical scales across the city region (individual, house, property, neighbourhood, municipality and city region) (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:152).

Within the context of global urbanisation, the quest for access to housing, basic services and quality of life, are seen as a right (UN Habitat, 2016:2), especially as they are underpinned in the basic rights of the South African Constitution (Coggins & Pieterse, 2011:12). The Constitution's vision of a South Africa "belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." It strives *"to improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person. It is founded on values of human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms, non-*

racialism and non-sexism and accountability, responsiveness and openness” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996: preamble and founding values [§ 1]). This vision squares perfectly, with the right to the city’s foundational emphases on ideals of inclusion, participation, tolerance, respect for difference and belonging (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:154).

Moving from the Constitution, the National Development Plan (NDP)’s overriding goal is to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality through a virtuous cycle of economic growth and development. The NDP is anchored in the concept of social inclusion. By collectively remaking and reimagining South African cities in the pursuit of post-Apartheid urban citizenship, Coggins & Pieterse (2011:5) state that participating in the constitutionally envisaged transformation project happens.

Yet, in understanding the segregation and inequalities within, and of a city, these concepts become the desired ideal to plan for. It is in this understanding of the new urban agenda that South Africa’s post-apartheid cities are challenged in not only staying abreast with the global trends and issues, but also in thinking about and planning for settlements (National Planning Commission, 2011:24). One such option is affordable housing and inclusionary housing, to plan for those who have a right to the city, other than providing sustainable housing options.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented aspects of the planning theory that builds on the argument in Chapter 1 concerning the complexities and hybridity to planning in the post-apartheid landscape within the context of South Africa. In highlighting the key theoretical debates regarding the conceptualisation of concepts such as smart growth, new urbanism, right to the city and quality of life in understanding the sustainable urban planning paradigm, the researcher is concerned how these theoretical intricacies will

add to the current complexity of moving away from Apartheid planning and the Apartheid spatial landscape.

South African settlements remain deeply dysfunctional, and traces thereof can be seen in Cape Town: having characteristics of the first- and third world. It is the factors of the third world that outweigh the former, placing it firmly in the global South. As South Africa remains a divided society, inequality becomes the basis of complexities in dealing with South African post-Apartheid cities (National Planning Commission, 2011:26). It is with a broad understanding to these concepts, that they were contextualised against the South African conditions as well as the international position in terms of planning and development. Human rights *versus* sustainable development were played off, and it became evident that for a city to progress, both aspects (i.e. citizens' human rights and sustainable development) need to be addressed. While every South African resident has a right to the city, the delivery of basic services, and to be accessible to exercise their choice; the ability to exercise that choice, becomes challenging when weighing up the cost and its related implications to that household (Landman, 2004b:28), as discussed earlier.

Conversely, in understanding the dire need for the city's inhabitants to a quality of life, aspects related to sustainable development become critical. These should not only prioritise the social dimension, but also rather take cognisance of the economic and environmental aspects, so that development does not have a detriment effect on the economy or environment. The future of South African cities is competing against the current challenges, exacerbated by the limitations of funding, governance and the creative abilities of urban planning (Myers, 2011:102). In the context of integrated and sustainable human settlements, housing (access to shelter), basic services and infrastructure, as well as socio-economic facilities not only affect the quality of life of the urban citizenship, but also their rights (Coggins & Pieterse, 2011:19).

As Landman (2012:52) notes, some South African cities have implemented mixed development housing that also caters for affordable housing. With the diversity and

complexities of planning for the post-Apartheid cities, there is a need for society to contribute to affordable housing, as well as integrated and sustainable human settlements (Landman, 2004b:32). It is through integrated and sustainable human settlements that the researcher has built a case by introducing affordable housing to bring inclusion, equity, quality of life and sustainable settlements.

However, inclusionary housing programmes have high ideals in all the countries considered in this section, especially in strong housing markets. It is critical that South Africa consider some of these aims in moving forward to plan and deliver affordable housing that includes integrated and sustainable human settlements. As with the earlier mentioned countries, South Africa is in dire need of considering pro-active efforts to provide affordable housing for a broader housing market (Boustan, n.d.:319; Basolo, 2011). Although South Africa has taken some bold steps to provide for integrated and sustainable human settlements, the Apartheid spatial landscape prevails, and inclusion is less evident amongst settlements, despite all the good intentions. It is against this background that the next chapter is dedicated to present the findings, and have a discussion around them. This will, in turn, relate back to answering the research questions.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING AND PLANNING POLICIES

4.1 Introduction

Against the background of the previous chapters, the researcher presents her findings in relation to policies, which have an effect on human settlements, housing, the Apartheid- and urban planning, in this Chapter. Attention is also paid to international work as it relates to integrated and sustainable human settlements. This chapter as the legislative framework, will be one of the many contributors to the successful implementation of affordable housing. Through this analysis, the researcher will critique the current housing approaches, and draw conclusions that can pave the way for further findings and research, as contained in the closing chapter, Chapter 7.

4.2 Policy Review and critique of South African housing and planning

The conceptualisation of housing in South Africa has changed over time. Initially, it was viewed as a place of shelter, where households are formed, but during the past decades, it was viewed as an asset and more recently, there has been a shift towards a “right to housing” (City Alliance, 2014:10; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:686). The latter also pertains to the quality of life, living standards and economic growth. Furthermore, it creates a place of identity – in community – as a contributing factor to place making (Dayaratne, 2016:4). De Soto (2000:25) and Gulyani & Bassett (2007:491) believe that housing should be seen as an asset, enabling one to climb the ladder in becoming financially stable, better off, and moving up the economic ladder (Khuzwayo, 2014:13). Of all the elements that comprise cities, suburbs, and towns, housing is perhaps the most complex (Calavita & Mallach, 2010:15).

On a broader scale, housing is a dominant feature of the built environment, a consumptive good, an investment for building wealth, a driver of transportation patterns, a determinant of social interaction and achievement, and a symbol of familial connections and personal history (Pflieger, Kaufmann, Pattaroni & Jemelin, 2009:1422; Holden & Norland, 2005:2146; Kenworthy, 2006:69). As such, it has been argued many times that housing should not spearhead development, planning, or investments, but rather planning with a holistic approach for these (Turok, 2015:2).

The South African housing need is escalating, due to in-migration and natural growth, but also because the number of households is growing at almost double the rate of the population while the average household size is getting smaller (Turok, 2014:4). Simultaneously, there is the urgent demand for additional bulk infrastructure, with limited governmental grants available (Van Niekerk, Mans, Mantz, van Huyssteen, Beukes & Green, 2014:3). By not keeping abreast of these challenges, urban planning will be skewed and the detrimental effect thereof will be felt by the households and the local municipalities (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:33).

4.2.1 Planning in global South

Processes of global economic change have worsened income inequality and poverty in many cities, giving rise to growing job and residential informality and resulting pressures between imperatives of survival and of administration and regulation (Cross, 1996:5; UN Habitat, 2009:7; Harrison, 2006:325). This, together with continued high urbanisation rates, now largely in cities of the South, has meant a growing proportion of poor people in cities and increased competition for land (World Economic Forum, 2016:6). Moreover, this growth and concentration is occurring in contexts where local government capacity is weak, where corruption and clientelism in the planning system is frequent, and the ability to manage growth and deliver services equitably, is lacking (Watson, 2009a:163).

Weak and disjointed civil societies are unable to compensate for this. Thus, as the globalisation of economic relations restructures most cities and towns across the globe, the simultaneous, differentiated, encroachment of neo-liberal policy and planning is altering the roles and relationships between those involved in the development and management of cities (Watson, 2009b:2265; World Economic Forum, 2016:610). In this irregular process of reconfiguration, cities and towns in the Global South (and North) are becoming increasingly fragmented, while inequality and environmental degradation are continuing (Keeton, 2014:6; Watson, 2009b:2263; McCann, 2008:78).

Master planning is currently still the norm, and includes zoning and visions of urban modernism, evident in the **global South** (Todes, Karam, Klug & Malaza, 2010:414). As noted by Watson (2009b:2262) and Okpala (2009:4), post-colonial governments tend to reinforce and entrench colonial spatial plans and land management tools, sometimes in a more rigid form than the colonial governments. Similarly, some South African planning policies still trace back to British planning laws. Likewise, in India, and to a lesser extent, South Africa, master planning and zoning ordinances introduced under the British rule had been repealed against in terms of SPLUMA (Refer section 4.2.4).

Harrison (2006:327) and Watson (1998:337) remark that Johannesburg and Cape Town have been treated mainly as examples of divided and fragmented colonial/Apartheid cities, or as post-Apartheid cities that exhibit continuing inequalities and also new forms of social and spatial division (Keeton, 2014:1; Mead, 2016:4). As in many Southern cities, the occurrence of informal, peri-urban areas is now a dominant one, and these, along with spreading rural densification, prove particularly resistant to planning and servicing (McKinsley & Company, 2003:56; Pieterse, 2009:29). These forms of urban growth are moreover, vulnerable to environmental hazards and at the same time contribute to the worsening environmental crisis. Hence, the framework within which urban planning is expected to function (in all parts of the world, but particularly in cities in the global South) is very different from that which characterised the emergence of formal planning systems in the early 20th century

(Miraftab, 2009:44). A significant “mismatch” has emerged between the traditional role of planning as a means of land use control within defined administrative boundaries, and the nature, complexity and spatial “reach” of the activities, which use urban land (Staley, 2004:271).

Therefore, if planning is to change in the direction of becoming pro-poor and inclusive for the global South, a far better understanding will be required concerning the nature of this “interface” between institutionalised systems of land management and development, and the survival strategies of the poor (Harrison, 2006:333; Watson, 2009a:169; Miraftab, 2009:43). Some of these survival strategies lend themselves to informality. Parnell, Pieterse and Watson (2009:199) argue that by the year 2050, people’s living conditions will replicate that of poverty and informality. Building the institutions and systems to manage universally affordable water, housing, power and transport in cities presents a major area of conceptual and practical work for planners. It is at both neighbourhood and city scales that the traditional planning apparatus has most cogency in driving a universal rights-based agenda.

Yet in cities of the South, zoning, regulation, spatial planning and even participation have not been deployed to include or build citizenship or promote ecological integrity. Instead, degradation, informality, illegality and exclusion abound in the ghettos, and urban inequality and vulnerability have thrived in the global South (Blanco, Alberti, Olshansky, Chang, Wheeler, Randolph. & London, 2009:236; Cain, 2014:4; Watson, 2013:4). Hence, conflicts and divisions around economy, identity, race, religion, and the like shape the reality of diversity (Osborne & Rose, 1999:780). In Africa, these factors are compounded by a profound ambivalence towards urbanity and the reluctance of many leaders and governments to recognise the realities of city life in shaping the identity and politics of their subjects (Cain, 2014:2).

Many policies have been developed in South Africa for different purposes, but they did not always knit together or complement each other. This creates room for loopholes and contradictions, and thus, more policies are developed to address those gaps,

adding to the existing complexity. Through this chapter, it will become evident that the range of policies over different time frames has had little time to make an impact before the next policy or strategic direction has been formulated. This requires another shift in planning and implementation due to leadership wanting to make a mark (National Planning Commission, 2011:23). Furthermore, there has not always been adequate time to evaluate the effectiveness of some of the policies before a new strategic direction had been implemented.

In one such example, the overarching political administrations and national housing policies had general effects on the housing landscape over history. However, the Cape Flats are unique to Cape Town. These settlements were designed without character or sense of place, where they became the hub of gangsterism, violence, fear and brutalism: a place without hope (Van Graan, 2009:31). Hence, as asserted by Calavita and Mallach (2010:9) “*housing provision and land use are inextricably linked*”, but the ways in which they intersect vary in different contexts. McCarthy and Smith (1981:8) observe that until the 1980s, the study of urban land use and land use planning in South Africa was without theory. However, the past two decades have changed this situation dramatically (Community Law Centre, 2007:30).

4.2.2 Historical development of Apartheid landscape

One of the recurring themes of urban planning in South Africa lay in continual efforts to dictate (and often restrict) the pattern of black settlement in urban environments, beginning at least in the nineteenth century. Initially, and unlike other colonial settlements of the era such as Singapore, South African town layout did not make provision for housing each “ethnic” group in isolated districts (Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:17). The towns were conceived as primarily white places. While cheaper rented housing areas, at least in the Cape Colony, might tend to evidence a strong correlation between darker skin colour and lower incomes, the indigenous population, whose lack of money excluded them from the property market, were left to fend largely for themselves on the periphery of more formal settlements. Of course, this is assuming

they chose, or were they forced by circumstances to seek access to urban activities (Mabin & Smith, 1997:193).

The Stallard Commission itself took a broad view of urban planning, perhaps reflecting the environment of international local government opinion at the time:

Housing problems... are intimately connected with neglected town planning... The general objects of the town-planning scheme shall be so as to plot the development and reconstruction of the area, and particularly the part thereof directly affected by the scheme, as to secure the healthfulness, convenience, amenity, and commercial development of the area — to improve and develop the area to the best possible advantage” (Mabin & Smith, 1997:200).

a. Segregated settlements in South Africa

The argument of urban segregation and Apartheid has produced a considerable amount of literature over the past twenty years (Maylam, 1995:19; Marais, 2016:69; Okeke, 2014:24). Across a range of disciplines, it had been theorised and conceptualised, and even speculations and predictions were made into the post-Apartheid future. The overall picture that transpired was that urban segregation evolved over a long period in a rather chaotic, piecemeal way. It is against this background, the South African urban history has become highly interdisciplinary, mostly amongst the geographers, historians, and to a lesser extent, sociologists, anthropologists, town planners and architects. Through the cross-pollination of (case) studies, research proved that less industrialised centres and smaller towns were marginalised and being out performed by major cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban (Adebayo, 2010:6; Turok, 2013:170).

The theoretical foundation of planning in South Africa and Africa in general is largely based on the old British systems of planning (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:350; Okpala,

2009:4; Forbes, 2011:2). The aim of such planning was to control development and to provide for harmonious and orderly development (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:355), and to “control urban expansion and provide for slum clearance and renewal” in support of Apartheid policies (Mabin, 1991:8; Parnell, 1993:480). In addition, this type of planning has a strong physical planning focus (with limited focus on social, economic, environmental cultural aspects) and acts similarly to the English Town and Country Planning Act No. of 1932, which provided a new model for comprehensive physical planning.

From 1953 onwards, urban segregation and forced removals were implemented and it was regarded as a manner of serving capitalist interest by releasing prime land for business activities (Hamman & Horn, 2015:42). The material base of urban residential segregation was misleadingly equated with the imperatives of territorial segregation, a situation partially explained by the temporal fluke of massive industrialisation and the implementation of the 1913 Land Act. In terms of segregation, other acts since the Land Act of 1913 were passed. These are for example, the Land Use Planning Ordinance No. 18 of 1985 (Cape Province), the Rural Areas Act No. 9 of 1987, the Divisional Council Ordinance No. 15 of 1952, and the Black Communities Development Act No. 4 of 1984. These acts were mostly aimed at keeping races apart through buffers and segregation planning (Harrison & Todes, 2014:152). In keeping races separate, but equal in the manner they were planned and provided for, further entrenched segregation (Williams, 2000:167). The result was the suppression of any dynamics of urbanisation to the wider political and economic forces associated with policies of segregation that were more general (Dubow, 1989:57; Okpala, 2009:14).

The **Natives (Urban Areas) Act No. 21 of 1923** recommended and enabled residential segregation, but did not enforce it. Additionally, in cognisance of health having an impact on urban segregation, it should be noted that the Slums Act of 1934 was another measure that sought to implement residential segregation under the guise of public health care (Parnell, 1993:480). This was in effect envisioned to provide for the removal of black slum communities to create space for white working-class housing schemes and business development. The complexion of the slum population

by the 1930s had changed for reasons other than only the removal of Africans under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (Van Graan, 2009:32). The introduction of the Slums Act and sub-economic housing initiatives, which provided alternative accommodation for whites from the slums, confirms the high percentage of whites in the slums. While a large proportion of white, slum occupants lived in the racially integrated inner city, a notable percentage were to be found in the segregated suburban periphery as well (Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:591).

A few years later, the United Party who came into power during the 1940s brought along a controlled city council, increasingly dedicated to racial zoning and the destruction of uncontrolled settlement. Hence, the critical concurrence is that town planning in South Africa emerged at a time when the modernist movement in architecture and planning was at its peak and so was the demand for comprehensive segregation in South African cities (Okeke, 2014:24). These two powerful strands of thought fed on each other and came together particularly strongly during and immediately after the Second World War, in the context of massive growth of population and production in urban areas (Parnell & Mabin, 1995:55). A range of monopolies had a negative effect on the development of settlements. Thus, the provision of housing always fell very short of what was needed. One consequence of the housing shortage was the rapid growth of shack settlements, especially from the 1940s onwards (Mabin, 1992:35).

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it continued with segregation policies, created in some new named Apartheid policies. The **Group Areas Act of 1950** was one contributor to the many statutes enforcing urban segregation, but also stimulated segregation for many years thereafter. This Act enforced the segregation of the different races to specific areas within the urban region. It also restricted ownership and the occupation of land to a specific statutory group in each *Group Area*. This meant that Blacks (or other non-whites) could not own or occupy land in White areas. While the law was supposed to apply in converse, Government appropriated essentially land under Black ownership for use by Whites only. However, after 1950, urban planning emerged as a new and powerful, though ultimately massively

oppressive, way of approaching the problems of South African cities. Yet, Apartheid did not require a complete redefinition of urban problems, for its means built on the existing segregation manner of planning. Indeed, for many practitioners and planners who were deeply involved in its implementation, Apartheid proved to be a seductive way of seeing the city (Mabin, 1992:428; Berrisford, 2011b:259).

While the intertwining of zoning, race, and town and regional planning gathered pace, the scale of urban expansion in the fifties and sixties surpassed anything, which had heralded that period. Significant densification took place through high-rise residential and commercial buildings, but a hallmark of the period lay in a suburban boom. Every South African city, even those that had higher than usual density patterns (such as Cape Town) or those that experienced simultaneous high-rise growth (such as Johannesburg), experienced enormous low density spatial expansion (Mabin & Smith, 1997:207; Mead, 2016:4). By the early 1970s it was obvious that “*Apartheid mould[ed] profoundly the environment in which South African town planners work and the work they actually do*” (Mabin & Smith, 1997:208). Urban planning as an activity had come to mirror the divisions in society itself, and the profession could be divided into two distinct groupings.

One group worked mainly in the private sector or for “white” local authorities and presided over the vigorous activity in the land and property markets of South African cities (Mabin & Smith, 1997:211; Oranje, 2014:6). The rapid economic growth of the period had, after all, underpinned suburbanisation of the white middle classes, the emergence of central city skyscrapers, the introduction of freeways, decentralisation of retailing activities and growth of new industrial parks. The activities that busied these planners were like those being pursued by their professional counterparts in other national contexts, even if they occurred within the overall framework of Apartheid (Cilliers, Du Toit, Cilliers, Drewes & Retief, 2014:266). Thus, planners in this grouping saw themselves largely as technical built-environment professionals (Oranje, 2014:6).

The second grouping of planners worked largely for national or regional (provincial or “Bantustan”) government (or in the private sector in the service of these tiers). A major concern of planning at those scales dealt with planning for “black areas”, a process that had become increasingly centralised over time. However, in the fifties and sixties, the management and control of black townships was largely the responsibility of white local authorities (Mabin & Smith, 1997:212).

Through the late 1970s and early 1980s, the pace of urbanisation continued to accelerate. In 1986, the government released one of its most significant policy documents for decades, the White Paper on Urbanisation. This policy document effectively reversed years of anti-urban policy (Van Graan, 2009:35). Instead, a “positive” urbanisation strategy was embraced, which recognised that urbanisation was inevitable and could be used positively to enhance the quality of life of all South Africans (Mabin & Smith, 1997:212). The essence of the policy was the abandonment of influx control and the development of a strategy to ensure “orderly urbanisation” (Tlabela, Viljoen & Adams, 1995:5).

From 1980, on an international level, including South Africa, the processes of “unbundling” of infrastructure development through privatisation, corporatisation, and developer driven development have underpinned the creation of sprawling, fragmented and divided cities (Hendler & Wolfson, 2013:12; Todes, 2008:2). It was only in 1986 when the legislation of Abolition of Influx Control No. 68 of 1986 was abolished that blacks in South African cities were accepted in principle (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998:467). Thereafter, a strategy of planned orderly urbanisation was followed until the country entered its period of transition to democracy in the 1990s (Donaldson, 2001:1).

Late in 1989, President P W Botha fell ill. A palace revolution followed, and on 2 February 1990, President F. W. de Klerk launched South Africa into a period of transition towards political democracy (Mabin & Smith, 1997:214). Liberation movements, political parties and organisations were unbanned and the intention to

“negotiate” a future dispensation with all actors in South Africa was announced. Economic stagnation, international isolation, the growing dissatisfaction of the business community and war weariness all contributed to this change of course (Donaldson, 2001:1). Hence, De Klerk moved quickly to remove a range of discriminatory measures, many of which had direct relevance to urban planning. This included the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 208 of 1991 which repealed the Native Land Acts of 1913 and 1936; the Group Areas Act, and the Black Communities Development Act No. 41 of 1984, successor to the Natives Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923. Thereafter, planning could be freed from its commitment to racially divided space. An attempt was made to speed up land development through the Less Formal Township Establishment Act No. 113 of 1991 (Forbes, 2011:6).

Though the abolition of Apartheid, policies were just the starting point of working towards change, at that time, which was spurred on by accelerated migration that triggered the trajectory of growing land invasions, the burgeoning informal settlements and the mushroomed backyard dwellings in the cities (Musvoto, 2014:160; Du Plessis, 2015:3). In dealing with these migration challenges, the lack of proactive planning and provision of land for low-income settlements then, and now, often results in the poor occupying marginal, low-lying, poorly drained and environmentally fragile areas (Turok, 2012:19). These areas were not only unsafe, but also were not well provided for in terms of (becoming) integrated or sustainable human settlements.

b. Need for different approach to settlement planning

All through the 1990s, in grand ideals like “the rainbow nation” and “the African renaissance”, a sense of optimism fed off and fuelled the belief that the country, even the continent, was moving inextricably away from a dark past and toward an ever-brighter future (Musvoto, 2014:160). Since the democratic elections of April 1994, planning has itself inaugurated a new era of reconstruction (Berrisford, 2011b:259). Unification of Apartheid-divided local authorities and the creation of nine new provinces have introduced the construction of new planning departments, in which

concerns long divided (planning for housing, land use, towns and townships, cities and Bantustans) are combined, not always bringing about integration. Like the regimes, which heralded it, the implementers of Apartheid had established that the complexities of government and the complexities of interest configurations at local levels threatened to undermine their visions (Pieterse, 2009:10).

Urban reconstruction in post-Apartheid South Africa is a stimulating prospect, with new visions, far wider participation and a developmental perspective lacking in preceding planning (Harrison & Todes, 2015:150; Gallant, n.d.:2). However, as planners have embarked on their attempts to rebuild the cities in the image of a brave new democracy, over the past 20 years, numerous warning bells have been ringing from the wings of history. The late twentieth century course of urban development confronts the modernist notion of reconstruction with significant problems (Oranje, 2014:4; Pieterse, 2009:11).

Because South African cities and towns entered the 1990s with an Apartheid urban planning and development legacy (Harrison, 2014:7), urban planners and managers, and politicians responsible for urban development have been challenged to reverse the spatially segregated, highly fragmented and dispersed urban society (Turok, 2001:2450). Restructuring, transforming, reconstructing, and integrating separate and divided cities pose serious spatial planning challenges (Okpala, 2009:22; Albrechts, Healey & Kunzmann, 2003:115; World Economic Forum, 2015:45).

There are cases where Apartheid policies had tangled perfectly with modernist urban planning philosophies, including:

- that of separation and order to “the idea of progress and a belief in the power of rationality to overcome spatial chaos and disorder;”
- the notion that, to create a better world, control should be exercised by the state and its agents at virtually every level of society;
- the suppression of cultural and gender differences; and

- a belief in a homogenous public in whose interest the planner is empowered to act;

thus, new policies had to be devised to move unambiguously away from general urban planning to development planning principles (World Economic Forum, 2015:50; Berrisford, 2011b:258).

Apartheid planning over several decades systematically designed towns and cities that spatially separated races and classes (Berrisford, 2011a:211; Marais, 2016:70). Redressing Apartheid planning required a new and different way of thinking and planning in addition to providing housing (Cross, 1996:57), where housing had to lead in spatial and economic integration (Hamann & Horn, 2014:43). A range of policies and strategic documents were crafted, putting South Africa under an international spotlight, especially during the first five years after 1994. During this time, it was critical that a concerted effort was made to correct the imbalances (Prinsloo, 2008:15).

Should housing be the fulcrum to generate integrated and sustainable human settlements, then there is an urgent need to look wider, beyond the current housing programmes and approaches to planning. Efficient and effective urban planning and development with the suitable provision for the location, alignment and lay-out of roads and other transportation modal infrastructure, pedestrian walk-ways, sewage and drainage infrastructures, play grounds, sanitation, housing, parks, institutional and community service facilities, sports and recreational open spaces, and the like, are the basic frameworks. Indeed, these are *conditio sine qua non* on which any sustainable urban development and environmental management thereof could be based (Okpala, 2009:22; Pflieger, Kaufmann, Pattaroni & Jemelin, 2009:1422). Unless, and until, boundless efforts are made to advance the planning and effective implementation and planning for our cities and towns, the quest for sustainable functional and optimally productive human settlements would continue to be a forsaken expectation (Holden & Norland, 2005:2148). Thus, in pursuing the provision of integrated and sustainable human settlements, as housing practitioners and town planners, we need to realise that we are painting on an existing canvas, that of the Apartheid landscape, replete

with a complex array of physical, socioeconomic, and other challenges (Oberholzer & Burger, 2013:58).

Residential integration and in essence, racial desegregation, can be boosted by mixed-income residential developments through gradual downgrading (Lemanski, 2014:2945). In most cases, segregation is extended by the development of RDP houses on cheap vacant land. In most cases, these are located near low-income areas (Donaldson, 2001:8) and usually on the periphery. Mixed-income areas will, apart from the aforementioned areas, also be limited to proposed areas of downgrading. Areas of downgrading will appear on the periphery of the former white areas because that is where squatting and informal settlements are prone to proliferate (Massey, 2013:2).

c. Colonialism and dormitory suburbs

Many of the settlements South Africans see and live in today, are contrary to the optimistic sustainable human settlement ideal; instead they reflect the influences of **colonialism and Apartheid** (Samara, 2011:5; Okpala, 2009:11; Hindson, 1995:100; Wilkinson, 1998:220). They are complex, intricate and challenging to plan for. This was only the starting point, through political decisions that came into effect through “township” (in South Africa, the terms township and location usually refer to the often underdeveloped urban living areas that, from the late 19th century until the end of Apartheid, were reserved for non-white residents, namely black Africans, Coloureds and Indians) construction during the 1960s–1980s (Okpala, 2009:11). As such, townships became part of the new lexicon specifically during Apartheid years (1950-1976).

In the decade after the 1976 uprisings, attempts were made to “reform” the existing social structure, but still within the parameters of Apartheid thinking. Major changes not only included the substance of planning policy, but also changes in the types of issues planners addressed, with much greater involvement of the private sector.

However, through the late 1970s and early 1980s the velocity of urbanisation continued to quicken. The state drove a process to eliminate the shack settlements and continued to build enormous townships, as seen in Khayelitsha, Phillipi, Delft, and so on (Turok, 2012:28). These townships were numerous segregated public housing estates, usually on or beyond the urban periphery. Race groups were spatially segregated, with the poorest (mainly black and coloured) communities relegated to the urban edge, located furthest from jobs and urban services. The spatial pattern reflected not only extraordinary experiments of the Apartheid rule over five decades, but also earlier colonial rule (Findley & Ogbu, 2011:1).

Before 1994, Cape Town, like any other South African city, was characterised by legislated fragmentation: racial zoning, forced removals, institutional fragmentation and spatial segregation (Eva, 2002:3; Turok, 2016a:11). Segregation of residential areas, according to race and racially-based local authorities, were the main characteristic of this local spatial segregation; a segregation that fitted within the context of homelands, self-governing territories and restrictions on land and housing supply (Hamann & Horn, 2015:41; Samara, 2011:44). Cape Town remains geographically and socially separated (Seekings, 2010:4); despite the fact that undoing the spatial divides of apartheid has been the goal of the democratically elected government since 1994 (Fleming, 2015:4).

d. Apartheid planning

Apartheid planning covered a scenario of inequality and underdevelopment on a spatial prototype already marked by regional inequality in terms of access to resources and land, which had emerged in the colonial period (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:142; Toly, 2016:3). Thus, Apartheid city planning is discernible by several features, which, read in a historical context, could be interpreted as part of a segregationist residential policy (Okpala, 2009:11). Taken as a whole, however, they fall into a pattern that reveals a wider ideological intent (Frescura, 2000:1). With reference to Figure 4.2, these characteristics may be summarised as follows:

- The segregation of residential areas: Selected residential suburbs were set aside for the exclusive use of specific communities. This segregation not only took place along racial lines, but also was in some cases, extended to perceived "ethnic" groupings in the Black community itself. In the case of Black/White segregation, this was regulated by legislation, which controlled so-called "Group Areas", miscegenation and intermarriage between the races (Kay, 2004:2). Furthermore, the separation of "ethnic groups" was entrusted to White bureaucrats with little knowledge of anthropology, or empathy for indigenous value systems. Separation between White and non-White citizens was strictly enforced, often by brutal police action, whilst little attention appears to have been paid to residential mixing and integration within the non-White group (Watson & Harrison, 2010:56; Smith, 2017:16).
- Use of buffer zones: Group areas were separated by means of buffer zones, which were a minimum width of 100 m, but in some cases, could be as much as 250 m. In the case of some smaller municipalities, the mandatory buffer zones had a negative effect on the growth of White residential and business areas, leading these to openly ignore regulations promulgated under an ideology they officially espoused (Kay, 2004:2).
- Use of natural features: In many instances, planners were allowed to incorporate natural features or areas where construction was difficult, into their buffer zones. In Port-Elizabeth, the Swartkops estuary and its escarpment were used, and although future local governments may well seek to bridge the gap between Black and White residential areas, the existence of these buffers could well prove to be insurmountable obstacles (Frescura, 2000:1) and become a means to integrate segregated communities (Harrison & Todes, 2015:160).
- Industrial belts as buffer zones: Although buffer zones were used to create and reinforce racial segregation, this land was invariably retained under White municipal control and in many cases, was developed as industrial townships (Kay, 2004:2; Tlabela, Viljoen & Adams, 1995:10). Thus, although businesses in these areas employed workers from the nearby Black suburbs, their rates and taxes were paid to the White municipality under whose control they fell. The factories were therefore contributing to the tax base of the White

municipality, and subsidising its White infrastructure (Frescura, 2000:1; Maylam, 1995:21).

- Extended city planning: Black residential suburbs were invariably removed from the CBD, an obvious link with the colonial Segregated City (Geyer & Mohammed, 2015:2). The distance from the city centre varies from instance to instance. New Brighton, in Port Elizabeth for example, was established during colonial times on land immediately beyond the city boundaries. It was their intention to link it to the Witwatersrand by a high-speed railway system (yet not invented) that would have covered the distance in under two hours. Although the Johannesburg Council successfully blocked this proposal, the establishment of Kliptown and Nancefield in 1904 ultimately guided the location of Soweto to the southwest of Johannesburg (Frescura, 2000:1; Hamann & Horn, 2014:53).
- Extended road links: One of the most noticeable features of the Apartheid City is the wide spread of its residential suburbs linked by relatively long travel routes. An integrated city on the other hand, would probably have developed along more, compact lines (Frescura, 2000:1; Hamann & Horn, 2014:43).
- The planning of radial roadways and the provision of limited access to a residential area was not the invention of the architects of Apartheid, but is a salient feature of early mine-compound planning. This was pioneered in Kimberley in the 1880s as a measure to prevent the pilfering of diamonds, but it was refined on the Witwatersrand goldfields after the 1900s as a means of controlling the physical movement of workers (Frescura, 2000:1; Hamann & Horn, 2014:53).
- Social Infrastructure: The development of separate residential areas must also be read in the context of prevailing White political philosophy. Nationalist thinking perceived South Africa's Black citizens to be perpetually rural, and any access they might be accorded to an urban area was only temporary (Kay, 2004:2). Their homes were therefore a reflection of such impermanent status, and their suburbs were not permitted to develop features of any permanence (Frescura, 2000:1). For these reasons, social amenities were usually neither plentiful nor well equipped.

- Housing:** Residential stands were kept deliberately small, usually at less than 300 m², whilst the White equivalent was kept at 500-800 m² (Frescura, 2000:1). Black housing was small, poorly built, devoid of internal doors, ceilings and internal services (Hamann & Horn, 2014:53). Most housing stock consisted of the state-built NE 51/6 (Council houses/maisonettes), which was less than 50 m² in area. These were not sold, but were retained in government ownership and rented out (Frescura, 2000:1). Services were kept to a minimum, with rudimentary roads, water and sewage reticulation, and no provision was made for electricity or telephone services.

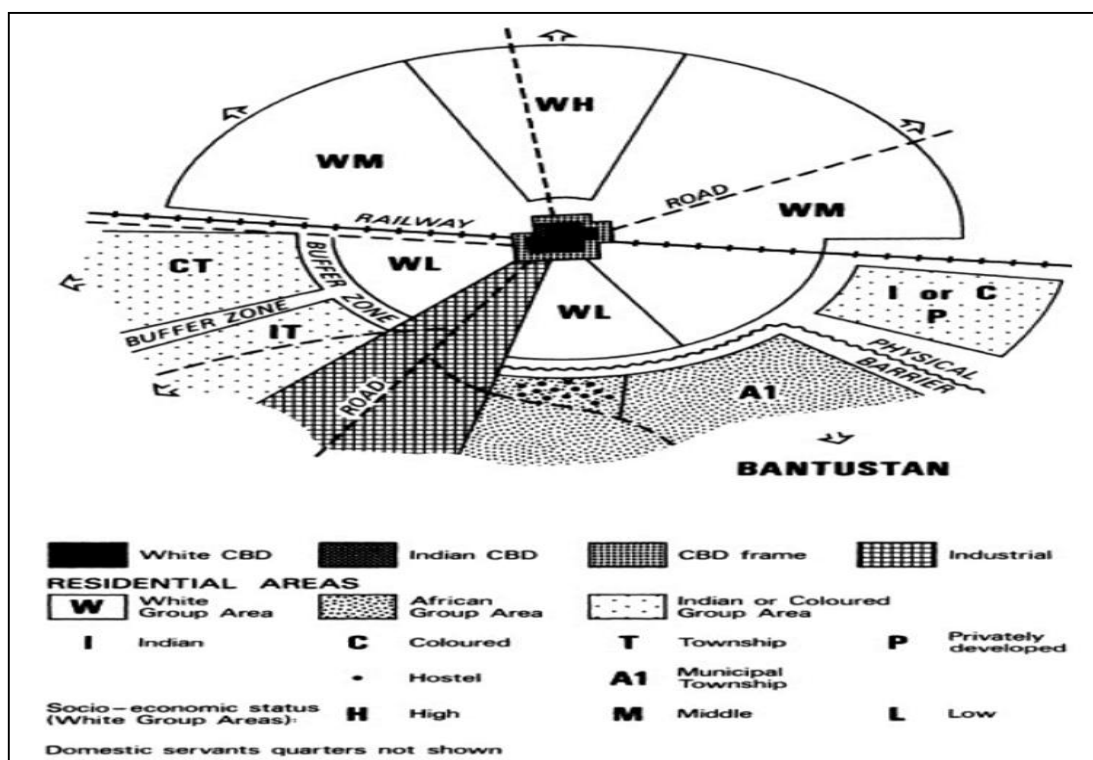


Figure 4.1: Spatial organisation of the segregation city
 Source: Davies (1981:61)

It has been noted in the case of South African cities that

“the fragmented urban systems generate enormous amounts of movements at great temporal and monetary cost to the individuals and societies alike and massively aggravate the main developmental issues of poverty, unemployment and inequality facing Southern African towns... The sprawling discontinuous pattern makes efficient and viable public transport impossible,

they waste scarce resources such as land, energy and finance to the degree that the urban settlements are becoming financially non-sustainable, and they are resulting in extensive environmental degradation in terms of landscape, vegetation, water, air and noise” (Okpala 2009 in Kay, 2004:2).

e. 1990s fragmented settlements

Among some of the perilous problems that **South Africa’s towns and cities encountered by the 1990s** were a few that implied the highly fragmented urban areas, regarding:

- a transposition of the natural relationship between density and distance (Hendler & Wolfson, 2013:12; Okeke, 2014:26);
- low density sprawl in the middle-class suburbs with regionalised economic activity and inner-city decline (Beavon, 2000:6; Du Plessis, 2015:2); and
- a progression of land invasion and informal settlement establishment and ineffectiveness in the use of resources such as energy and water (Presidency, 2013a:11; Kay, 2004:21).

During this time, annual housing provision grew exponentially (Mabin & Smith, 1997:206) and added additional pressure to plan differently. After 1994, the post-Apartheid government acknowledged the need to address the development challenges of the country as a whole, and those of the poorest areas in particular (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:142; Kay, 2004:21). In response to these deep-rooted disparities, the democratic state applied a range of interventions, such as empowering local governments, designs to create employment, addressing development backlogs, and creating opportunities for the historically disadvantaged (Presidency, 2013a:11) and has made the planning of inclusive, unrestricted and sustainable cities a priority (Kay, 2004:21).

f. Urbanisation affecting settlements

Despite the prohibition of free movement of certain racial groups, rapid **urbanisation** took place under Apartheid, and a change in the urban policy framework was initiated during the late 1980s (Tlabela, Viljoen & Adams, 1995:10; Smit, 2017:16) (refer to Figure 4.3). It is during this time that uprisings, political challenges and instability started to contest the (spatial) legacy of Apartheid (City Alliance, 2014:12). In retrospect, a concerted effort was made to craft policies to reintegrate the South African cities (Donaldson, 2001:1; Kay, 2004:21).

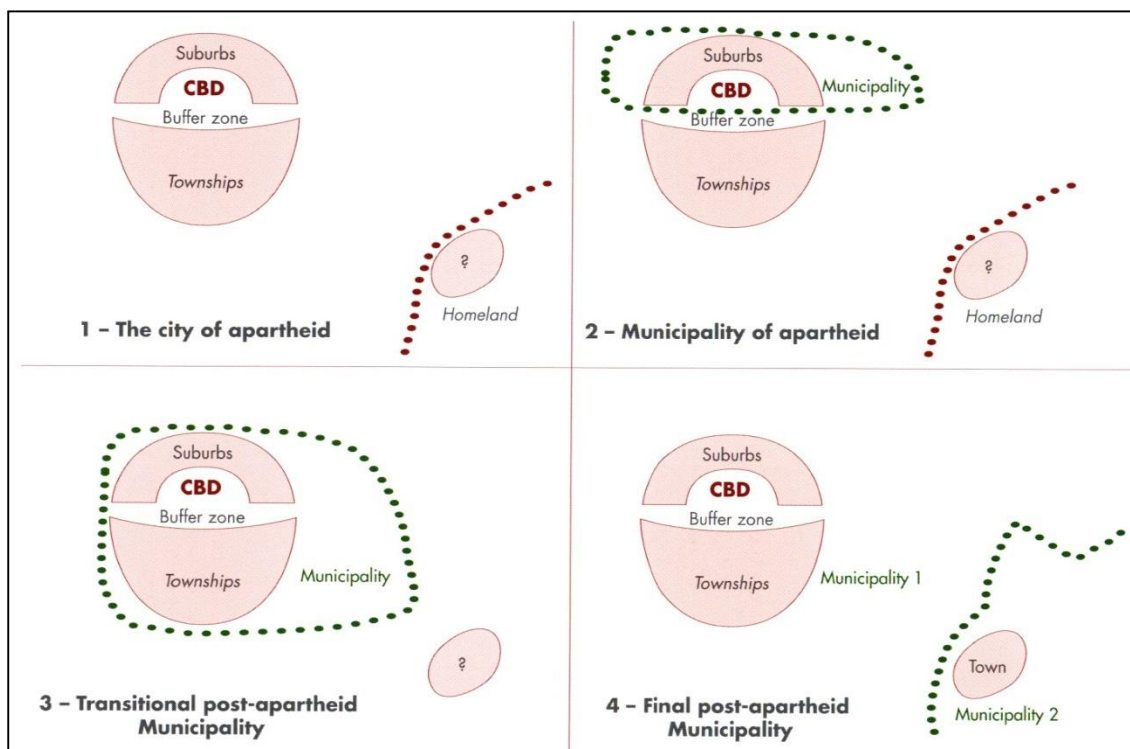


Figure 4.2: The Apartheid city and the succession of municipal systems
Source: Giraut (2005:50)

Early in the 1990s, 50 % of South Africa’s population resided in urban areas. By 2013, it was estimated that 63 % of South Africans live in the urban areas (Presidency, 2013b:67). According to the UN Habitat (2006:6), it was predicted that by the early 21st century, the world’s urban population would equal its rural population. Between 2005 and 2030, the world’s urban population is estimated to grow at almost twice the

rate of the world's total population, with international trends revealing that Asia and Africa will host the largest proportion of urban growth.

South Africa, like many other developing countries, is experiencing urbanisation in addition to a growing population through natural increase, in-migration, and smaller family units – all of which puts pressure on the current infrastructure and brings along a greater demand for housing, services, and infrastructure (Pottie, 2003:121; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2014:677). In line with the **global trends towards urbanisation**, South Africa's population has become functionally urbanised (Napier, 2005:3). This has resulted in a growing need validated by the housing backlog, with visible evidences of informal settlements, land invasions, and poor service delivery. Due to insufficient economic investment in settlements, and widespread poverty and unemployment, more and more beneficiaries as well as the greater population are dependent on government for housing (Cross, 1996:5; Musvoto, 2014:166). However, the housing subsidies, one of many governmental funding streams, have perpetuated undesirable spatial patterns, and consequently, do not contribute to restructuring the cities.

g. Post 1994 response to housing challenge

Over the past twenty years, 4 million government subsidised houses and over 875 000 serviced sites have been delivered, providing 12.5 million people with access to accommodation and an asset in South Africa (Presidency, 2013a:16). The Western Cape receives the second largest share of the Human Settlement Grant (HSDG) of all the provinces, and over the past ten years, it has spent more than its allocated budget. As the Western Cape Province geared itself to having a range of projects ready, it could spend over and above its allocation, sourcing from other provinces (like Eastern Cape and Northern Cape), who were unable to spend their allocation. Although Figure 4.3 demonstrates a move away from PLS (project linked subsidy used for the then-RDP houses), the integrated residential development programme (IRDP) is in fact the continuation of the typical matchbox houses on the periphery, and not the intended IRDP.

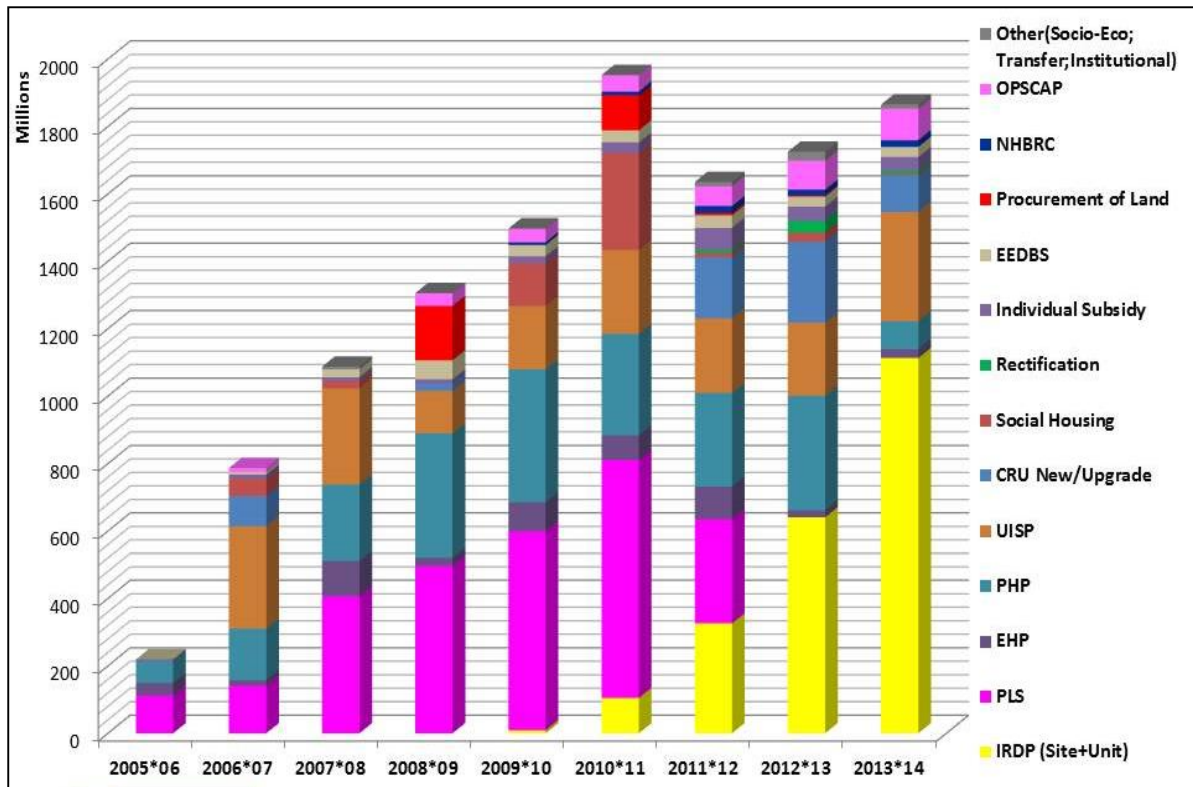


Figure 4.3: Number of houses delivered in the Western Cape

Source: NDoHS: Housing Delivery & Monitoring

On a national level, although there was a focused approach to delivering many houses, there was however, a steady decline in delivery experienced from 1998 onwards (Napier, 2005:7). This can be ascribed to:

- stalled projects because of inflation erosion;
- the inability of the People’s Housing Support Programme and the Social Housing programme to deliver to scale;
- high land costs in advantageous locations;
- high building costs in areas where land is more affordable but geological and topographical conditions are not ideal; and
- a general shortage of housing sector capacity and expertise, especially at municipal level, combined with an uncertainty on municipal willingness to take on the full management of housing subsidies (Ntenga, 2012:271).

Noting the above, two decades later in the **post-Apartheid era**, South African housing policies, subsidies and programmes strengthen rather than reduce the spatial inequalities of the Apartheid system (CoGTA, 2014:15; Lallo, 1999:45; Huchzermeyer, 2001:325; Wilkinson, 1998:226). Today, we still face the impact of Apartheid planning on settlement developments (Adebayo, 2010; Findley, 2011:12; Fleming, 2013:29; Pieterse, 2004a:56; Watson, 2009a:160). Most town planning and zoning schemes were developed with a racial schema (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:155) and continue to be used to preserve high property values in particular areas, thereby consciously excluding the poor (Kitchin & Ovens, 2008:6; Berrisford, 2011b:255). With these inequalities and persisting urban sprawl, the Apartheid landscape remains, with segregation, fragmentation and leapfrog development (Gibson, 2011:7; Tonkin, 2008:19; Pieterse, 2004a:15; Pieterse, 2009:1; Adebayo, 2010:3; Watson, 2009a:156).

Even today, redressing these implications of Apartheid planning will take the concerted and collaborative effort of public and private planners, channelling funds in an agreed fashion, and sequencing the development of settlements to reconstruct societies, supported by urban planning (Mabin & Smith, 1997:193; Talen, 2012:333). As such, Industrial Development Zones (IDZs), restructuring zones and economic corridors were some of the newer thinking and tools intended to rapidly induce some economic opportunities to dormant settlements, and thus stimulate internal change to these settlements (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:143). The most recent version of these concepts is now known as special economic zones (SEZ) (Nel & Rogerson, 2013:207).

Notwithstanding many spatial policies, the political transition and the demise of formal Apartheid planning, no major shifts have taken place in the South African spatial landscape (Nel & Rogerson, 2009:143; Calburn & Mbembe, n.d.:65). The lack of substantive change in the structure of the South African spatial economy was confirmed by the findings released in the analysis of the 2006 National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) (Presidency, 2006:25). The continuation of the negative inequalities, as described in the NSDP was interpreted by Nel and Rogerson (2009:152) as the consequence of various overlapping factors, including:

- geographical isolation or resource scarcity, affected by the global climate change;
- historically enforced processes of over concentration of people in marginal areas deprived of adequate facilities, resources and opportunities;
- changes in the economic fortunes of regions;
- exposure to the global economy; and
- the differential access to infrastructure and urban agglomerations.

4.2.3 Policy review and post-apartheid landscape

Since 1994, important socio-economic, demographic and policy adjustments have occurred, which necessitated the introduction of new, innovative and needs-oriented strategies to achieve the creation of sustainable human settlements. These strategies were based on Government's broader developmental goals, which are:

- broadening tenure options: beyond ownership to all for rental, sectional title, or first option to buy;
- building an integrated, non-racial society;
- unblocking delivery constraints;
- building capacity; and
- rooting out corruption (Turok, 2012:50).

Grounded on expertise gained through the implementation of the 1994 Housing White Paper (South Africa, 1994), it became clear to Government that there was a need to assimilate the existing policy framework and associated programmes with a significant policy shift, from the provision of housing only to the establishment of sustainable human settlements. The Comprehensive Plan was the response, which has been exuberantly implemented, and a number of policies, legal and institutional amendments have ensued (Department of Human Settlements, 2009a:15).

The Comprehensive Plan was Government's medium-term housing programme. It is based on the ideologies contained in the 1994 White Paper, such as providing citizens with a permanent residential structure with potable water, secure tenure, domestic energy and adequate sanitation facilities, supply, and outlines the strategies to achieve the Government's overall housing aim. The goal is to address the housing needs of the people, within the context of the broader socio-economic needs, resulting in sustainable human settlements.

The **shift towards sustainable human settlements** stimulated the debate regarding what is included in such a settlement, how is it defined, conceptualised and who should take the lead to create such settlements, amongst a range of researchers, academics, politicians, and governmental officials, to mention a few (Presidency, 2015:7). All interested and affected persons and disciplines amalgamated through the development of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy, wherein a common conceptualisation of sustainable human settlements was formulated. It is "*well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity*" (National Department of Human Settlements, 2005:10). However, Narsoo (2014:145) feels that there is still no consistency in the conceptualisation of sustainable human settlements.

Despite the revelations made through the BNG and related housing, human settlements, spatial planning documents, the delivery of houses as structures, continued in the same manner as during the Apartheid, and early post-Apartheid era (Pieterse, 2009:13; Presidency, 2015:23). This led to numerous structures on the edge of the town, essentially dormitory townships and settlements, remote and far from work and recreation, and continued silo planning amongst the three spheres of Government (Pieterse, 2009:13; Lurie, 2013:55). All of these symptoms add to incoherent, inconsistent and *ad hoc* planning and delivery/implementation of settlements (Cilliers et al., 2014:264; Mead, 2016:2).

To move beyond addressing the symptoms of Apartheid, to redressing the actual systematic challenges of planning will take a concerted effort, with many stakeholders, who each need to contribute their part (Oldfield, 2002:29; Patel, Greyling, Parnell & Pirie, 2016:188). Hence, to undertake the continuous transformation of settlements while they are still contained in a post-Apartheid environment, will require a change in the discourse of planning, and proactively planning society, in order to restructure the divide (Harrison, Todes & Watson, 2008:25). Research shows that the current spatial planning and land use management system in South Africa has not fundamentally reformed its spatial patterns since Apartheid (Nel, 2016:89; Dewar & Kiepiel, 2012:31). Given the dysfunctional land use system, the state is further burdened with limited capacity and inefficiencies in providing land to the poor (Parnell, & Pieterse, 2010:48). However, the Presidency (2013:16) argues that there has been good progress in terms of racial integration of cities and towns, but more needs to be done to reverse Apartheid urban spatial development patterns and to provide more affordable housing closer to places of work (Okeke, 2014:26).

South Africa's land and housing market has successfully omitted the country's poorest citizens due to high land and property costs, and the inability of many poor people to obtain affordable credit. This means that many of the state's urban settlement interventions and other **affordable housing** projects remain on the peripheries of cities (where lower land costs prevail), impacting on the spending patterns of their households, due to commuting costs (Presidency, 2015:30).

While great strides have been made in re-crafting policy towards better functioning and more integrated human settlements, government needs to further increase its efforts to work with other stakeholders to overcome existing spatial patterns that continue to divide society (Patel, Greyling, Parnell & Pirie, 2016:192). This includes incentivising the private sector to service more of those lower down in the market in better-located areas. Thus, affordable housing is commonly considered on a cost basis, while environmental and social issues (including people's preferences, lifestyles, and cultural aspirations), as well as economic impacts are addressed separately or totally ignored (Laven, 2014:1). Planned and built within an integrated sustainability framework, housing will not only be more accessible to low-income households, but will also respond to their diverse social and cultural needs and will

have multiple positive outcomes for people's physical and mental health and safety, for the economy and for the built and natural environments (Ahmed, 2015:5).

Evidence from several case studies in South African cities indicates that it may not be necessary to invest vast amounts of money to obtain extensive benefits in terms of integration (Basolo, 2011:v; Parnell & Mabin, 1995:44; Watson, 2013:15). It was however noted that although many interventions are directed towards addressing integration, it remains a multifaceted issue and does not always lead to social inclusion. However, it is argued that there have been cases where the poor have been successful in accessing well located urban land through their own initiative, private developers or lobbies, or through government action, often at local level (Napier, Berrisford, Kihato, McGaffin & Royston, 2013:94; Watson, 2014:14). Poor people will always seek access to the city due to their economic circumstances (Pieterse, 2010:17). If this is not facilitated by the city, it will still happen, even illegally. Thus, if the city fails to act, people are likely to be exploited by unscrupulous practitioners and made more vulnerable (Kitchin & Ovens, 2008:6).

Narsoo (South African Cities Network, 2014:195) notes that the repercussions of moving from delivering houses to developing sustainable human settlements, have to be properly addressed because of their intense impact on government planning regimes, project implementation, fiscal and financial arrangements, programme development, and institutional and personnel capacities. It is in this continuum that discrepancies in the understanding of sustainable human settlements exist, because such a broad concept required a fundamental shift in government practice and capacity.

In moving forward, it is evident **more should be done**. Researchers profess that South Africa needs to do more to redress the imbalances, fragmentation, sporadic and leapfrog developments, as little has been achieved the past two decades (Todes, 2008:12; Turok, 2001:2350). The common recommendations include a consideration towards a single residential housing market financed by government and other

organisations, developing on well-located land, addressing backyard shacks and providing incentives for upgrading informal settlements to acceptable standards (Presidency, 2013a:8), to mention a few. To move forward on the aforementioned recommendations, it is critical that role players and disciplines, including architects, politicians, engineers and town planners, plan collectively with other social disciplines to redress the Apartheid landscape. However, as town planners, we need to acknowledge that housing problems are intimately connected with neglected town planning practices (Mabin & Smith, 1997:200).

Housing programmes and town planning legislation are rigid, allowing very little room for innovative and creative thinking and application. It is in both these arenas that the apartheid influence is still evident, and will take a few generations to be eliminated (UN Habitat, 2014b:56). Based on the USA's segregation experiences and India's challenges, it is assumed that it may take a minimum of 50 years (even with a very proactive approach to planning, housing provision and related investments) to build more integrated, more sustainable and inclusive settlements. However, in the Western world, it has been noted that to develop a town takes decades (generations), especially if it is undertaken to the communities' satisfaction. In saying this, how much more time will it take to (re)develop settlements that no longer reflect Apartheid planning (Mabin & Smith, 1997:195)? To bridge the gap in segregated planning, and addressing poverty pockets in townships (Cross, 1996:5; Massey, 2013:2), Tonkin (2008:184) concludes that inclusionary housing plays a vital role in addressing the Apartheid spatial planning.

Since the early 1990s, with the repeal of the Land Act No. 27 of 1913, the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, and the various pieces of legislation that prescribed urban land use for defined population groups, the legal framework for a single land development market was established (Hendler & Wolfson, 2013:12; Kay, 2004:9). Proponents of deregulation and privatisation, unlike the urban social movements, which favoured a form of social regulation, argued that this was the most effective and efficient way to rectify past inefficiencies and inequities in the way our cities functioned (Basolo, 2011:v). However, on the one hand, the sprawling, modern developed areas and on

the other hand, many underdeveloped areas continue to exist in the current deregulated urban land market.

The political transition in 1994 paved the way for the development of a range of new planning and development policies to address the imbalances of the past and encourage integration and socio-economic upliftment in South African cities (Croese, Cirolia & Graham, 2016:239). Integration and development became key concepts in the new policies and set out a new role for the different spheres of government (Landman, 2004a:7). Post-apartheid planning and design face two major challenges concerning spatial transformation of South African cities:

- integration of and within cities, and
- developing previously disadvantaged areas to the same extent as previously white areas, from infrastructure investment, housing delivery and development of well-functioning public facilities to providing effective service delivery.

a. *The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development (RDP) of 1994*

After the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela in 1994, the new South African government embarked on a massive reconstruction process aimed at social integration and economic growth (Kay, 2004:8). This was based on a White Paper – the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that had formed part of the African National Congress (ANC)’s election manifesto. This White Paper was envisaged as the policy framework for integrated and coherent socioeconomic progress, aspiring to mobilise all people and the country’s resources towards the eradication of the results of apartheid (Mphambukeli, 2015:74). With the intention of building a “new South Africa”, pertinent principles such as integration and sustainability, being “people-driven”, meeting basic needs and building infrastructure, as well as nation building, were underpinned in the drive to deliver RDP houses – to bring correction to those persons previously left behind (Turok, 2015:2).

In an attempt to address the urgent need for housing, this pressure led to the building of rows of matchbox houses in remote areas, thus causing the beneficiaries to commute long distances to work opportunities, shopping and their respective social networks (Harrison & Todes, 2013:2; Turok, 2014:764). These houses have since become dilapidated, due to poor workmanship, and the dissatisfaction in quality and final housing product delivered as part of the subsidy housing process requires further financial investments (Nel & Denoon-Stevens, 2015:37).

b. *White Paper on Housing of 1994*

The Housing White Paper of 1994 acknowledged the constraint of land availability for housing, which was strongly underpinned by the current urban land problem. It is these constraints that the housing legislative and policy framework attempts to address, but with limited success (Pieterse, 2009:25). Beyond the policy formulation process, the implementation thereof largely resulted in the peripheral setting of low-cost housing. However, this should not disparage the achievements of the Housing White Paper and subsequent Act in relation to the “width” aspect of housing delivery. Khan and Thurman (2001:23) argue that having based the programme on mass or volume supply, decreasing budgets and the preference for “width over depth,” has made entry into the low-income housing markets by developers less attractive. Nevertheless, the Housing Policy was seen to perpetuate the exclusion of the poor from urban life because of the spatial peripheral settings of new housing developments. This White Paper made way for the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997.

c. *Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995*

The Development Facilitation Act, No. 67 of 1995 (DFA) was introduced to establish “extraordinary measures” to facilitate and speed up the implementation of Reconstruction and Development Programmes (RDP) projects in relation to land (Berrisford, 2011b:251). The DFA was initiated to address the spatial distortions of the

post-Apartheid planning (Mphambukeli, 2015:37; Turok, 1994:247). It lays down general principles governing the land development process. Originally, its objective was to accelerate and control the processes of the RDP housing programme. However, the provisions of the DFA allowed it to be used for all development applications. Some private developers took advantage of the procedural advantages of the Act, in preference to other development legislation, such as the Provincial Ordinances (Pieterse, 2008:4). This indirectly created unfair competition for land between low-cost housing development and private development, as the administration of land development applications in terms of the DFA included many developments, which did not focus on subsidy-linked or affordable housing schemes.

The DFA paved the way for integrated development based on normative planning principles (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:356). This introduced a huge shift from previous planning policies and legislation based on specific standards and advocating a very technocratic and master-planned approach (Landman, 2004b:8). In terms of the principles identified in the DFA, one of the main intentions is “*to positively accommodate the needs of all people, not just those of the wealthier minority*” (yyyy: 6). As part of this intention, integrated settlements for rich and poor were advocated. Lastly, the DFA strongly emphasised the need for integration and advocates equity, efficiency and planning for the public good. The DFA has since been repealed by SPLUMA.

d. Constitution of South Africa No.106 of 1996 and Bill of Rights

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) guarantees everyone a right to access land, sanitation, water and security, and to adequate housing (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:350). Furthermore, Schedules four and five of the Constitution make provision for the mandates of the three spheres of government; noting each responsibility to, for example, deliver housing (Ntenga, 2012:262). Noting these “rights to access,” each sphere of government has a pertinent role to play to bring service

delivery to the forefront to each of its citizens. This right is echoed by all policies and legislation related to land and housing (Community Centre of Law, 2007:32).

It is here that Van Wyk & Oranje (2014:16) remark, “...*the state must be enabled to actively intervene where much needed restructuring of the “Apartheid City” is required, and where efficient and resilient urban forms and ways of living are pursued for the sake of the public good and long-term sustainability.*” With these planning ideals, the new planning system, as the developmental mandate of the state and with the fractures of the past to be healed, had put forward its own set of principles and objectives, as contained in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. Some of the pertinent rights relevant to this research are:

- Section 25 – access to land
- Section 24 – access to shelter (housing)
- Section 26 – healthy and safe environment

It is critical to understand that the urban land question in South Africa was to be addressed primarily through housing.

In the South African context, access to urban land was addressed largely within the framework of housing. Specifically, the RDP document explores the need for a range of tenure options including ownership, affordable rental housing, and the transfer of state-owned stock to their long-term residents (Rust, 2006:3-4).

e. Urban Development Strategy of 1995

In 1995, the Government of National Unity released a discussion document, namely the Urban Development Strategy, to invite comments from various role-players in terms of an urban development strategy for South Africa. The document highlighted major challenges for urban development and proposed an urban vision and strategic goals to guide urban development in a new direction. The government’s vision was that, by 2020, cities and towns in South Africa should be:

- based on integrated urban and rural development strategies;
- centres of social and economic opportunity for all;
- free of racial segregation and gender discrimination;
- planned in highly participative fashion;
- marketed by good infrastructure and services for all; and
- integrated centres, which provide access to many physical and social resources.

Most of this vision is now encapsulated in the final Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) (as discussed in paragraph 4.2.4) with a strong focus on sustainable settlements.

f. *Housing Act No. 107 of 1997*

The Housing Act is the primary piece of housing legislation in South Africa. It legally entrenched the policy principles outlined in the 1994 White Paper on Housing. According to this Act, housing addresses the basic needs of shelter and security, with clear roles and responsibilities given to local municipalities. Given the many debates on unfunded mandates, versus the shared responsibilities as contained in the Constitution, it acknowledges that housing development should be undertaken by local municipalities (Ntenga, 2012:262; Community Law Centre, 2007:32).

The Housing Act, No. 107 of 1997 defines “housing development” as *“the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas, allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic ... ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply”*. Also, housing, public open spaces, transport, service delivery, street lighting and park

benches, drain covers and the distribution of libraries are all design problems (Graaff, 2013:42).

An announcement in 1998 by the DoHS (then the Department of Housing) signalled an intention to change the procurement regime to allow local authorities with adequate capacity to be developers of low-income housing projects from April 2002 (Tissington, 2010:36). This policy-shift towards a more state-centred and state-driven approach was due to many influences, which include a combination of the following:

- a move towards the creation of a strong local state;
- the political imperative of local government councillors to gain greater influence over a visible aspect of state delivery;
- the need for spatial and programmatic alignment with integrated development planning (particularly regarding the delivery of bulk services);
- reaction to the negative perceptions of the white construction industry, a concern for getting the best deal for beneficiaries through maximising the value of the subsidy and perceptions of poor construction and abuse by private developers; and
- the withdrawal of private sector actors from low-income housing delivery due to tightening environmental regulations, delays in township registration and transfer of title deeds, and increasing financial risk.

Several amendments were made to the principal Act in 1999 and 2001 respectively. Section 4 of the Housing Act requires the Minister to publish a Code (refer to paragraph 5.3.4 on the National Housing Code), which includes the national housing policy and procedural guidelines for the implementation of the policy. This Act also provides for, amongst other things, facilitating a sustainable housing development process (Adebayo, 2010:7). It lays down general principles applicable for housing development, the roles and responsibilities for the three spheres of governance relating to housing development, as well as financing housing programmes (Khaki, 2009:78; Napier, 2005:4). This Act is currently under review, as a Green Paper for Human Settlements.

g. Rental Housing Act No. 50 of 1999 (amended in Act 43 of 2007)

The Rental Housing Act No. 50 of 1999 creates mechanisms to advance the provision of rental housing property and promotes access to adequate housing, by working to ensure the proper functioning of the rental housing market. Some of the most important features of the Act include the establishment of Rental Housing Tribunals, the introduction of the Unfair Practices Regulations and the repeal of the Rent Control Act of 1976. In 2007, several amendments were made to the Act concerning the criminalisation of “constructive evictions;” that is, cutting off services without a court order (Tissington, 2010:38). Noting the impact of the ten years since the dismantling of the Apartheid regime, there have been massive efforts to undo segregation, oppression and poverty caused by the Apartheid government (Cross, 1996:5; Kay, 2004:1).

4.2.4 From White Paper 1994 to the Integrated Urban Development Framework

The housing policy shifts that occurred since 1994 were most often reactions to weaknesses in policy implementation, or were driven by other agendas such as political pressure or internal departmental politics. According to Tissington (2011:57), housing policy shifts “*are not, however, explicitly rooted in a rigorous interrogation of the needs of the poor, such as the impact of housing programmes on livelihoods and economic activity of the poor beneficiaries.*” Thus, there does not appear to have been a clear process of housing policy evolution underpinned by a rigorous conceptual framework, as will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

a. Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000

The forerunner of several major pieces of legislation relating to local government (in the local municipal sphere this was the White paper on Local Government, 1998). It

changed the role of local governments, requiring that they aspire to become a “developmental local government” (Kay, 2004:12; Wilson, 2011:273). The four key acts are the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998, the Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (MSA) and the Municipal Finance Management Act of 2003 that has a pertinent role on how municipalities plan, prioritise and spend their budgets.

After the dismantling of the Apartheid regime, the demarcation and amalgamation of municipalities brought new challenges to municipal planning. Through the MSA, municipalities had to plan through integrated processes, such as IDPs and SDFs to address the shift of “*planning aimed at urban integration and redistribution*” (Massey, 2013:4). As such, the Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (MSA), Act 32 of 2000 was enacted to provide the principles and processes to enable municipalities to promote the social and economic upliftment of their local communities. One of the roles of local government is strategic planning. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP), according to Section 25 of the MSA, is meant to be an inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality. Furthermore, according to this act, “*a municipality must undertake developmental-orientated planning so as to ensure that it strives to achieve the objectives of local government as set out in section 152 of the Constitution*” (Kay, 2004:13). Also, these IDPs were intended as the platform for all sector departments, parastatals, and any stakeholders to plan the municipal space in an integrated and coordinated manner. The municipal IDPs were required to identify budgeted projects over a five-year time frame, which were to bring integrated development to agreed areas of growth potential.

Simultaneously, spatial planning was also identified as a component of the municipal IDP. Local governments are now embarking on the fourth generation of IDPs, yet limited alignment, integration and consistency is still occurring at municipal and provincial level. It is here that the municipal Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) play a role, to strategically plan for a 40 year horizon, ensuring that municipalities change their spatial landscape.

Historically, IDPs have not contained housing chapters, which has meant a disjuncture and lack of alignment between planning and housing at the local and provincial levels. The National Housing Code (National Department of Human Settlements, 2009: Volume 2) now provides for the introduction of housing chapters in IDPs and makes provision for municipalities who lack the capacity to draw up their own housing chapters to access expertise for the job. The introduction of the housing chapter contributes to the overall spatial development and integration objectives of the municipality in several respects. It also facilitates the proper use of housing investment by the government and contributes towards the development of sustainable human settlements by providing for an IDP integration phase that ensures inter-sectoral agreement on them (Tissington, 2010:58).

b. Breaking New Ground

Due to the persistence of segregation, faltering secondary housing markets, unemployment and poverty in many RDP projects, government formulated a new policy in 2004, called Breaking New Ground (BNG), which was intended to address problems of sluggish secondary markets, growing unemployment and disadvantageous locations (Hendler & Wolfson, 2013:13). The BNG is based on the principles contained in the White Paper on Housing, as well as outlining the strategies to be taken to achieve the government's overall housing aim. While not clearly introducing any new policy directions, the document outlines a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements in the next five years.

Narsoo (2014:195) notes that over the past two decades, housing delivery has shifted from an emphasis on building houses to recognising the importance of providing access to resources and opportunities, which would facilitate active participation in the social and economic fabric of South Africa. This shift is illustrated by the introduction of the Comprehensive Plan for Sustainable Human Settlements (commonly referred to as BNG – Breaking New Ground) in 2004 and the renaming of the Department of Housing to the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) in 2009. Moving from a

narrow conceptualisation (“housing”) to a more holistic framing (“human settlements”) requires considerable conceptual, political, and practical adjustment.

The BNG (National Department of Housing, 2004:17) defines sustainable human settlements as “*well-managed entities in which economic growth and social development are in balance with the carrying capacity of the natural systems on which they depend for their existence and result in sustainable development, wealth creation, poverty alleviation and equity.*” This has translated into the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) where it is prioritised under policy 2 (COGTA, 2016:23). In addition, this is the definition of human settlements used for this research.

The BNG: Comprehensive Plan could hardly be called a policy in the sense of having an independent status. It is merely an implementation document aimed at rectifying the shortfalls of the housing delivery system and still rests on the foundations of the 1994 Housing White Paper and 1997 Housing Act. BNG adopts strategies to fast track land identification and release land for affordable housing (DoH, 2004:18). It begins to conceptualise housing within the broader urban development process.

However, the Comprehensive Plan has been vigorously implemented and several policies, as well as legal and institutional amendments have ensued. Breaking New Ground: Comprehensive plan (National Department of Housing, 2004) triggered the conceptualisation of sustainable human settlements (Adebayo, 2010:10). This plan seeks to “*promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing*” (National Department of Housing, 2004:14). Hence, the two objectives of the BNG are utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring, and supporting the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump (Napier, 2005:13).

The Breaking New Ground conceptualisation of “*Sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life are defined by access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable. Access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity; security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; and access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance,*” (DoH, 2004:5) has set the platform for common understanding of sustainable settlements, in the South African context.

c. Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP)

In September 2005, at a Housing *Indaba* in Cape Town, the government and the private sector – including banks and property developers – agreed to accelerate housing delivery to address the housing backlog. This newly formed collaboration between the public and private sectors has resulted in developers agreeing, in principle, to set aside a percentage of the total value of the commercially driven housing developments, in a certain price range, for investment in the low-cost housing sector. More specifically, the Minister of Housing and key role-players in the housing industry signed a Social Contract for Rapid Housing Delivery. It stated, “*Every commercial development including housing developments that are not directed at those earning R1 500 or less, spend a minimum of 20 % on the construction of homes within human settlements for those who qualify for government subsidies.*” (Tissington, 2011:71). This initial decision was later amended and extended to the R3 500 to R7 000 per month income bracket, due to affordability issues.

The 2007 Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP) in South Africa emanates from this process and aims to achieve a “*more balanced outcome of built environment creation in the direction of more racially integrated and income inclusive residential environments.*” (NDoHS, 2007:9). As such, in the South African context,

inclusionary housing is defined as “... *the harnessing of private initiative in its [private sector] pursuit of housing delivery to middle/higher income households to also provide (include) affordable housing opportunities in order to achieve a better socio-economic balance in residential developments and also contribute to the supply of affordable housing*” (Draft IHP 2007:9).

Since June 2007, this IHP has remained in draft (Adebayo, 2010:9) and has not progressed to become a white paper, let alone an Act (Kihato, 2013:4; Prinsloo, 2008:48). While the idea of inclusionary housing has been widely applauded, it has been slow to get off the ground, as well as confined to urban and metropolitan areas in its limited implementation (Tissington, 2010:72). It died quietly after the then Department of Environmental Affairs & Development Planning (DEADP)’s Minister, Tasneem Essop versus SLC Property Group (Pty) Ltd and Longlands Holdings (Pty) Ltd, lost a court case due to the conditions set aside in the (mandatory policy) inclusionary housing of the Western Cape Provincial Spatial Development Framework (WC-PSDF). After this judgment, the Western Cape Government was reluctant to revisit and proceed with an inclusionary housing policy. However, an inclusionary housing statute is regarded as one of the more useful tools that can address the current highly segregated processes in the built environment creation (Hirt, 2013:303). In conjunction with this, Western Cape PSDF: Inclusionary Housing Discussion document makes provision to align policies, principles, and planning for inclusionary housing (Western Cape Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, 2009:3).

Flowing from the BNG: Comprehensive Plan (National Department of Housing, 2004), an Inclusionary Housing policy was drafted (Department of Human Settlements, 2007). However, while national policy was awaited, some provincial and local governments began to develop their own policies, for example the Western Cape provincial government, Knysna local municipality and the City of Johannesburg. Gauteng and the Western Cape provinces have implemented inclusionary housing projects. Johannesburg and eThekweni have led the way in requiring developers to include affordable housing in their projects (Tissington, 2011:72; Denoon-Stevens,

2016:20). In Johannesburg, these much-lauded projects have generally involved large-scale greenfields developments with additional private funding; for example, Cosmo City in the north of Johannesburg and Brickfields in Newtown, Johannesburg, as well as the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town (Gauteng province, n.d.:5; Gauteng province, 2012:7). Huchzermeyer (2010:134) argues that the impact of these projects on urban integration and inclusion has remained negligible.

d. National Housing Code, 2009

The National Housing Code, first published in 2000 in accordance with the Housing Act, sets out the underlying policy principles, guidelines, and norms and standards that apply to the National Housing Programmes. Some of these programmes have been updated or removed, and new programmes included after the adoption of Breaking New Ground in 2004. The Code is binding on provincial and local spheres of government. However, in 2009 a revised National Housing Code was published, containing the BNG-compliant National Housing Programmes, which are described as the “building blocks in the provision of sustainable human settlements” (Tissington, 2011:21).

The National Housing Code makes provision for affordable (“gap” and social) housing, as one of the housing programmes/instruments, which are mostly undertaken by developers (Khaki, 2009:35). The “gap housing market” comprises the people earning between R3 501 and R15 000 per month, which is too little for them to participate in the private property market, yet too much to qualify for state assistance. These persons will also access the Finance Linked Individual Subsidy (FLISP) to contribute to the acquisition of a mortgage bond. This gap market is largely profit driven, with very little involvement from government (Klug, Rubin & Todes 2013:676; Tomlinson & Narsoo, 2008:15). Thus, some of these ‘gap’ housing projects do not necessarily provide an integrated and sustainable human settlement, but rather contribute to further fragmentation (Pieterse, 2004a:83).

e. Social Housing Act No. 16 of 2008

The Social Housing Policy for South Africa was approved in June 2005 and the Implementation Guidelines published in November 2006. In the time that the National Housing Code was reviewed, the Social Housing Act No. 16 of 2008 was passed to establish and promote a sustainable social housing environment. It is here that social housing refers to a housing option for low-to-medium income persons that is provided by housing institutions, and that excludes immediate individual ownership (Govender, 2011:35).

It should be noted that the restructured definition of social housing provided by the Department of Housing in 2004, put an emphasis on low-income households as the main target of social housing (DoH, 2004:25). However, BNG also takes into consideration the importance of social housing, which provide quality and affordable housing to the low- and middle-income sectors in the urban regeneration process, more specifically the renewal of inner cities (DOH, 2004:35). However, Govender (2011:35) argues that social housing, which aims to deliver affordable and adequate housing on a rental basis to poor and low-income people, did not receive much attention from the policy in South Africa.

Furthermore, this act allowed for the establishment of a Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) to regulate all social housing institutions, to obtain public funds and undertake approved projects by other delivery agents with the benefit of public money (Tissington, 2011:20). The Act aims to establish and promote a sustainable social housing environment and defines the functions of national, provincial and local governments regarding social housing, allows for the undertaking of approved projects by other delivery agents with the benefit of public money, and gives statutory recognition to social housing institutions (SHIs). The SHRA will also deal with the accreditation of SHIs in terms of this legislation and regulations pursuant to it.

f. National Development Plan 2012

The National Development Plan (NDP) was adopted by the ANC-led government in 2012/2013. Mphambukeli (2015:83) states that the ruling government adopted the NDP as its launch pad and blueprint for a future economic and socio-economic development strategy for the country. The NDP includes a Human Settlements Vision 2030 Framework (National Planning Commission, 2012:3) and has an objective of ensuring most South Africans will have affordable access to services and a quality environment, (through urban and rural transformation, improving infrastructure and building environmental sustainability and resilience) instead of living in isolation on the periphery of cities. Specifically, chapter 8, on the creation of human settlements, advises the nation on the transformation of the human settlements.

Furthermore, Cardo (2014:9) argues that the National Development Plan (NDP) is anchored in the concept of social inclusion. The NDP emphasises a capable state, a “capabilities” approach to development, and active citizenship and participation in the economic, civic and social norms that integrate society. All of these are integral components of social inclusion. Social inclusion refers both to integration into social, economic and civic life and the pursuit of active citizenship, as well as a means to counter poverty understood in the sense of capability deprivation. Its vision is of an inclusive non-racial society as described in the preamble to – and founding provisions of – the South African Constitution.

g. National Outcome 8

As with each political term, the national minister sets a strategy in place to give guidance to his/her focus for that term. Outcome 8 of the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) (2014–2019) specifically deals with human settlements and improved quality of household life. The primary outcomes of the five-year period are to ensure that poor households have adequate housing in better living environments;

providing support towards the development of a functional and equitable residential property market and improving institutional capacity and coordination for better spatial targeting (Presidency, 2014:3). In this, the current national minister for Human Settlements, Ms Lindiwe Sisulu, has established the **National Outcome 8**, which urges the accelerated delivery of housing opportunities, access to basic services, land assembly and effective utilisation, and especially the improved affordable property market (Dawson & McLaren, 2014:24).

When comparing National Outcome 8 with the provincial strategic goals (PSG), that focus on the upgrade of informal settlements, and affordable housing, there are some clear linkages that lead to the creation of sustainable human settlements (Western Cape Department of Human Settlements, 2010:2). Many of these housing programmes are listed as targets in the Strategic plan, are reported on annually through the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements' Annual Performance Plan (APP).

h. Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act No. 16 of 2013

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) No. 16 of 2013 is intended to be a framework act for all spatial planning and land use management legislation in South Africa. The forerunner, White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (July 2001), set out basic principles “*that would guide spatial planning, land use management and land development in the Republic*” (Kay, 2004:15). SPLUMA seeks to promote consistency and uniformity in procedures and decision-making in this field (Mphambukeli, 2015:88; Denoon-Stevens, 2016:20). The other objects include addressing historical spatial imbalances and the integration of the principles of sustainable development into land use and planning regulatory tools and legislative instruments (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:361).

The principles of the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (July 2001), which are sustainability, equality, efficiency, integration, fair and good governance, blend consistently with the SPLUMA principles of spatial justice, spatial sustainability, spatial resilience, good administration and efficiency. These are all critical principles of post-Apartheid planning in South Africa (Van Wyk & Oranje, 2014:361). Thus, the SPLUMA puts processes in place for local municipalities to enable them to develop a SDF, that also plans and makes provision for human settlements, infrastructure and services. It recommends a long-term view, which should be aligned to other infrastructure, economic and environmental issues, including the integration of land uses (Housing Development Agency, 2014:25). The Act sets out the requirements of national, provincial, regional and municipal SDFs (South Africa, 2013; Joscelyne, 2015:51). For the purposes of the Act, municipal planning consists of IDPs (including the SDF) and land use schemes as part of the control and regulation of land use within the municipal area (Section 4).

i. Draft Human Settlements Green Paper

The Human Settlements Green Paper (2013) is well articulated and based on the Comprehensive Plan. It asks a pertinent question: What is South Africa's model of sustainable human settlements? One of the pillars of the Human Settlement strategy behind the amended Act is to reshape the Apartheid geography. It is based upon SPLUMA, NDP and IUDF, which set the vision for this Act (Zulu, 2013:7). According to the Green Paper, it will cover year 2016 and beyond. This paper is currently in Green paper format, and will move away from the current housing model to respond to challenges, such as informal settlements' upgrading, inner-city generation and renewal, multi-segmented rental housing, amongst the many functions, related to the short-medium time-frame. It is in relation to inner-city generation and renewal, as well as multi-segmented rental housing, that affordable housing is promoted, especially in bigger cities.

j. Integrated Urban Development Framework of 2016

According to the Presidency Review (2013a:23) one of the stated objectives of the Urban Development Framework (National Department of Housing, 1997:13) was the development of settlements that were “*spatially and economically integrated, free of racial and gender discrimination.*” In the past, little attention was given to socio-spatial integration, when much of the attention was on spatial integration (Presidency, 2013a:43), which is very much in line with Goal 11 of post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (CoGTA, 2016:7). The vision of the IUDF is consistent with the NDP, Chapter 8, which addresses the four overall strategic goals as:

- **Spatial integration:** To forge new spatial forms in settlement, transport, social and economic areas.
- **Inclusion and access:** To ensure people have access to social and economic services, opportunities and choices.
- **Growth:** To harness urban dynamism for inclusive, sustainable economic growth and development.
- **Governance:** To enhance the capacity of the state and its citizens to work together to achieve spatial and social integration.

These goals form the basis of this research.

According to Kotze & Donaldson (1998:468), while considerable change is evident in the spatial settlement patterns of most South African cities and towns, different localities display and experience different forms of restructuring. Furthermore, according to the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) (CoGTA, 2016:16), integrated and sustainable human settlements are the key to redressing the prevailing Apartheid geography, restructuring cities, shifting ownership profiles and choices, and creating more humane (and environment-friendly), safe living and working conditions. It is hereto that **integrated and sustainable human settlements** are defined as “*cities and towns that are liveable, integrated and multi-functional, in which all settlements are well connected to essential and social services, as well as to areas of work opportunities*” (CoGTA, 2016:16).

4.3 Habitat II

The first Habitat conference in 1976 in Vancouver, Canada (formally called the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements) raised awareness about the global housing challenge and set priorities for future development. However, while the limited inclusion of non-governmental perspectives hindered action, the Vancouver declaration of human settlements (1976) conceptualised human settlements as *“the totality of the human community – whether city, town or village – with all the social, material, organisational, spiritual and cultural elements that sustain it.”* It is also this conference that acknowledged *“that the improvement of the quality of life of human beings is the first and most important objective of every human policy,”* stating that the foundation of human settlements comprises physical elements (infrastructure, socioeconomic facilities and transport) and material support.

At Habitat II in 1996 in Istanbul, international leaders discussed progress and set the direction for future urban development. Learning from the first conference, Habitat II incorporated greater stakeholder input, but shifted the burden of creating solutions to the private sector. This focus reflected the mood of the world economy at the time, which was largely driven by globalisation and a strong trust in the free market. As the 2014 Habitat II Progress Report (UN, 2014:8) argues, this shift led to significant reductions in government-provided and subsidised housing, and increased reliance on private sector solutions for the global housing challenge, contributing to growing inequality on all fronts (Toly, 2016:3). Though there has been progress since the Istanbul meeting, access to healthcare, sanitation, housing, and safe food and water has become more unequal over the years.

Habitat I and II drew criticism for lacking well-structured implementation and follow-up plans, with ambitious, visionary declarations but little to no action. Habitat III could change that legacy (United Nations, 2016:5). The excitement around the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) should be seen as an opportunity for cities (Satterthwaite & Dodman, 2016:3). Habitat III, held

in October 2016, was an amalgamation of previous conventions and declarations. As such, Habitat III can be seen as a way to implement these commitments and tap into the political and financial momentum these processes already have. Besides the official events at Habitat III on integrating the New Urban Agenda with the Paris Agreement and the Sustainable Development Goals, many side events tried to determine how achieving the goals of the New Urban Agenda can contribute to achieving goals on climate action and sustainable development (Satterthwaite & Dodman, 2016:3).

South Africa is also a signatory to the Habitat Agenda (1996). This includes a commitment to *“improve living and working conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible, affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure”* (Habitat Agenda, 1996).

Habitat II (Istanbul declaration) had a strong focus on affordable housing. Furthermore, it responded to global issues such as the magnitude and consequences of rapid urbanisation (Habitat I, in 1976), to realise sustainable human settlements (Habitat II, in 1992) and now there is the reinvigorated global commitment to sustainable urbanisation, with a focus on the implementation of a “New Urban Agenda” (Habitat III, 2016). Building upon the Millennium Development Goals of the year 2000, the Post-2015 Development Agenda will help define the global development framework.

Noting this strong nexus and given these arguments for the new urban agenda, the question posed to respondents was whether BNG has a foot in the door. Hence, Habitat II set the global platform for adequate housing progressing to the next benchmark of (sustainable) human settlements at a global level. This declaration paved the way for each country to apply the broad goals to construct sustainable settlements in their own backyards. The Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy has been endorsed at a national level to build upon Habitat II. This local South African definition

sets the standard and benchmark for South Africans in the creation of (integrated and sustainable) human settlements.

On an international level, the global conventions set the goals towards development, environmental and economic initiatives. Housing and human settlements are the cross cutting topics debated at these international conventions. For South Africa, being part of the United Nations (UN), World Bank Group, UNICEF, Southern African Development Community (SADC) and BRICS, these platforms become critical to engage and should not be seen as the places where it has to conform, but rather where it can collaborate with other countries to address a common goal; that is, urban sustainability (McPearson, Parnell, Simon & Elmqvist, 2016:163). It is during these international conventions that the **tangible concepts** such as sustainable development, millennium development goals, and human settlements are discussed, and agreements are reached against targets. South Africa had been part of these discussions, and the broad understanding of, for example, “sustainable development” has evolved the past 20 years, on an international and national level. Although South Africa forms part of the earlier mentioned international bodies, South Africa is facing its own internal challenges. It becomes complex for South Africa to make the Apartheid-era settlements work, let alone meet the criteria of “human”, “integrated”, “compact” settlements, or “viable”, “socially and economically integrated” communities (Napier, 2005:12). Implicit in this is the promotion of “safe” and “secure” housing for all who live in South Africa.

Today, as South Africa has endorsed the Habitat III declaration, new and deeper arguments for human settlements, especially in the urban areas, are stimulated. For South Africa, this could mean either of the two: a different way of planning for human settlements or continuing the old way. This raises the question as to whether South Africa is following in its old mind-set; not only in addressing the housing need (a focus on quantity), but rather in the provision of quality of life while making affordable housing available (Croese, Cirolia & Graham, 2016:241). With Habitat III behind us, the New Urban Agenda also challenges South Africa to understand the complex interconnections between the social, ecological and economical dimensions of human health and development (Hancock, 2016:10), and to act accordingly, with full citizen participation and engagement (United Nations, 2016:2). The New Urban Agenda

brings a holistic approach to urban sustainability, to address the urban intricacies by bringing all the different stakeholders together. Additionally, it is critical that South Africa is ready to embrace the progressive thinking contained in the declaration, as well as reflecting on the progress made in creating sustainable human settlements to enhance the quality of residents' lives (COGTA, 2016:7). By adopting these approaches, by putting people, planet and participation at the heart of governance, healthy South African cities can lead the way to affordable, sustainable and socially just human development.

4.4 South Africa's current challenges

Although Apartheid configurations of space have not changed — most people still live where they were living — the configurations of time are shifting (Frescura, 2000:2). In these instances, poorly located and insufficient infrastructure limits social inclusion and swift economic growth, while spatial challenges continue to marginalise the poor (National Planning Commission, 2011:42). In response to this challenge, the National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2012:47) argues that *“by 2030, a larger proportion of the population should live closer to places of work, and the transport they use to commute should be safe, reliable and energy efficient.”*

However, realising the NDP vision by the year 2030, will require a drastic intervention by all to address the intricacies as raised in the problem statement of Chapter 1. In the majority of new settlements, the state has failed to create sustainable human settlements and has instead built an inferior substitute of dormitory suburbs located on the edges of cities (Berrisford, 2011b:249; Turok, 2012:59). These settlements do not contribute to the goals of the BNG or that of an inclusive and just society. Therefore, if we are to overcome the after-effects of the segregation and Apartheid legacies we have suffered for decades, it will be necessary to initiate action of a deliberate and proactive nature to begin the breakdown of its major features (Frescura, 2000:1). This requires:

- strong measures to prevent further development of housing in marginal places;
- increased urban densities to support public transport and reduce sprawl (Cevero, 2013:9);
- the integration of middle- and upper-income suburbs, which will not only give black families access to existing white suburbs, but also make existing black suburbs more attractive to white residents (Beavon, 2000:6);
- the establishment of new low- and middle-income housing estates in such a manner as to undermine and break down the existing geography of spatial segregation (Pieterse, 2004:56);
- creation of flexibilities within the building regulations to encourage the building of new rentable housing stock, to become safe multi-family buildings (Frescura, 2000:1);
- improving working class access to inner city land (Cevero, 2013:4; Hirt, 2013:296; Talen, 2012:335);
- the decentralisation of retail and business functions to the Black suburbs. In some instances, this might extend to developing new decentralised urban nodes (Davies & Thurlow, 2010:438);
- the energetic revitalisation of historical CBD areas, to facilitate development in such areas as tourism, and a supporting social infrastructure;
- more reliable and affordable public transport and better coordination between various modes of transport (Cevero, 2013:15); and
- focused partnerships with the private sector to bridge the housing gap market.

When these initiatives are considered and potential priorities through municipal planning are identified, a change in the Apartheid landscape can be initiated. This means, that although the right things are earmarked in the municipal and provincial plans, they need to move to implementation, or actual construction.

4.5 Critique of current housing approaches

The earlier chapters pointed out that after the fall of the Apartheid regime, the focus on **provision of housing** – in bulk – through the RDP began (Rust, 2003:24; Turok,

2015:2). During the mid-2000s, South Africa made a **policy shift** from “housing” towards “human settlements” at a national level. However, this shift has not materialised in practice. The Department of Human Settlements was urged to deliver housing units, but that happened without the integration of other land uses or considering the sustainability of those settlements (Napier, 2005:1). Development on the peri-urban fringe of towns, in the context of long-term sustainability, proves to be expensive and to the detriment of the urban fabric of the cities. Here the provision of (low-cost) housing burdens other governmental departments to alleviate those social and economic pressures (Watson, 2013:14). Lacking thorough planning or long-term vision, these rows of matchbox houses expand beyond the periphery of most towns and thus results in poverty traps (Venter, Marais, Hoekstra & Cloete., 2015: 357; Musvoto, 2014:160; Cross, 1996:5).

In retrospect, these dormitory townships become only a place where people leave in the mornings to go to work, and return to for sleep at night. Thus, the Apartheid regime’s policies inadvertently guide current planning in settlements. Besides being dysfunctional and fragmented, it perpetuates further segregation (Pieterse, 2004a:56; Okeke, 2014:24). Human settlements have not been created, but rather, only the delivery of more houses has manifested (Presidency, 2015:23). In other words, the problems are known, but very little is known about the possible solutions. Thus, more than two decades after the dismantling of the Apartheid regime, there remains an urgent need to investigate ways of creating integrated and sustainable human settlements.

Today, although the legislation and controls were lifted, **apartheid planning still continues**, especially for the poor households. It is now the time to plan with integrated and sustainable human settlements in mind (Turok, 2012:24; Hamann & Horn, 2014:30; Harrison & Todes, 2015:151). It is evident that the old way (rows of BNG houses) did not work. Some recent research (Cirolia, 2015:3; Landman, 2012b:4; Fleming & Makalima-Ngewana, 2013:31), indicated that gap and affordable housing had been **misunderstood and inappropriately framed** in South African housing policy discourse. Now is the time to embark on doing things differently, engage with a

broader set of stakeholders, plan creatively and utilise government funds optimally, to step into the direction of integrated and sustainable human settlements.

For a large part of the past century, African and Coloured residents of segregated townships were denied access to services and amenities because the policy assumption was that they were “temporary sojourners.” It was only during the reform period of Apartheid that the upgrading of infrastructure and amenities commenced, as well as the delivery of home-ownership to a minority in segregated townships (Pieterse, 2004:56). This was not done to address peoples’ right to amenities and services but rather as a conscious security strategy, and hence its limited impact. Some of this **decentralisation** has taken place in previously segregated townships, meaning that new economic nodes have established themselves in some of these areas, making them no longer as peripheral as they were (Turok, 2012:24). To the contrary, Hender & Wolfson (2013:16) argue that in many ways, large parts of the segregated townships have remained unchanged, a legacy to past neglect.

In as much as the National Government is fulfilling its Constitutional roles and responsibilities in terms of developing policies, many of **these policies have not been welcomed**, rationalised, or adequately understood to be implemented at municipal level. Whether it is due to ignorance, or because it is comfortable to do things the old ways, it has to be addressed. To change the mind-set and to approach planning and implementation differently, will take more than capacity building, training and workshops, but also radical thinking through peer learning, mentoring, as well as enforcing penalties for non-compliance.

Over the past couple of decades, many **policies and laws were endorsed** and implemented. Despite well-developed policy frameworks related to housing in South Africa, several issues, such as “unfunded mandates,” conflicting roles and responsibilities between provincial government and local municipalities, accreditation of metropolitan areas have aggravated tensions and affected housing delivery and the transformation of residential areas (Croese, Cirolia & Graham, 2016:241). These

tensions are further intensified by uncertainty around broad concepts such as integration, inclusiveness, affordability, and sustainability, as contained in the very policies that need to be implemented. Loopholes are found; contesting and contradicting each other in the fine print. Furthermore, the policies still create dependency on Government, and this raises an expectation of how (affordable) housing will be provided. There is a need to change the approach to that of collaboration with the private sector, communities and beneficiaries/clientele, banks, construction companies, and community organisations to work together (Presidency, 2013:71). All of this adds to an expectation that the local municipalities will also undertake a facilitatory role.

Pertinent to this, Turok (2016:13) argues that an important goal for South Africa is to start reversing the inefficient and exclusionary urban form inherited from Apartheid, through processes of urban integration, compaction and densification. Spatial transformation is complicated because most public and private institutions are locked into established modes of operation (Maritz, Van Huyssteen, Le Roux, Pieterse, Ndaba, Mans & Ngidi; 2015:4). Higher density and mixed-use development is a novelty in South Africa, especially on brownfields sites (Seeliger & Turok, 2015:325). Consequently, Turok (2016:17) proposes that housing policy could subsidise the conversion of empty buildings to low cost rental accommodation. Additionally, it could enable municipalities to promote multi-storey, mixed-income residential schemes in unfamiliar and offbeat neighbourhoods.

The municipality, as the developer, has to implement these policies, and this **takes time**, before adjustments and recommendations can be made for the betterment of the communities. Additionally, the intended outcomes of the policies should rather enhance the quality of life, and create dignified communities, upward mobility for beneficiaries, although they will not always result in inclusiveness or sustainable settlements.

Much of the **housing delivery model/formula** is based on an outdated (Apartheid planning) system, which should be replaced with an innovative tool that should be developed to create an enabling environment to improve human settlements over the long-term, through a range of interventions. This could imply that the subsidies and grants be assembled, to not only ensure a better design of well- located settlements, but also efficiency and better human settlements products delivered, that lend themselves to integration and sustainability (Presidency, 2014:70).

4.6 Conclusion

In relation to the research question number 5, many of these policies, discussed in this chapter, had a **multi-generational effect** on how the settlements were planned, prioritised (for instance in the municipal IDP) and designed. However, one problem that is being experienced in South Africa is the fact that there are so many pieces of legislation, policies and guidelines applicable to development, that they lead to a lot of red tape, indecisiveness of decision-makers and confusion within the public. It can also be argued that the South African Government's approach is not integrated, holistic or practical enough (Theart, 2002:22). Today, the ensuing settlements are unsustainable, show evidence of fragmentation and inequality, and are becoming more complex to address (Hendler & Wolfson, 2013:12). Thus, the message is that along with the existing laws and regulations, a logical and practical implementation plan should also be compiled and utilised.

With the shift towards sustainable human settlements, South Africa has an opportunity to do some introspection and strategically determine its focus on housing in terms of the provision of shelter, as well as how this shift should provide more affordable opportunities to households and communities. South Africa, as part of the Global South, faces similar challenges as those of other developing countries, and other African cities (Watson, 2012:92). Despite making progress towards some sort of human settlement creation, the Apartheid landscape is still evident in South Africa's cities (Pieterse, 2007:24; Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:22). It is necessary to move beyond these policies towards implementation in redressing this spatial landscape that a greater sense of governmental investment and private sector incentives should be

considered for the following ten years. As seen in this ten-year hiatus between Housing Act No. 107 of 1997 and the Breaking New Ground Strategy, it can be expected that, without clarity, further confusion and misinterpretation can arise; making it complicated and complex to evaluate the delivery of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Choguill, 2007:148; Napier, 2005:4).

Although some policies hint at affordable housing, inclusionary housing, integrated and sustainable human settlements, such policies are not enough (Aurand, 2010:1020). As some of the older policies are to be repealed, stronger and stricter policies must set the pace for future human settlement development, which will be more than housing and basic services, overshadowing the narrow definition of housing rather than settlements. Thus, with **fewer policies**, but more pertinent ones, such as SPLUMA, the draft Human Settlement Framework and the Integrated Urban Development Framework, it is anticipated that a **new move** towards inclusionary housing, or to a lesser extent, integrated and sustainable human settlements, can be achieved. It is in the brief analysis and interpretation of housing and planning policies, that the researcher will present the next chapter revealing the results from the interviews.

5.1 Introduction

In view of the previous chapter paying attention to the different policies that influence human settlement planning and the provision of housing, this chapter is dedicated to the interviews undertaken during this study. These interviews were directed towards finding answers to the research questions, as raised in Chapter 1.

Hence, in this chapter, the results of the interview data analysis are presented. In this process, the researcher found a gap in the knowledge in that the concepts contained in the BNG, and those of integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary housing, and affordable housing have been widely accepted, without fully understanding their application. As Huchzermeyer (personal communication, October 2015) remarks, "*It had been used too loosely*". Throughout this chapter, the researcher will test the relevance, application, and acceptability of these concepts amongst professionals, including town and regional planners. It is through understanding these gaps, that the researcher will propose ways to address these gaps, to gain a better understanding of what areas need further research, engagement, clarity or expansion, as well as make recommendations as to how to progress from post-Apartheid approaches, to integrated and sustainable human settlements, and inclusive settlements through affordable housing.

5.2 Results from the interviews

Given the South African housing need, it is unsurprising that the focus of housing delivery during the past twenty years was on quantity over quality of housing delivery (Nkambule, 2012:2; Ackerman, 2016:10). Yet, the burgeoning of informal settlements has put a greater burden on the current infrastructure. As challenged by the

Presidency (2015:67), the NDP requires government to put in place an urban development strategy (now the IUDF) to make urban spaces liveable, equitable, sustainable, resilient and efficient, as well as to support economic growth and social cohesion. This requirement is reflected in the research themes and the respondents' reflections thereon as discussed below.

Envisioning integrated and sustainable human settlements as Utopia, the researcher is not ignorant of the current post-Apartheid realities. It is these realities which propel her to find solutions for all South Africans to strive towards the transformation of their settlements, in order to make cities inclusive and sustainable. This should not only bring justice to all who have a right to the city, but also encourage sustainable urban planning.

5.2.1 Characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements

When the interviewees were asked what their concept of sustainable settlements is, many of the respondents had to apply their minds. The interviewees had divergent responses in their understanding of integrated and sustainable human settlements; some were detailed, while other were summarised, short and at times seemed inconsistent with the broader understanding of human settlements. This is confirmed by Napier (personal communication, October 2015), who responded that:

“...the concept of integrated and sustainable human settlements is big, and it is a vision to get to over time.”

It was interesting to note that, in defining integrated and sustainable human settlements, the word “integrated” was divorced from “sustainable” and not seen as a complementary concept. As such, many of the participants at first defined “integrated” followed by “sustainable,” and the combined interpretation of this concept was left open for interpretation. In one instance, “integrated” was perceived as “*settlements*

that work well for all in precincts or communities of a town,” by Van Aarde (personal communication, November 2015).

Given the apartheid legacy, it is difficult to make settlements more integrated and compact. However, pertaining to sustainability, one perception was that:

“It is a settlement that works well for all residents – to be created safe and create a high quality (urban environment) ... there are jobs there, with high life quality” (Mirembe personal communication, October 2015).

According to Turok (personal communication, February 2016) and Huchzermeyer (personal communication, December 2015), the concept of “integrated and sustainable human settlements” is perceived as complex. Napier (personal communication, October 2015) noted that this *“is a big thing”* that can be translated into a vision. With this complexity, it becomes even more difficult to determine the depth of inclusive settlements. However, Huchzermeyer (personal communication, December 2015), observed that the concept of integrated and sustainable human settlements, as well as inclusive settlements, had been used very loosely and sometimes without meaning. Cullinan (personal communication, February 2016) agrees the term is vague and difficult to contextualise.

It is within this broad understanding of the evasiveness of perceptions that further discussions were stimulated around what the features of integrated and sustainable human settlements are. Some of these are:

“The concept of live-work-play, which provides for a variety of amenities, with more than housing (social and retail, included). Also, access to a variety of choices – recreation facilities, transport options, housing typologies, tenure types, shopping and employment opportunities. This responds to the people and is age/need appropriate.” (Mirembe personal communication, October 2015).

“Good environment to live in (liveable) - safe and healthy.... Location is good – and creates dignified communities with social cohesion” (Madell personal communication, November 2015).

“It is a compact city that also accommodates the natural/physical environment. It is a place that people are living that are conducive to their health and well-being. Enable persons to improve their living conditions. It allows for job opportunities, good transport or possible shorter travel distance per foot” (Horn personal communication, March 2016).

“Stable demographic profile – manageable and predictable. To participate in the economy and create opportunities; free market environment that is economic driven and access to environmental and social amenities. Community ownership of development at large. The range of opportunities in close proximity is integrated in terms of spatial and bureaucratic alignment with budgets. Political stability in totality. (Environment) participating residents have a voice to political leaders” (Marek Kedzieja personal communication, December 2015).

It was only Geyer (personal communication, March 2016) who prefers to use the definition contained in the 1998 White Paper on Housing:

“Housing development is defined in the Housing Act as the establishment and maintenance of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, educational and social amenities in which all citizens and permanent residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to (a) permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and (b) potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply.”

It should be noted that Geyer's definition includes a wider span of aspects, that have a burdening impact on human settlements. However, given the comparative differences amongst these approaches to definitions, it can be inferred that amongst the respondents and their respective disciplines and related work environments, there is no consistency in what is understood as integrated and sustainable human settlements. Cullinan said that it is difficult to define the concept of integrated and sustainable human settlements, as it is currently too vague (personal communication, February 2016). Smith (personal communication, February 2016) challenges the current perceived definition of sustainable human settlements. He remarked that sustainable human settlements should be clearly defined, so that we are all able to respond from a similar basis on how we measure successful development of settlements. It is thus proposed that clear parameters be established to define, measure and evaluate the conceptualisation of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Geyer personal communication, March 2016).

In the interviews, the professionals not only had diverse perceptions around integrated and sustainable human settlements but different interpretations to the aspects and dynamics of integrated and sustainable human settlements. The concept of an integrated and sustainable settlement was neatly captured by Titus (personal communication, October 2015) as:

"...a settlement, where people live in comfort, and the settlement is working for them; ensuring that the people's daily life needs are met – through a mix – and that is beyond residential."

This definition is congruent with that of Khaki (2009:33) who notes that sustainable settlements require the interaction and support from all role players in the urban arena including community participation and co-operation between all spheres of government. Although this view was not understood by all respondents, the development of high-density housing on centrally located land presents an ideal opportunity for achieving integrated development goals and creating sustainable and integrated human settlements that provide access to:

- Employment and business opportunities;
- Places of entertainment;
- Education facilities and clinics or hospitals;
- Public facilities and pedestrian friendly environments; and
- Environmentally friendly buildings that promote good health of the occupants (COGTA, 2016:60).

Although many government officials are open to the live-work-play concept embodied in the above definition of integrated and sustainable human settlements, it has been regarded as too “*airy-fairy*” by Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2015), taking too long to plan and not moving towards implementation. In the case of Johannesburg, the concept of live-work-play only accommodates and benefits a few people in the immediate surrounding areas of such inclusionary housing projects, and not the broader population that commutes to work daily (Motaung, 2012:2). Even with new urbanism concepts such as the Transport Orientated Development (TOD), which has been implemented in Cape Town over the past five years, and is to be expanded within the next ten years (City of Cape Town, 2015:25), it raises the question as to how successful TOD will be in integrating settlements and communities. Joubert remarks that transport now has to intervene, bringing Apartheid settlements (for example Atlantis), closer to each other, through such transport linkages (personal communication, March 2016).

Noting these understandings, most of the respondents concur with the BNG (National Department of Housing, 2004:6) definition of integrated and sustainable human settlements and note that it provides a sufficient base for housing and their summaries included the following characteristics:

“The provision of housing and infrastructure, access to amenities create economic opportunities.

Equal opportunities and access to those opportunities.

There should be no clear divide amongst the races.

Reference to integrated concept that caters for a broad spectrum of community segments, based on income, race, culture groups.

Stimulates regeneration.

Sustainable: settlement, which promotes long-term viability of the Municipality (financial perspective) and of greater settlement (emotional, transport, resource use). Also, you will find a shift to settlement counterpart to fundamental shift (housing, industry).

Integrated in terms of social amenities, and land use mix.

Need for politics to rectify the past, of segregation (mix of income levels).

Having a different view that the beneficiaries should become the clients.”

There seems to be a common agreement around what the ideal integrated and sustainable human settlements should entail. However, for such human settlements to become a reality, they must be well supported in the broader government system, vibrant, financially viable, have political stability and should not replicate Apartheid dormitory settlements (Turok personal communication, February 2016).

Proceeding from understanding how these broad concepts are perceived, it is critical to conceptualise the national and global linkages between the BNG and Habitat II. Pertinent hereto, the researcher discovered to what extent the professionals and planners see themselves as having a larger impact in terms of human settlements.

5.2.2 Interlinkage of BNG and Habitat II

As noted by Geyer (personal communication, March 2016), it is critical that we understand the process and the principle(s) before we, as professionals, can be

confident to apply them accordingly. Furthermore, the context becomes the canvas against which the professionals work. The realities of the post-Apartheid challenges, which complicate planning and prioritisation of development within such settlements, need to be acknowledged.

Huchzermeyer (personal communication, December 2015) felt that the **Habitat II** concept of human settlements extends beyond housing as a structure to include a habitable environment. Napier (personal communication, November 2015) argued that Habitat II focuses on adequate housing, setting the benchmark for each country to implement this vision within their context. However, in the South African context, it raises the question of prioritising the right thing, against different political agendas. Thus, the provision of housing in a human settlement environment becomes a domestic issue.

Horn (personal communication, March 2016) argues that the **BNG** is clear in what the outcomes should be. As such, the BNG has many new urbanism principles in it that should guide the provision for human settlements. Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2015) concurs that the **BNG** focus is on initiating integrated projects to rectify the past. This is confirmed by Mirembe (personal communication, October 2015), who agreed that the BNG changed the view of housing with an emphasis on density and design, as well as the sustainability and the quality of life for the beneficiaries. Geyer (personal communication, March 2016) adds that the BNG definition is contributing to economic opportunity, especially the ability to move, which equates to the Istanbul declaration that emphasises equity and economic productivity.

Against the above perceptions, there are linkages and similarities between the BNG and Habitat II interpretations of human settlements. In summary, the broadness and depth thereof can be summarised as:

- The “Breaking New Ground” Housing Strategy (2004) aims to promote an integrated society by developing sustainable human settlements and quality

housing within a subsidy system for different income groups. It creates an enabling environment for the delivery of affordable housing, which forms a large part of this. BNG subsidy housing builds on the existing housing policy articulated in the *White Paper on Housing* (1994), but shifts the strategic focus from simply ensuring the delivery of affordable housing to ensuring that housing is delivered in settlements that are both sustainable and habitable.

- Habitat II (1996) aims to make the world's cities and villages healthy, equitable, sustainable, and safe. The conference addressed the issues of adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements development in a rapidly urbanising world. Two issues remained unresolved. First, it was not determined whether housing was a human right. Second, it was not determined what the role of the international community of developed countries was in supporting financially sustainable development in underdeveloped countries.

However, Horn (personal communication, March 2016) reminds us that as South African citizens we have the post-Apartheid legacy, and are in dire need to redirect this landscape (SALGA, 2014:5). Therefore, municipalities find it difficult to implement the new urbanism principles of the first world, as contained in the **BNG**. Due to the devastating spatial legacy with its socio-economic and cultural consequences, there will be long-term residual impacts on communities (Smeddle-Thompson, 2012:13). To the contrary, Madell (personal communication, November 2015) argues that the BNG definition promotes fragmented settlements, where race is still used as the norm. Similarly, Smith (personal communication, February 2016) argues that there is a range of definitions for sustainable human settlements in South Africa and that these should be read in combination with the Housing Act No. 107 of 1997, as Habitat II uses similar thinking, derived from the same principles.

In interpreting Figure 5.1, only four respondents did not feel comfortable answering this question (NA), which brought along some discrepancies (in the groupings of answers), to the results of the interview question. However, three respondents felt that there is a problem in how the BNG is applied in housing projects. Two respondents felt that the BNG definition should be **redirected** (i.e. revised), with clear criteria about what integrated and sustainable human settlements should entail. In addition, two respondents felt that the BNG definition should be **enhanced** to have greater emphasis on the social and environmental aspects of sustainable human settlements. This will enable the developers to grasp and confidently implement the BNG at local level.

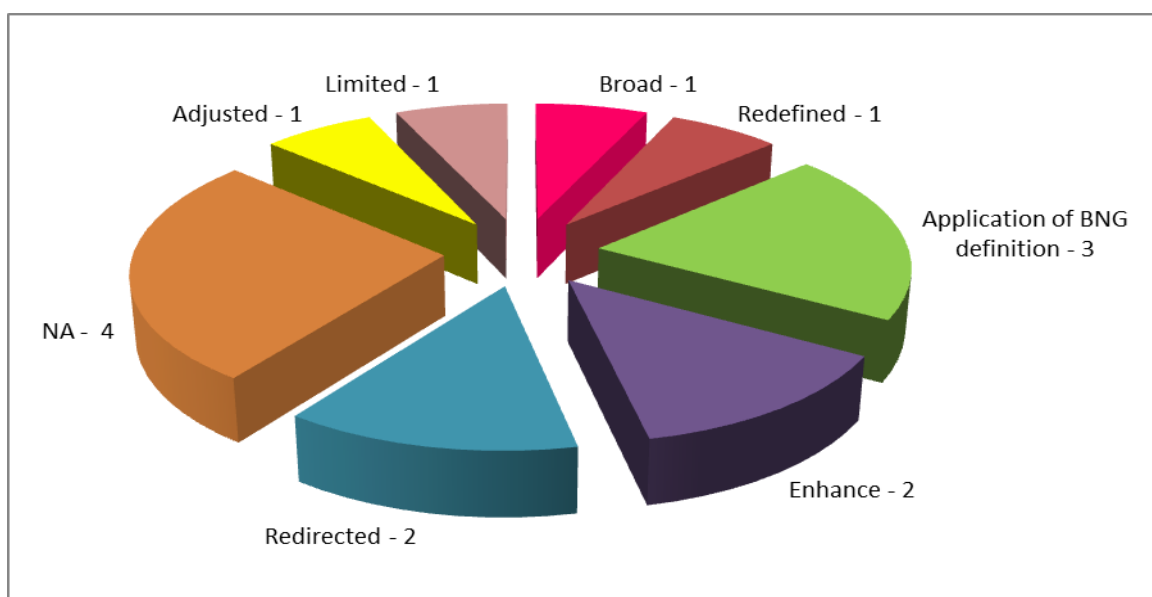


Figure 5.1: Views on BNG in relation to Istanbul declaration
Source: Author, 2016

Nevertheless, Van Aarde (personal communication, November 2015) and Madell (personal communication, November 2015) agree that:

“...the problem lies with the implementation of BNG and not the definition thereto.”

Thus, it is in how this strategy is implemented, given the socio-economic conditions and vested interests, that it must be contextualised differently, while the principles of

integrated and sustainable human settlements should be standardised. Further to this, Geyer (personal communication, March 2016) observed that:

“...with this clarity, it can then be applied to all the policies; and then there is no need to make assumptions. In addition, practitioners will then be able to evaluate the level of integration and sustainability.”

In elaborating on this, Smith (personal communication, February 2016) believes that:

“It is critical that the key components of integrated and sustainable human settlements be defined at the different scales and be specific with the roles and key investments of the different departments. Collectively, with a wider approach, government should become the enabler; creating the environment for such settlements to materialise.”

Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2016) feels that the BNG policy needs to be **adjusted**, wherein the objectives need to be driven at a governmental level, with clear outcomes. However, according to Hutchzermeyer (personal communication, December 2015) nothing should be added or removed, but the BNG policy should rather **redefine the definition** of integrated and sustainable human settlements. She uses the example of the mega-projects, which were approved by the National Department of Human Settlements (NDoHS). Yet, they are still being developed on the periphery of urban areas (Berrisford & Kihato, 2008:385; Turok, 2016a:14). This is totally contrary to the accepted BNG principles as developed through NDoHS itself.

Napier (personal communication, October 2015) observed that the BNG definition is **limited** as this vision is not shared with the whole of society, nor other national and provincial (sector) departments. Furthermore, it should also give an indication on how it should be measured and how it can be achieved. Should there be a common understanding of the envisioned integrated and sustainable human settlements, it becomes less complicated to work towards such settlements. Therefore, if the creation

of integrated and sustainable human settlements is important to government, there is an urgent need to identify the relevant stakeholders who can contribute towards physical proximity that brings along social cohesion and combats crime, including the placing of socio-economic facilities that will ensure better integration, and so on. Furthermore, the layout design should create a functional neighbourhood that lends itself to being more inclusive.

The BNG aims for a unified housing market in South Africa, but Kedzieja (personal communication, December 2015) argues that this assumption actually creates further confusion. He continues that there are different housing programmes for different housing needs and persons. This creates many inconsistencies with housing application processes, as well as further underlying chaos as each housing programme is handled differently. He proposes that some factors, for example the reference to entities and carrying capacity, based on the BNG definition, be removed to eliminate the confusion.

In view of the different opinions amongst academics, government officials as well as the private sector planners who are all working in the human settlement environment, the researcher questions the existence of common ground from which we are to proceed to implement BNG. The UN Habitat's definitions are not always relevant in the South African context of affordable housing, especially when they also include the RDP (housing programme) as part of the broader definition (UN Habitat, 2011:28). Yet, the UN Habitat's understanding of adequate housing, quality of life as well as sustainable human settlements are supported in debates in favour of affordable housing. On an international scale, more specifically Africa, the urgency to provide access to adequate and affordable housing for all, is an increasingly serious problem (UN Habitat, 2011:70). For South Africa, it is critical to find common ground, to be able to move forward in delivering these sustainable settlements: part hereof lies in clear and consistent definitions of integrated and sustainable human settlements. The Comprehensive Plan sought to achieve social transformation outcomes of creating a non-racial and integrated society (Jurgen & Donaldson, 2012:1), by utilising housing delivery as a strategy to alleviate poverty and offering job creation, and ensuring that

property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment (DoHS, 2014:3).

5.2.3 Underlying principles of affordable and inclusionary housing

Mabotha (personal communication, May 2017) challenged the current approach to housing and what is being done: *“Housing in its totality is the answer, and not affordable housing as such. Therefore, housing in its totality must be provided for everyone – no matter their income, status, race; inclusive in one development to address integration and change the current fragmented approach.”*

With this sentiment, it becomes critical to reflect in how inclusionary – and affordable housing is perceived, to determine whether it can contribute to changing the Apartheid spatial landscape. One such observation was made by Brown-Luthango (personal communication, June 2017) who commented that affordable and inclusionary housing has different meanings and interpretations for different people, even in the same discipline or organisation. She notes that in this complicated understanding, there are complex undercurrents to development.

Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2015) made the remark that there are two definitions of **affordability of housing**; that of government (combined household income ranging between R3 500-R15 000, which includes the product price) versus that of the developer in the private sector (bondable below threshold for transfer duty, calculated below R1 million, including the product price). Steenkamp’s interpretation is in line with the broader research definition for affordable housing. Hence, according to Khaki (2009:38) the term “affordable housing” in itself means very little. The cost of housing becomes affordable only when the income of its occupants is taken into consideration. As such, affordability of housing in general is often expressed in terms of “affordable housing.” This term, though, can be viewed as being misleading, as affordability is not a characteristic of housing. It can be described as a

relationship between housing and people. Proceeding from the earlier mentioned approaches, the researcher agrees with Ndinda (n.d.:2) who, based on studies on housing affordability, suggests that when housing costs exceed 30 % of the household income, it becomes unaffordable.

In moving beyond the cost and pricing of affordable housing, Kedzieja (personal communication, December 2015) observed that with this understanding, there are no limiting factors, as households are not only able to have a home, but also have access to a variety of socio-economic facilities close to them. Thus, moving beyond the perceived definition of affordable housing, the researcher observed that access and provision of socio-economic facilities, choice of transport, and infrastructure also contribute to the affordability of housing, and the inclusiveness of settlements (Duranton & Guerra, 2016:19).

Inclusionary housing brought other insights to light. Turok (personal communication, February 2016) and Huchzermeyer (personal communication, November 2015), commented that inclusionary housing is accessible to more people, and provides households and individuals with a means to exercise choice. Their choices are directed towards not only their ability to pay, but also to the respective price ranges of the finished house (as a product), the design, as well as the location.

Smith (personal communication, February 2016) argues, *“This inclusionary housing provides for a mix of income and housing groups, and on an international level, it consists of mix[ed] housing.”*

Geyer (personal communication, February 2016) notes, *“In these settlements, and kinds of projects, you will see the provision for economic inclusion, and less of classing of people based on their race, income, or status. Through this diversity, inclusion is created through housing.”*

South African professionals, as well as the planners, reserved their opinions on this topic. Reverting to literature, inclusionary housing is a common term also referred to as inclusionary zoning or mixed-income housing (Mooney, 2007:7; Landman, 2012:52). According to Tonkin (2008:182) mixed income housing refers to a range of income and social groups living in the same habitable environment. Inclusionary housing occurs when a city planning law requires a certain percentage (normally 20 %) of a development to be reserved for families of very low, low income and moderate income levels (Landman, 2012:52).

With different understandings for affordable and inclusionary housing, one dimension, the ability to choose from what is available, created another aspect to this research. With the Apartheid legacy, there are not many socio-economic facilities, transport options, and so on to choose from for most lower income households. Thus, these households have to be satisfied with what is available to them, being badly situated in terms of the bigger settlement. The second dimension is that even if those options are available, the related decision to be made is whether it is worthwhile to travel to those better options, or to make the best of what their settlement has to offer. These are some of the aspects households must grapple with on a daily basis. Much of this will become evident through the case studies.

5.2.4 Contribution of inclusionary housing to integrated and sustainable human settlements

In chapter 3, the researcher presented international trends towards ensuring affordable housing contains aspects of integrated and sustainable human settlements. However, this research wants to test whether inclusionary housing can contribute to integrated and sustainable human settlements, given the Apartheid spatial landscape challenges.

The respondents agreed that inclusionary housing would enable **various income groups and races** to live together in one development (Titus personal communication, October 2015; Horn personal communication, February 2016; Mirembe personal communication, October 2015; Geyer personal communication, February 2016). Depending on the level of offsets, Clayton and Schwartz (2015:9) found that inclusionary zoning can be economically feasible to serve a range of affordability levels.

Furthermore, inclusionary housing allows for **flexibility in land use**, unlike narrow zoning or policies for housing (Berrisford & Kihato, 2008:385). This goes beyond gated estates and townhouse developments. By encouraging socio-economic integration, incentives to private developments should be made available (Seeliger & Turok, 2015: 323). As Napier (personal communication, November 2015) remarks, the South African government can learn from Britain and the USA how mandatory inclusionary zoning, by-laws and incentives were enforced in developments allowing for an acceptable **mix of higher and lower income households** in one successful development. An American study of the effectiveness of inclusionary zoning policies at promoting mixed incomes in eleven different municipalities concluded that overall, inclusionary zoning policy tends to produce affordable units throughout a jurisdiction, including in low-poverty neighbourhoods (Clayton & Schwartz, 2015:10).

Affordable, mixed-income housing in well-located neighbourhoods provides **access to quality services, shortened travel times, and access to work and can assist in bringing excluded communities** back into the town centres (Hurley, 2016:7). Rossouw (2016:3) argues that this instrument exists. It has been implemented successfully for decades, internationally in desegregated communities that were previously divided by race and class.

Further benefits are that mixed income housing reduces the **concentration of poverty** in a particular area (Khaki, 2009:35). Whilst the benefits of inclusionary housing are well substantiated by the government, the debate against inclusionary housing from an economic and planning perspective continues within all sectors of

societies, as this is indeed no easy task to accomplish (Ehrenhalt, 2016:2; MeKawy, 2014b:1929).

Table 5.1: Commended examples of case studies raised by the respondents

International examples	New York "The poor door"	
	Paris "The Rue Saint Honore"	
South African examples	Gauteng	Cosmo City Fleurhof Pennyvale
	KwaZulu-Natal	Cornubia in Durban
	Western Cape province: Cape Town	Westlake Village Pelican Park Springfield Terrace Marconi Beam Stellendale Melkbosch Village Rocklands/Oaklands in Mitchell's Plain. Keerom street/Senator park - opposite the High Court Burheim Estate, Kraaifontein <u>Proposed projects:</u> Two River Urban Programme (TRUP) and Conradie Hospital

With reference to Table 5.1 above, Cosmo City in Johannesburg was the most mentioned affordable housing project (Turok personal communication, February 2016; Smit personal communication, February 2016). Westlake and Pelican Park were among the prominent ones, and highly recommended by Turok (personal communication, February 2016) and Smith (personal communication, February 2016). However, Joubert (personal communication, February 2016) remarked that the planned projects Two River Urban Project (TRUP) and Conradie Hospital are currently in the planning stage, and it is anticipated that these projects will include a wide range of land uses, encompassing a variety of housing options that will contribute to inclusiveness. Conversely, according to Rossouw (2016:2), the Conradie site is not large enough to provide the proposed housing around Pinelands, which will be 3 600 units of which 50 % will be directed towards affordable housing.

As can be seen in Figure 5.2, the respondents were outspoken about successful projects from which South Africa can learn, or factors that could be considered in future projects. These projects were recommended as they provided for a range of income groups and ownership options. The success of Pelican Park could not fully be discussed, as some phases (which make provision for other land uses) still need to be constructed. Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2015) estimated that five to seven years should be allowed before this project could be re-evaluated. This will further be discussed in Chapter 6, dedicated to the case studies.

As the respondents had different interpretations of inclusionary housing (paragraph 5.2.3), there were doubts whether the affordable housing projects, as contained in Table 5.2, can be considered as inclusionary housing as well. Although Cosmo City provided for a variety of tenure options (Napier personal communication, November 2015), a mix of race (Mirembe personal communication, November 2015) and a range of income groups (Madell personal communication, February 2016; Smith personal communication, February 2016) **segregation persists**, especially in the access and use of communal facilities (Turok personal communication, February 2016). This is due to the provision for only residential units, excluding the provision of other land uses.

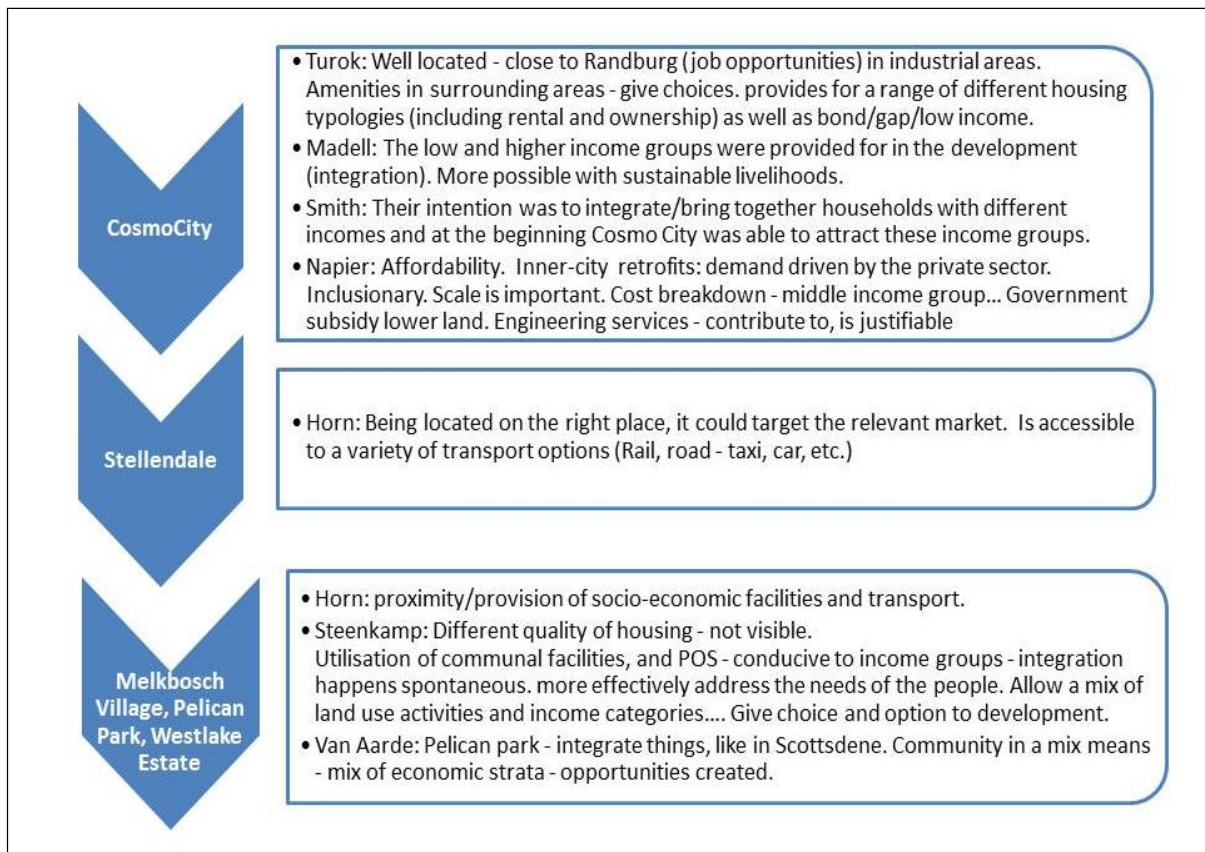


Figure 5.2: Summary remarks as received from respondents during interviews
Source: Author, 2016

In another instance, Smith (personal communication, February 2016) remarks that **Marconi Beam** and **Westlake Village** made no provision for other land uses, as the beneficiaries were considered to be in close proximity to the neighbouring settlement's socio-economic facilities. Van Aarde (personal communication, February 2015) challenged this perception of the Westlake Village that planned for security complexes and estates – walling off any integration with neighbouring settlements and communities. Although **Stellendale** only provided for the “gap market,” it was located in a good area, accessible through transport routes and in close proximity to socio-economic facilities (Horn personal communication, March 2016). This location enabled the attraction of the right market. To the contrary, **Pelican Park** allowed for a mix of income and land uses (Van Aarde personal communication, November 2015), with some community involvement in development, allowing the beneficiaries to choose the house they would like to have (Titus personal communication, October 2015).

Although these inclusionary housing projects had good intentions, they did not realise them due to the cost of the project, the viability to zone land for socio-economic facilities, or the perceptions towards “intruders” into a new area (NIMBY syndrome) (Bolt, 2013:392; Meda, 2009:165; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013:421). Proponents of mixed-income housing initially posited that economic diversity within neighbourhoods would enhance community interaction and improve neighbourhood characteristics (Fraser & Nelson, 2008:2129; Hurley, 2016:7). However, further studies, both in the USA and internationally, have demonstrated that mixed-income housing does not automatically produce these hypothesised neighbourhood and household-level outcomes (Talen, 2006:233; Lelevier, 2013:410). Thus, the effectiveness of any inclusionary zoning policy depends on a jurisdiction’s specific housing market structure and conditions, regulatory context and the design of the policy itself (Clayton & Schwartz, 2015:2).

5.2.5 The role of the town and regional planners in the context of integrated and sustainable human settlements

From the eighteen respondents interviewed, only thirteen persons were comfortable to respond in this section. The responses varied vastly and in some instances, contradicted each other. It seems that there is no right or wrong answer, but that these responses should rather be considered against different scenarios (as in scenario planning) to determine options to make integrated and sustainable human settlements successful in an affordable housing or inclusionary housing environment. Thus, the respondents highlighted a range of areas where town and regional planners can play a critical role in expanding the affordable housing scenario into a successful, integrated and sustainable human settlement (refer Figure 5.3). This clearly embarks on a different approach to planning, the delivery of houses, as well as the creation of human settlements.

It is here that Brown-Luthando (personal communication, June 2017) emphasised that housing is a mechanism that can bring change, such as spatial transformation; as well

as the change in language currently very loosely used such as corridors, such as spatial targeting, and inclusiveness. She argues *“This is the playing field for the town planners, to level those discrepancies and create homes and communities for all.”*

Minister Madikizela (personal communication, November 2016) pointed out that *“We are not doing enough to change the Apartheid spatial landscape. The poor are still on the fringes of the town, lacking access to work, cheap transport and socio-economic facilities. We think that we made an impact on the people’s lives, giving them BNG houses, but we sent them into a poverty trap.”*

In addressing these changes, Napier (personal communication, February 2016) challenges the town planners to take more risks, and be more creative to find solutions beyond physical constraints and infrastructural challenges. As such, Joubert (personal communication, February 2016) challenged the continuation of Apartheid planning and delivery, and noted that:

“...very much the same process is being followed in undertaking housing projects today, and nothing has changed since 1994. There are [sic] still much inequality in the provision of services, transport, etc. as well as the intended position and the location of facilities, which were very much developed during the Apartheid years.”

Brown-Luthando (personal communication, June 2017) argues that it is only through boldness that things will be done differently, and there will be a change in the Apartheid spatial landscape. Similarly, Minister Madikezela (personal communication, November 2016) made a very thoughtful remark that *“As planners and government workers we fixate on the quick wins, i.e. the low hanging fruits, and then with self-gratification we think that we had contributed to the quality of life for the people. This needs to change, and it starts with the planners!”*

Mr. Gary Power (personal communication, June 2017), from Power Construction indicated that he had a dedicated team working with the municipality and the beneficiaries, to ensure that this project is a success. He notes that *“to plan and implement a project of this magnitude [Pelican Park], is not easy, as there are so many factors, role players and dynamics to take into consideration. It is not because of a town planner either. The success of this project is not due to me and my team, but because of everyone contributing 100% to it.”*

Taking cognisance of this statement, it could be inferred that there is a need to clarify each discipline’s contribution beyond government – as to how they can give effect to the vision of integrated and sustainable human settlements. This is critical if the ministers want to do justice to the targets they set for their five-year term.

Given the above-mentioned analysis, town and regional planners need to be able to plan pro-actively, in the light of the challenges of creating sustainable human settlements. The “negotiation of difference” is particularly important in the post-Apartheid South African city, where essential socio-spatial restructuring cannot openly condone the suppression of difference, but requires new types of spatial planning (Spinks, 2001:24).

a. Policy and Law

Planning law, especially in a country of great inequality, inevitably gives rise to litigation (Berrisford, 2011b:247; Keeton, 2014:6). Thus, in view of the importance of SPLUMA, influencing municipal planning as well as human settlement development, it is pertinent to acknowledge that it seeks to provide for inclusive, developmental, equitable and efficient spatial planning at the different spheres of government (Nel, 2016:89). The SPLUMA principles reinforce a new South African legal legacy in favour of spatial justice, spatial sustainability, efficiency, spatial resilience and good administration (South Africa, 2013: Chapter 2; Nel, 2016:89).

For planners, the principles of SPLUMA should inspire town and regional planners to develop stronger policies that will bring inclusionary housing and provide for affordable housing, to change the spatial landscape. Brown-Luthando (personal communication, June 2017) stated that there are too many housing programmes, and in this review of the White Paper for Human Settlements, it is necessary to enquire which of these programmes are still relevant to address the actual need within the South African context.

Figure 5.3 below summarises the various contributions made by the interviewees, across numerous spheres, including policy, planning and implementation.

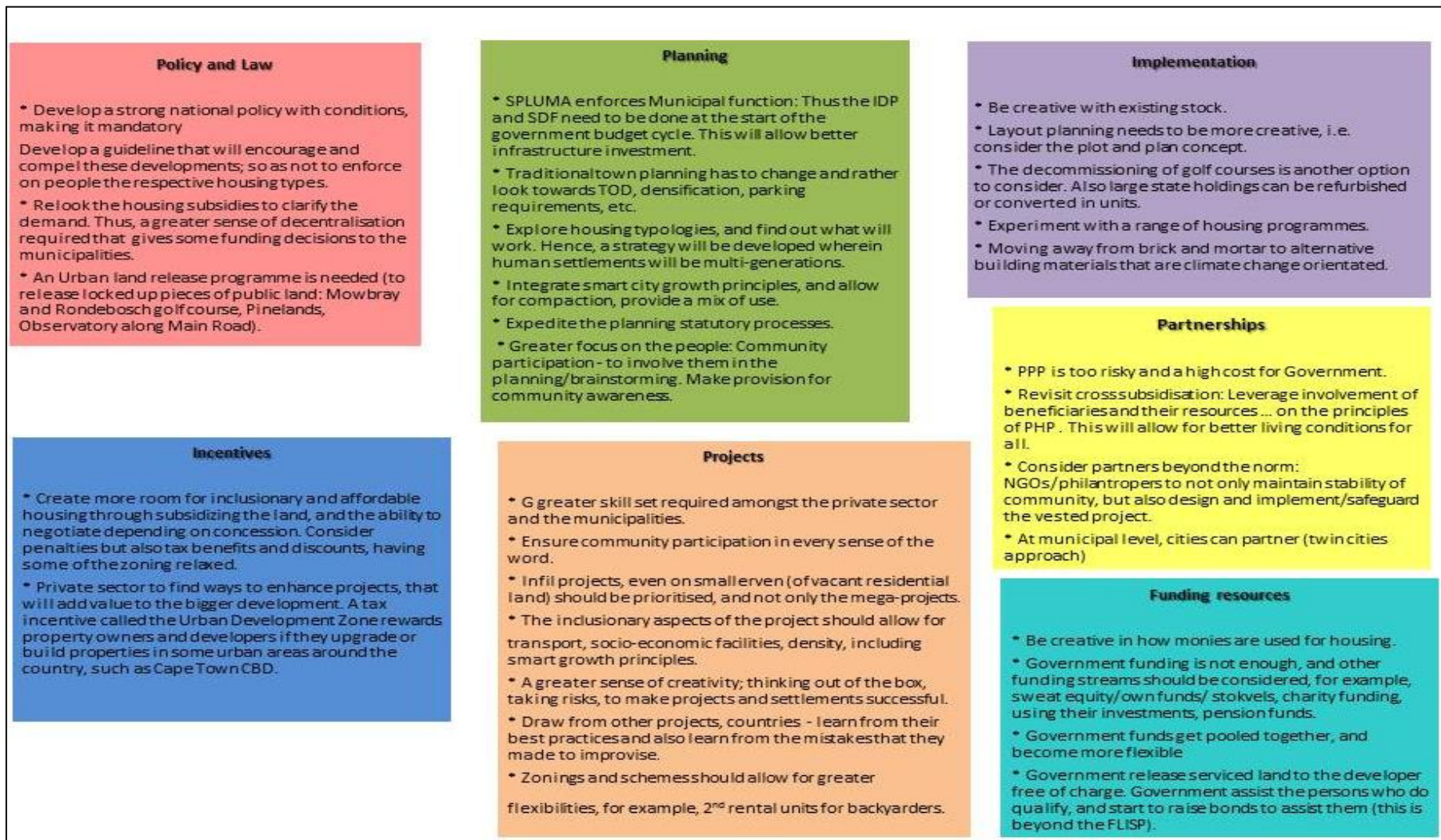


Figure 5.3: Summary of remarks with recommendations
 Source: Author, 2016

b. Incentives

Turok (personal communication, February 2016) and Huchzermeyer (personal communication, November 2015) argued that for the developers to develop an appetite for inclusionary and affordable housing, the incentives should be worthwhile for them; for example, standard greenfields projects (UISP or BNG) should allow for the expedition of land rights, statutory planning processes and negotiations that allow for better products. However, the balance between finding a way to make the incentives worthwhile and profitable enough for the developer, versus their social responsibility, needs to be defined up front. This will vary from project to project, and municipality to municipality; thus, the need to review based on merit, becomes critical (Madell personal communication, February 2016; Smith personal communication, February 2016).

It is through partnerships and further networks that funding streams can be further investigated (Horn personal communication, February 2016). Figure 5.3 encapsulates some of the incentives that could be considered by Government for affordable housing, as well as inclusionary housing. According to the literature, it is difficult to make affordable housing enticing enough for the private sector to consider it, as it does not lend itself to being profitable (Brunick, n.d.:5; Mpehle, 2015:15). It is here that Smith (personal communication, February 2016) noted that although some planning, land and statutory processes can be eased, or shortened, these perceived benefits catch up later on in the project development or community consultation stage. Even so, should serviced land be made available to the developer, it is a small contribution, not taking into consideration other expenses such as the training and consultations with the beneficiaries and communities. There are greater pressures on the planners to understand the housing markets and the related economy, to make affordable housing a feasible product for all the stakeholders.

c. Projects

Although the provision of integrated and sustainable human settlements requires a specific skills set and thinking, it is even more so in undertaking affordable as well as inclusionary housing in the South African context (Kedzieja personal communication, November 2015). Land that was previously earmarked as Apartheid buffer zones can now be reconsidered for development that will bring communities closer to each other (Wust personal communication, February 2016). This type of integration worked well in the example of Wade Park, USA. This park is viewed as Frisco's newest **175-acre mixed-use development** that "*redefines upscale elegance in a contemporary, eclectic setting*" (Wade Park, 2014:1). At a time when many developments toss around the phrase "live-work-play," Wade Park embodies it, bringing a diversity of inner city vibrancy to the park, for all.

As argued by Goven et al. (2012:79), the layout of public and private sector housing development projects in South Africa does not make sufficient provision for a sense of place. In addition, units of varying quality have been provided, causing many additional challenges for beneficiaries. The impact of a lack of integrated planning at the design stages (Van Aarde personal communication, November 2015) transcends into socio-economic problems when the households move into the houses. The combined result is that communities often struggle with access to economic opportunities, which is detrimental to their overall growth as communities. Thus, there is a need for a holistic approach to community development and settlement planning in conjunction with improved spatial and urban design frameworks and approaches, ensuring integrated service delivery over the lifecycle of settlements (Napier personal communication, February 2016).

d. Implementation

The housing market in South Africa is largely driven by demand. With escalating demand, when a project is being constructed, it should contribute to the regeneration of the urban area, allowing for the organic evolution of the neighbourhood. Turok (personal communication, February 2016) notes that planners need to be more creative and innovative, that they should be accountable and take greater risks to make settlements habitable and humane. There should be a move towards alternative technologies, moving away from brick and mortar as the only acceptable construction material (Titus personal communication, October 2015).

In striving towards a walkable city, new settlements created through (affordable) housing projects should ensure a compact design with a variety of typologies from which to choose (Turok personal communication, February 2016). However, the argument also stands that old housing stock can be utilised differently; for example, converting it to offices, guesthouses, or student accommodation. For this kind of planning to be undertaken successfully, the planner needs to understand the project specifics and detail, but still have the vision to realise the vision and spirit of the development into the settlement (Thompson-Smeddle, 2012:27).

e. Funding

As indicated in Figure 5.4, Goven et al. (2012:184) claim that the affordable housing sector faces a variety of challenges, including inadequate funding mechanisms, given the socio-economic levels of the homeowners in this segment. Smith (personal communication, February 2016) argues that government is not doing enough to acquire additional funding to assist local municipalities to deliver better quality and more affordable housing. Geyer (personal communication, February 2016) proposes

that the anticipated beneficiaries should also contribute to their housing; for example, their own funds (especially through informal saving schemes such as stokvels).

Brown-Luthando (personal communication, June 2017) observed that the private sector should be more involved, and more incentives and penalties should be considered. In this, government should consider trade-offs and potential levers that will enhance quality of life of the beneficiaries, allow for densification and optimise the proposed site.

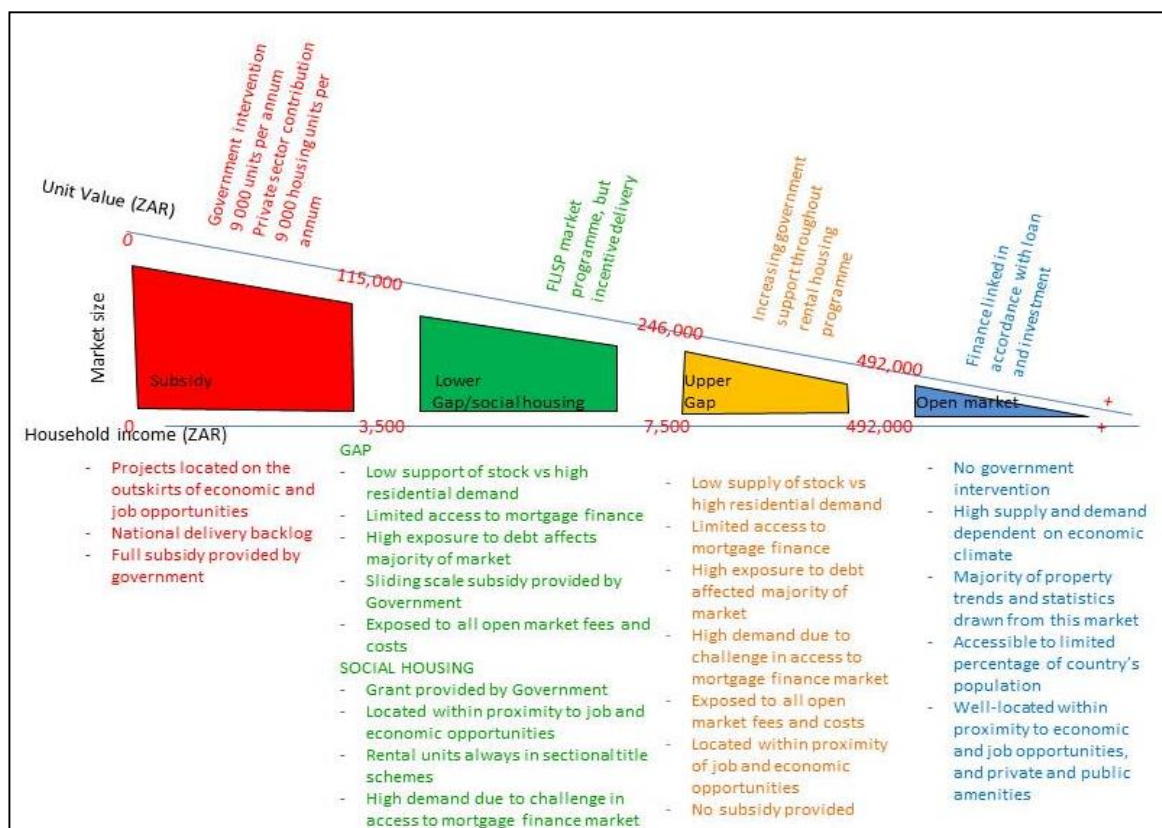


Figure 5.4: Affordable housing challenges in South Africa
Source: Goven, Richards & Rendall, 2011

Steenkamp (personal communication, November 2015) also remarks that the use of pension and long-term investments could also be considered as a funding stream towards affordable housing. These challenges suggest that a new approach is required if private home ownership is to increase in a significant way (refer to Figure 5.4).

The respondents proposed creative ways for Government to source and ring-fence funding, and encourage the future homeowners to contribute too (Turok personal communication, February 2016; Madell personal communication, November 2015). In addition, as the National Housing Code (National Department of Human Settlement, 2009) is currently under review, it is anticipated that the subsidies will be reviewed and may be streamlined, allowing for a better use of grants.

f. Partnerships

Although legislation, the Provincial Finance and Management Act (PFMA) and Municipal Finance and Management Act (MFMA) are not enabling Public Private Partnerships (PPP), this does not stop any stakeholder from taking an initiative to plan for affordable housing, inclusionary housing or integrated and sustainable human settlements (Turok personal communication, February 2016). However, the principle of both institutional and community representations in governance mechanisms at all scales of the project is relevant. This not only allows for ownership, but also creates diversity in settlement planning, and a better spread of resources being utilised (Madell personal communication, November 2015; Smith personal communication, February 2016). However, this kind of participation, amongst private or public sector role players, differs at each scale (Goven et al., 2012:200). What is important, however, is that joint community ownership is always in effect. This form of ownership creates a locus for family unity and the wider community to mobilise around this and to gain empowerment.

As noted in Figure 5.4, it is through joint ownership, that partnerships could be prioritised. For example, Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and Community based organisations (CBOs) can initiate a project from ground level, based on the communities' need, and attract further stakeholders as need be (Titus personal communication, October 2015).

Cities across the world are recognising the economic, environmental and social benefits of compact urban development that clusters and concentrates multiple uses and users in denser nodes of vibrant activity. There are many well-established arguments in support of densification and integration (Western Cape, 2014:5; Pieterse, 2004:18; Lemanski, 2008:400). These include resource efficiency, improved functionality of transport systems (more people moving shorter distance) and if done correctly, concentrations of activity that result in more economically and socially vibrant cities (Fleming, 2013:3). The provision of affordable and inclusionary housing is just one way to create integrated and sustainable human settlements, as was studied through this research. Pertinent to this research, public transport becomes critical to make housing affordable.

5.3 Conclusion: summary of interview results

This chapter focused on the findings of the interviews conducted as part of this research, and comparing them to the literature. The perspectives of the respondents, especially in relation to BNG ten years later, are startling. As South Africa has been delivering quantities of housing, it is evident that this does not mean that the country had not transitioned in delivering integrated and sustainable human settlements, let alone inclusive communities. The tragic reality is that, should we not change our approach to the provision and planning for housing, and creating human settlements, South Africa can anticipate an entrenched continuation of the Apartheid spatial landscape.

Parnell and Crankshaw (2013:18) state that planning was not the only contributor responsible for the spatial divide in South African cities. They suggest that, in the contemporary period, urban planning is a maligned, neglected area that may just as easily compound, entrench or erode patterns of segregation in cities, depending on how the instruments or planning are used. In sum, it seems that the power of the urban planner has been overestimated as the force behind Apartheid urban inequalities and segregation (Parnell & Mabin, 1995). Should this be true, it is critical to look beneath

the surface and ask what else could then underpin the continuation of urban segregation and division. In the case of South Africa, Parnell and Crankshaw (2013:22) submit that the absence of a single, universal system of urban management ensures that segregation cannot be revoked.

In understanding the range of contributors to the urban planning arena in South Africa, it is critical to relay that back to the scope of this research. Firstly, it became evident that there are many assumptions and perceptions as to what is understood by each of the concepts under study. There is a need to redefine these concepts, put them into context, and place measures that will enable the users to monitor and evaluate the impact of the integrated and sustainable human settlements, over time. This redefinition exercise should not only be undertaken by town and regional planners, but a range of professionals (such as strategic planners, financial planners, economists, engineers, architects, land surveyors,) from the built environment. Given the different opinions and perspectives, as well as understandings of common concepts, it is clear that there is a dire need for some of these concepts to be clarified and standardised. In going forward, there is a need to:

- Define the characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements;
- Have a proactive approach pertaining to what can be altered in the segregated/Apartheid settlements through (affordable and inclusionary) housing as a mechanism;
- Provide inputs to how town and regional discipline can be influenced to have a pro-active approach to change the Apartheid spatial landscape; and
- Learn from international affordable and inclusionary housing practices, to address the vagueness in the South African approaches towards affordable housing, and use the lessons learnt to influence policy.

Secondly, the true value of Habitat III will only be established in the next few years. However, this is no excuse not to optimise this platform and direct resources towards the pro-active revision of the human settlement policies in South Africa, that will result in the actual change of the Apartheid spatial landscape. As such, Klug, Rubin & Todes

(2013:668) and Turok (2013:168) argue that in South Africa, initiatives to develop an inclusionary housing policy emerged in response to concerns that too little had been done to redress the fragmented and divided Apartheid city and that a more interventionist approach was required. Encouraging the private sector to contribute to the supply of affordable housing was also seen as desirable. Thus, the South African approach has both social inclusion and “value capture” agendas. More housing options across different income scales help to create more economic opportunities for more people, resulting in a stronger, more resilient, and more inclusive socio-economic reality (Fleming, 2013:6).

Lastly, the argument was made that more should be done to bring about inclusivity. This is not only to change the Apartheid spatial landscape, but also to address the social cohesion, economic sustainability and conserving of the environment in advancing the urban planning of those settlements. As noted by Goven, Richards and Rendall (2011:41), our South African cities’ spatial form is still fragmented (economically, ethnically, religiously, and culturally) and they sprawl towards their peripheries (Du Plessis, 2015:2). When undertaking urban development projects, the government must look carefully at all the components including the physical, psychological and social aspects, which constitute effective urban planning (Siu & Huang, 2015:308). It is herein that the town and regional planners should play a different role in taking affordable housing forward in South Africa, by:

- being creative with given limited resources;
- taking acceptable risks and moving beyond compliance;
- having an understanding of the community so as to take their best interests to heart but also ensuring that those interests are carried through into long term planning; and
- being able to negotiate for better settlement creation that results in integrated and sustainable human settlements.

The next chapter (Chapter 6) is dedicated to the case studies – focusing on Birmingham, Alabama and Cape Town, South Africa.

6.1 Introduction

Against the background of the previous chapters, this chapter proceeds to investigate generally commended affordable housing projects. Many of these projects were also highly commended by the respondents, as discussed in Chapter 5. The three Cape Town based case studies are compared to the Birmingham, Alabama case studies, as per the definition of affordable housing. The researcher will investigate what makes these projects affordable, and whether the settlement's location lends itself to changing the apartheid spatial landscape. In each of the Cape Town instances, the voices from the community will come through, sharing their daily living experiences in these respective communities.

6.2 Case study: Birmingham, Alabama

Birmingham is located in the state of Alabama, USA (refer to Figure 6.1). Pertinent to this study, much of Birmingham is contained in Jefferson County, which is one of the most populated counties in Birmingham, and in the Alabama State (Citydata, 2016:2). Due to the loss of manufacturing jobs, in addition to the racial and economic segregation, poverty perpetuated and created further pockets of segregation and isolation across the city of Birmingham (Birmingham Alabama Annual Performance Plan, 2013/14:15) (refer to Figure 6.2 below). In addition to the City's challenges and the housing crisis of 2008, in 2008 Jefferson County fell into bankruptcy due to a \$3.2 million sewer bond. At that time, it was the largest municipal bankruptcy in history, creating uncertainty for the entire metropolitan region.

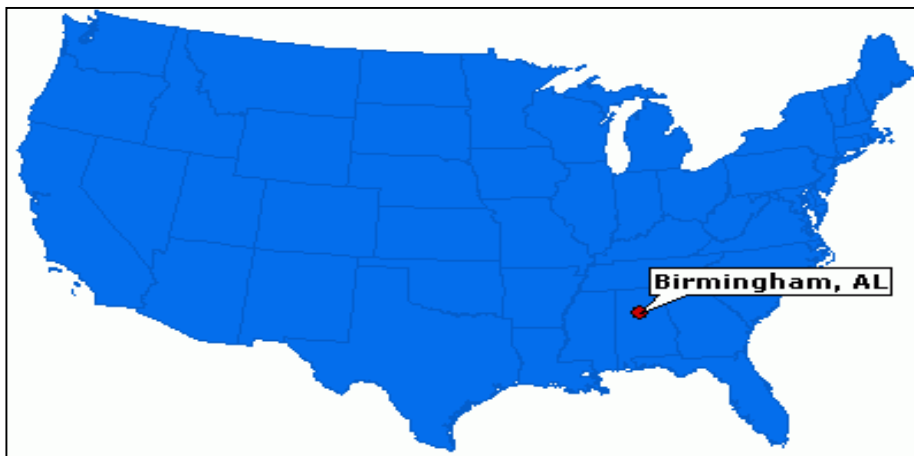



Figure 6.1: Birmingham in context of the USA

JEFFERSON Population ⁶ : 659,026 2016 Need Ranking: 49 out of 67		Housing Occupancy Characteristics								
		Total Households ⁵ :	Owner Households ⁵ :	Renter Households ⁵ :	Vacant Units ⁵ :					
 Demographics⁶ Male: 47.3% Female: 52.7% Non-Hispanic White: 51.0% Non-Hispanic Black/African American: 42.2% Hispanic or Latino: 3.8% Median Age: 37 Aged 65 Years or Older: 13.9% Average Household Size: 2.5		Household Affordability Gap in Monthly Affordability* = \$75 deficit								
		Estimated Hourly Wage for Renters ⁵ :	Rent Affordable at Estimated Renter's Wage ⁵ :	Fair Market Rent ⁵ :						
		\$14.71	\$765	\$840						
Housing Need Index Composite Score = 22										
Community Factors		Household Factors			Special Needs Factors					
Poverty Rate ⁴	Unemployment Rate ³	Homes Built Prior to 1970 ⁶	Building Permits for Residential Units in 2015 ⁷	Median Income ⁶	% w/Cost Burden (>30%+) ⁶	% Without Health Insurance ⁶	% Receiving Food Assistance ⁶	% With a Disability ⁶	Serious Mental Illness Prevalence ²	HIV/AIDS Prevalence ³
19.5%	5.8%	45.5%	2,477	\$45,610	48.7%	11.8%	16.0%	14.7%	636.8	552.8

*Gap in Monthly Affordability = Rent Affordable at Estimated Renter's Wage – Fair Market Rent

REFERENCES:

- Alabama Department of Labor, Unemployment Statistics, Annual Average by County, 2015
- Alabama Department of Mental Health, Rate of Adults Receiving Mental Illness Services in FY 2016 by County (per 100,000 individuals)
- Alabama Department of Public Health, Alabama HIV Quarterly Statistics by Public Health Area and County, January–September 2016 (rate of live cases per 100,000 individuals)
- Alabama Possible, 2016 Alabama Poverty Data Sheet
- National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2016 Out of Reach
- U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates
- U.S. Census Bureau, Building Permits Survey, Permits by County 2015

Figure 6.2: Demographics of Jefferson County, Birmingham
Source: LIHCA, 2015.

Birmingham was once recorded as the most segregated city in the USA (Connerley, 2006:7; Birmingham Alabama Annual Performance Plan, 2013/14:2). Furthermore, Jefferson county is regarded as the sixth (of 20) most unequal county containing over 500 000 people (SouthEast Research, 2016:34). It was after reading the books of Dr Martin Luther King Jnr, and Connerley, that the researcher wondered how Birmingham

has progressed to be less segregated today. More so, what lessons can South Africa take forward, start to plan, and create cities that are more inclusive, and less segregated? Concepts such as “separate but equal” were practiced in both the USA and in South Africa (Sachs, 1973:143). In seeing the linkages and similarities to South Africa, the researcher was curious to find out what South Africa’s future could be, if the country followed a similar path to the USA. Pertinent hereto is to understand what the USA, and more specifically Birmingham, Alabama had done to become more inclusive; whether the town and regional planning discipline contributed in planning for affordable housing, and what these shifts entailed (Birmingham Alabama Annual Performance Plan, 2013/14:5). However, upon further reflection, it became evident that researchers hold different perceptions as to whether Birmingham is still segregated, partially segregated or totally integrated (City of Birmingham, n.d.; Regional Planning Commission of Greater Birmingham, 2014; Arise Citizens, 2008).

It is, however, understandable that different aspects (housing, economic developments and investments, transport,) of Birmingham are developing, succeeding and progressing at different levels; shaping the city to become more inclusive. Thus, generally, this affects the lens through which the researcher is looking, and to what he/she had been exposed. For example, the City of Birmingham’s Zoning Ordinance (Birmingham, 2009:5) dates back to 1990, and has a rigid technical approach to land use management. This creates impediments in terms of inclusivity, lack of sufficient provision for affordable housing, accessibility for the elderly, and the need for improved transport services. However, the impediments have been addressed systematically over the past six years (Central Alabama Fair Housing Centre, 2010:2).

It is against this background that Birmingham, Alabama, as one of the global north cities, is implementing the principles of smart cities and new urbanism in the development of their settlements, or as they phrase it, traditional neighbourhood development (TND). This is a comprehensive planning system that includes a variety of housing types and land uses in a defined area. The variety of land uses permits educational facilities, civic buildings (plazas, greens, parks and squares) and commercial establishments to be located within walking distance of the private homes

(<http://www.tndtownpaper.com/neighborhoods.htm>). With the variety of land uses, a balance is created in the community, that is able to serve a broader range of homeowners and business owners. Furthermore, a TND is served by a network of paths, streets and lanes suitable for pedestrians as well as vehicles. This provides residents with the option of walking, cycling or driving to places within their neighbourhood, addressing some aspects of inclusiveness in Birmingham, Alabama.

6.2.1 Relating to previous research: Segregation cause more problems to affordable housing

As noted earlier, Birmingham, Alabama is regarded as very segregated by race, income and class (Kent & Frohlich, 2015:1; Henson, 2013:9). It is the eighth most segregated metropolitan area in the USA (Kent & Frohlich, 2015:1). Haeffele-Balch (2010:3) argues that this is due to national housing policies from the 1930s, which are mostly blamed for continuing racial segregation and its economic effects. For example, in the last 60 years, black families were intentionally excluded from affordable housing options across the nation's growing suburban neighbourhoods (Silverman, 2013:9). Furthermore, zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations, building codes, environmental regulations, design and sign ordinances, historic preservation requirements, state and federal health records, and paperwork procedures all affect the availability of affordable housing (The City of Birmingham, Alabama, 2014:65). In addition to this, GCIR (2014:62) remarks that other factors also impede the delivery of affordable housing in Birmingham, such as:

- Lack of Fair Housing laws in Birmingham;
- Protected class discrimination in homebuyer lending;
- Lack of Fair Housing training;
- Lack of accessible units for persons with disabilities;
- Lack of reliable public transportation.

However, since 2010, the provision of decent and affordable housing for low and very low-income households has become a high priority for the City of Birmingham (The

City of Birmingham, Alabama, 2014:6 and Haeffele-Balch, 2010:3). This was not undertaken in isolation, but directed to change the character of the historic urban area to develop more sustainable communities. It accompanied the revitalisation of neighbourhoods and communities, as well as meeting the basic needs of the house owners. These initiatives were undertaken by the City of Birmingham collaborating with NGOs, CBOs, communities, training and financial institutions and businesses (The City of Birmingham, Alabama, 2014:76).

6.2.2 Presenting the data: Affordable housing projects as case study

From July 2014, the Housing Authority (HA) of the Birmingham District (HABD) had a total of 5 517 units of public housing and 5 188 of Housing Choice Vouchers (Section 8) across the City of Birmingham (Blumgart, 2015:12). This makes the housing authority one of the largest proprietors in the City, and presents it with the opportunity to positively affect the lives of its residents, as well neighbourhoods that contain HABD communities.

Against the above-mentioned background, the researcher reviews a range of affordable housing projects as commended by the City of Birmingham (2014:67). Further literature and interviews with City of Birmingham Planning officials and the University of Birmingham research unit, confirmed that only three affordable housing projects were worth considering within Birmingham (City of Birmingham, 2014:68; Regional Planning Commission of Greater Birmingham, n.d.:15; City of Birmingham, 2013:121; Henson, 2013:57). As such, due to their accessibility, capital investments, and population compilation, these three affordable housing projects are Elyton Village, Tuxedo Terrace, and Park Place (refer Table 6.1). They are all concentrated in the Western Area of Birmingham, near the Central Business District (CBD) as indicated in Figures 6.2 and 6.3, below.

Table 6.1: Public housing in Birmingham, Jefferson County

Name of the affordable housing project	Number of units	Percent total units	Average annual income	With SS/SS/ Pension	Army
<i>Elyton Village</i>	474	9%	11,105	49%	
Southtown	451	9%	6,608	30%	
Carles P Marks Village	496	10%	9,086	25%	
Joseph H Loveman Village	498	10%	8,613	25%	
Smithfield Court	454	9%	9,526	69%	
Tom Brown Village	244	5%	11,116	48%	
Morton Simpson Village	497	10%	8,058	30%	
Collegeville Center	390	8%	6,663	33%	
Russel B Harris Homes	188	4%	14,283	42%	
North Birmingham Homes	285	6%	7,343	32%	
Cooper Green Homes	227	4%	10,845	31%	
Ralph Kimbrough Homes	230	4%	9,120	42%	
Freedom Manor	101	2%	12,194	98%	
Roosevelt City	126	2%	9,196	38%	
<i>Park Place</i>	87	2%	11,713	56%	
Park Place II	85	2%	114,268	38%	
Park Place III	67	1%	13,456	98%	
<i>Tuxedo Terrace Phase I</i>	56	1%	9,710	49%	
Tuxedo Terrace Phase II	54	1%	13,377	24%	
Glenbrook at Oxmoor	50	1%	14,578	31%	
Mason City I	7	0%	24,033	33%	
Mason City III	10	0%	26,072	11%	
Mason City IV	2	0	22,868	100%	
All public housing	5 121		13, 984	55	

Source: HUD, Resident Characteristics Report, 2014

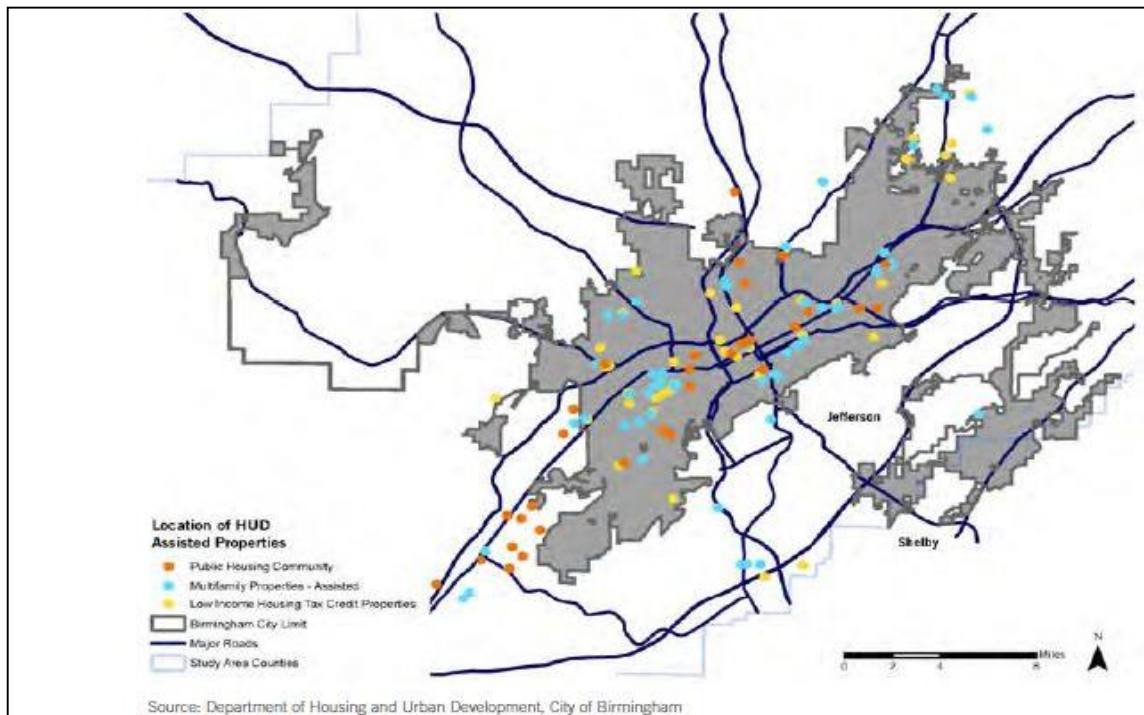


Figure 6.3: Location of affordable housing projects
 Source: GCR, 2014:71

These projects have the following population characteristics:

- 88% of the public housing stock has one to three bedrooms;
- 24% of residents have moved in the year 2013, 29% have lived in public housing for two to five years, and 19% have lived in public housing longer than ten years;
- The population is very young, 49% of residents are under 18 years of age;
- Only 7% are over 62 years of age;
- 49% of public housing households are young couples with children;
- 54% of public housing households are female headed households with children;
- 50% of households pay between \$100 and \$350 (total tenant payment, including municipal services);
- 80% of households are considered extremely low-income (earning under 30% Area Median Income).

While the Housing Authority of Birmingham District is a major provider of affordable homes for low-income Birmingham residents, the demand for an affordable place to live is still unmet in the City of Birmingham. In July 2014, 2 988 families were on the waiting list for tenant-based assistance (including 2 134 families with children, 84 elderly families, and 308 families with disabilities), and 2 208 families were on the waiting list for Public Housing units (942 families with children, 80 elderly families, and 446 families with disabilities) (GCR, 2014:67). Figure 6.4 below depicts the location of the three affordable housing projects selected for this study.

In the following sub-sections, a clear picture of the respective affordable housing projects, and to what extent they can be considered as affordable and inclusionary housing will be discussed. Further recommendations were made by the Birmingham researchers and officials, and some of these are worth considering for Cape Town, South Africa.

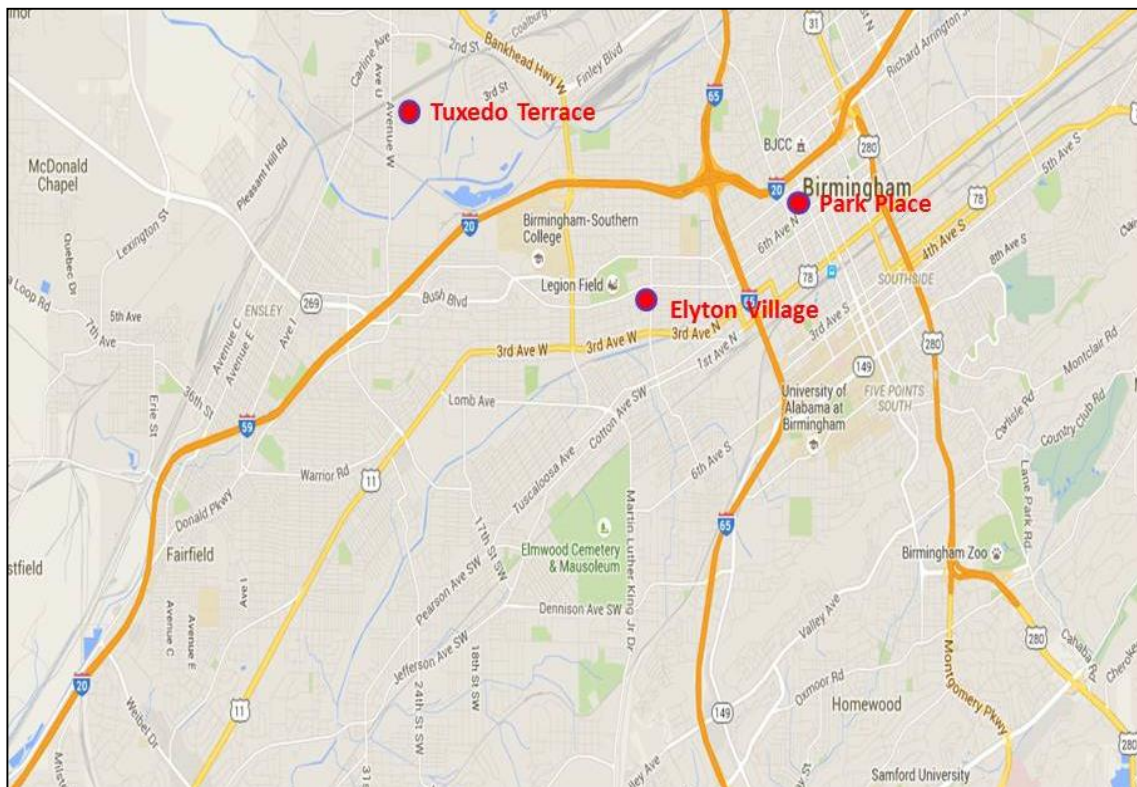


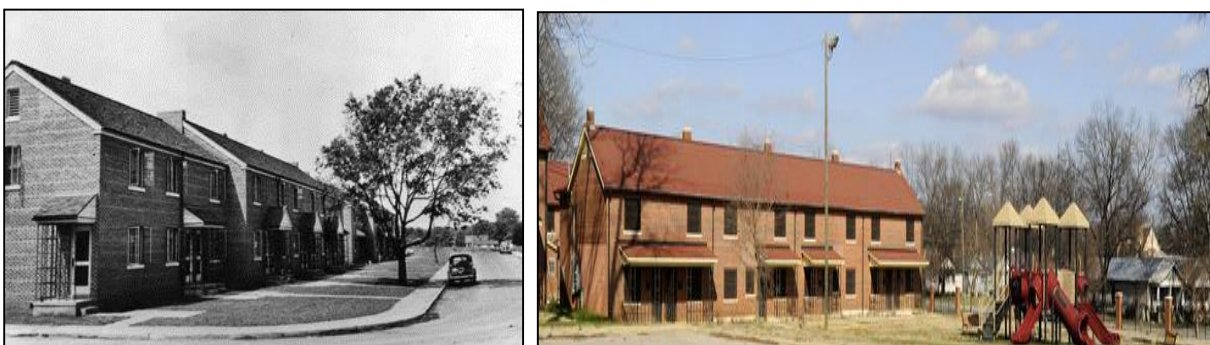
Figure 6.4: Location of the selected affordable housing projects within Jefferson County, Birmingham, AL.

Source: Google Map, 2016

a. Project 1: Elyton Village

Elyton Village is a public housing project operated by the Housing Authority of the Birmingham District (HABD). This project is close (less than 2 miles or 3.2 kilometres) to the Birmingham CBD of Jefferson County, a flourishing economic hub, with much revitalisation taking place. Jefferson County is well connected through public transport (including transit and rail) with a variety of socio-economic facilities from which to choose (Citydata, 2016).

This housing project dates back to early 1938, when it was intended to house white families (refer to Figures 6.5 and 6.6). Due to no maintenance over the years, the houses became depilated, requiring urgent refurbishing. When it was finally prioritised, the local authority experienced three years of delays resulting in \$13.7 million in renovations. The residents moved in in January 2012. The 62 upgraded units include two- and three-bedroom units with modern amenities, and improvements to sidewalks, a bulk services upgrade, which was followed by a renovated day care centre, a management office, and a maintenance shop. Furthermore, lead paint and asbestos were removed from the apartments and fire sprinklers were installed in each unit (Housing Authority Birmingham District, 2015:2).



*Figures 6.5 and 6.6: The before (1938) and after product (2012)
Source: Birmingham HUD, 2016*

There are 478 units in total, consisting of one, two and three-bedroom units. All the units, especially after the renovations, now have central heating and air conditioning. The project provided for a revitalised community building/gymnasium and computer room, and an updated residents' council office space.



Figure 6.7: Street view of the units to Elyton Village
Source: Alabama News, 2016

In interpreting the findings, the researcher notes that this project is not a greenfields project, but rather a brownfields one that required maintenance and upgrading. However, this project was considered against the needs of the beneficiaries, and the progression of the greater Birmingham, in terms of inclusiveness and sustainability. These results are based on:

- The development provides largely for rental residential units, which is in keeping with the housing market need of this area.
- Furthermore, as a young population inhabits this area, excellent socio-economic facilities and recreational facilities are available on site, without going outside the development.
- As this was a heritage area, the architectural design of the houses was maintained.
- The success of this project lies with the range of funding streams made available to this project. As many of the Elyton Village households (76%) are within the extreme low-income bracket, falling largely within the age groups of under 17 years old (36%) and 18-50 years old (43%), the Housing Authority planned to apply for federal grants (Birmingham Alabama, 2014:67). Many of

these federal grants are directed to make this project sustainable, and support the households, through Hope VI programme, and Section 8 vouchers.

- Noting the statistics of Figure 6.2 and Table 6.1, concerning poverty in this area, there is very little integration of races and income in this development, contrary to the racial compilation of this area. This has implications for the integration of the settlement into the bigger neighbourhood, as well as the sustainability of the housing project.

One possible reason for the lack of integration of income and race, could be that this was a brownfields project, with existing beneficiaries; and little intervention could be undertaken other than to provide for these inhabitants. The funds were directed to upgrade the current structures and make them liveable for those inhabitants.

b. Project 2: Tuxedo Terrace

Tuxedo Park, a suburb in Ensley, originated during 1899, when it was established as a residential area for African Americans employed at the US Steel Ensley Works (Schneider, 2009:20). With Tuxedo Terrace located on a busy intersection, Tuxedo Junction, this settlement now forms part of the historic cultural hub (Schneider, 2009:21). As such, Tuxedo Terrace is considered as one outstanding project, which was constructed in mid-2010 as a mixed-income community, providing 220 units with a mix of housing types including town houses, duplexes, and single-family homes (Housing Authority Birmingham District, 2015; Boulevardgroup.com) (refer Figure 6.8 below). This project includes innovative programmes like the Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD). Through the existing capital funds, it changed the public perception towards public housing.



Figure 6.8: A playground in the Tuxedo Terrace neighbourhood offers local children a chance for outdoor physical activity.

Source: Keita, Hannon, Buys, Casazza & Clay, 2016:4

When the steel company that employed more than 21 000 people in Ensley closed in the 1970s, the vibrant working-class neighbourhood turned into a neglected and abandoned settlement (Gray, 2010). It was due to the resilience of the community, business leaders and politicians that this neighbourhood became an urban renewal, slum-clearance project and the revitalisation of this city led to the attraction of immigrants (Tomerblin, 2010). Through ongoing revitalisation initiatives, this area has become a safer living environment (Housing Authority Birmingham District, 2015:2) (refer to Figure 6.9).



*Figure 6.9: Example of family units in Terrace Junction, on bus route.
Source: Google map/Street view, 2016*

In as much as these affordable housing projects come highly recommended, the researcher found the following:

- The master plan for Tuxedo Terrace re-establishes the sense of a neighbourhood – linking closely with the adjacent communities (refer to Figure 6.10 below).
- There is a mixture of 86 single-family homes and 220 multi-family units along with parks, a community building, day care and gymnasium; providing for the needs of this community.
- The gateway park links the site to the heart of the community of Tuxedo Junction. This gateway creates the core to the settlement, where the residents can come together. The existing school and community buildings are connected by green space and a hiking and bike trail that reaches out to the surrounding community.
- Tuxedo Terrace is a new, vibrantly planned neighbourhood. The original street grid was re-established to create a sense of neighbourhood and to provide residential designs reminiscent of the nearby neighbourhoods of mixed income housing units, private for-sale homes, new internal streets and infrastructure components, new sidewalks and pedestrian paths, and public green space.

- This settlement intersects with the main road, Ensley Avenue, just off Highway 59 where the gateway creates a transition area to the actual residential area.
- The completed design blends these elements together in an urban plan, which incorporates the physical scale of the surrounding older neighbourhoods and historical buildings to provide 306 new housing units.



Figure 6.10: The approved layout plan of Tuxedo Terrace

As a new development, it was easier to add value to the project, compared to a restoration project such as Elyton Village. Furthermore, it should be noted that this project received substantial federal grant injections and social funding contributions, providing greater chances for the success of this project (Birmingham APP, 2014:35).

c. Project 3: Park Place

Seven years after the first people moved into Park Place, the neighbourhood just east of Birmingham's corporate towers, has dramatically changed from what existed before, when it was known as Metropolitan Gardens and had a reputation for violence and drugs (Housing Authority Birmingham District, 2015:7). In 2002, the old project was

demolished and replaced with Birmingham's first development under the federal Hope VI program (Keita, Hannon, Buys, Casazza & Clay, 2016:6), designed to replace the nation's worst public housing with more inviting and liveable neighbourhoods that draw together diverse groups of people and incomes.



*Figure 6.11: Examples of town houses, facing onto the main road and the communal children play areas to the back of the site.
Source: Birmingham Housing Authority, 2014*

In review of this affordable housing project, the researcher notes how the social aspects of the community need to be carried through into an affordable housing project. These results are based on:

- Park Place consists of neat rows of townhouses and apartments, with lawns and trees and sidewalks (refer to Figure 6.11).
- From being a previously crime infested neighbourhood, with the (design of the) development of this housing project, crime dropped and the community is safer.
- The neighbourhood is home to a mix of people, from some of Birmingham's poorest to those who can afford to pay rent of up to \$1 030 a month.
- The housing development had a positive effect on the broader CBD area, where nearby areas have seen a renaissance with the transformation of old office buildings, stores and warehouses into trendy lofts, bars and bistros.
- More than \$56 million in government money fuelled this change. Approximately \$49.2 million came from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the City of Birmingham contributed to \$7 million worth of public improvements such as sidewalks and lighting of the area.

- In the Park Place development, there is a sense of place, close to public transport and a safe healthy environment (HAD Birmingham District, n.d.:5). A sense of community seems to be the result of Park Place's mix of income levels. Additionally, it is more vibrant, and inviting, a friendly open neighbourhood – where everyone knows each other.

Keita, et al. (2016:6) remarked that the birth of Park Place contributed towards making Birmingham CBD grow into vibrant community. Birmingham CBD experienced something similar to the national trend of people moving into city centres and a resurgence of restaurants and clubs.

Smart growth is one of the planning techniques the municipality applied in their planning for housing. Thus, the City of Birmingham defines it as “*an approach that is town-centered, transit and pedestrian oriented, and has a greater mix of housing, commercial and retail uses. It also preserves open space and many other environmental amenities.*” (City of Birmingham, 2014:7). In further understanding these affordable housing projects, it is worth acknowledging the strategic thinking of the Birmingham municipality, as they anticipated this area being developed and expanding, taking the environment into consideration (refer to Figure 6.12).

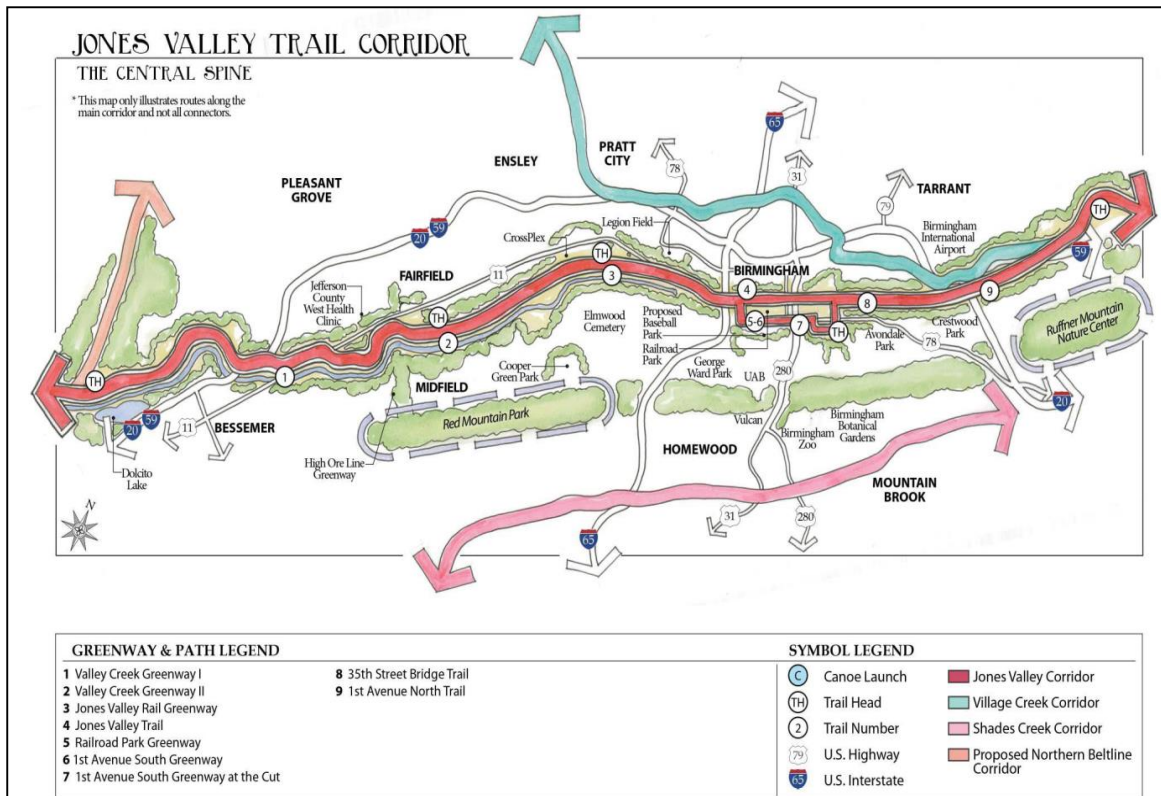


Figure 6.12: Planning human settlements, taking cognisance of the environment. Source: Regional Planning Commission of Greater Birmingham, 2014:83

6.2.3 Summary: Birmingham, Alabama

Birmingham, Alabama did not stay hostage to its history of segregation. From where it started off more than 50 years ago, it has progressed to become a better, more sustainable, and more integrated city. This case study, and analysis of the three affordable housing projects, sheds light on how town planning and related disciplines contributed to them, and stimulated other economic spin offs, interpreted as revitalisation within the CBD.

Silverman (personal communication, June 2017) remarked: *“In the US, affordable housing has shifted to a rent voucher system over the past few decades. There is still site based public housing, but the largest affordable housing program is based on subsidizing rents of tenants who seek housing from private landlords. Another big*

change in the US is that there is more non-profit activity in managing and developing site based affordable housing (and a decline in publicly developed and managed housing).”

Wade Kwon, the blogger on “Wade on Birmingham,” noted that “*since 2006, mostly condos had been springing up throughout Jefferson county*” (Bhamwiki, 2012:2). However, for these condos to be financially affordable, it implies that a commercial complex allows for residential life and minimal commuting time, yet it remains nestled in a safe environment. It is perceived that many families have moved away from the CBD to safer parts of Birmingham, for better schools, for safer streets, access to transport, as well as a wider choice of housing mix (Silverman, 2013:42 and Keita et al., 2016:20).

Evident in this research, is the fact that the housing project in itself needs to be affordable for the inhabitants of the housing project. However, other aspects (such as accessible transport options, sufficient provision of socio- economic facilities, etc.) contribute to the affordability, sustainability and inclusivity of that settlement. As such, some of the public believe that the Alabama state government is doing nothing to solve problems of law enforcement, mass transit, development, education and the other humdrum things that keep a city alive (Bhamwiki, 2012:1). Reitz (2015) argues that the future of Birmingham is not that bright due to the lack of strong leadership and obstacles beyond local control that limit the improvements. On the contrary, young professionals have taken steps toward setting the agenda, if not controlling the destiny, of this metropolis (City of Birmingham, 2014:6). It might be deemed that these factors have little to do with the city’s blighted civil rights past. Even so, all of this can still be perceived as growth. Yet, civil society remains hopeful to change for the better (Katz, 2003:8).

The researcher notes that more than 50 years later, Birmingham, Alabama, has progressed in its inclusionary housing policy and that more affordable housing projects are visible, lending themselves towards integrated and sustainable human settlements

(Arise Citizens, 2008:4; Katz, 2003:7; City of Birmingham, 2012:16). These housing projects are strategically located in revitalised areas, or form an integral part of the inner neighbourhood upgrades, wherein households receive further support in terms of grants (HUD, n.d.:5; Wexler, 2001:198). Having these affordable housing projects in these prime areas, adds value to the community, minimising crime and social ills; in addition, not only residential units are integrated with other land uses, but also the project compacts the settlement, accompanied through further new urbanism practices (Boustan, 201:321). Most of these successes lie with the **strong community involvement**, through a bottom up approach (Arise Citizens, 2008:4) as well as the private sector following through the vision of the state (City of Birmingham, n.d.:5).

However, while this is happening, Birmingham has undergone another stark spatial transformation, that of **gentrification** (Henson, 2013:87). This process began with the demolition of public housing in downtown Birmingham, displacing hundreds of families and paving the way for new urban pioneers, who moved to the loft district directly adjacent to the Hope VI mixed-income housing (Connerley, 2006:56). With so many upgrading and revitalising programmes happening in Birmingham, the question is whether it is due to revitalisation or gentrification, as it has been found that the negative impacts sometimes do create positive spin-offs for education, health and wealth for the greater settlement (Rockford Housing Authority, 2016; Kelly, 2013:4; Keita et al., 2016:19). In addition, as confirmed by Henson (2013:32) and Katz (2003:94), localised dissimilarity and racial segregation are continuing to grow and this not only affects housing and schooling, transport, the regeneration of settlements, but also trading and agricultural production.

A range of **consistent holistic interventions** brought about a level of integration and inclusiveness to Birmingham. It was not only due to town planning, policy enforcements, and community involvement, but rather the bigger picture (strategic plan for Birmingham) that everyone bought into, and contributed to, and maintained over time (Silverman personal communication, June 2017). This plan is currently under review, with a greater focus on affordable housing (Ball personal communication, June 2017). Furthermore, it should be appreciated that the success

of these affordable housing projects and the financial sustainability of these affordable housing projects are possible through a **considerable amount of federal and capital investments** (Colon personal communication, June 2017). However, with much economic instability, the US federal funds were scaled down, and much of these households could become homeless (Smith, 2011:64).

Government is depending more on the **private sector** to make affordable housing investment-worthy, which also means that the US dollar is being stretched to buy more with less (Silverman personal communication, June 2017). It is herein that **greater partnership programmes** are required. Many of the USA public housing projects are made sustainable through governmental funding programmes and schemes such as normal governmental assistance (HOPE IV, Section 8 vouchers and certificates, etc.) in addition to other support programmes (Blumgart, 2015). Metzger (2011:18) opposes this, stating that, contrary to policy goals, the Housing Choice Voucher programme for instance, has led to greater racial and economic segregation.

According to the Birmingham Annual Performance Plan (Birmingham Alabama, 2013:76), there are barriers to affordable housing. Thus, zoning ordinances, subdivision regulations, building codes, environmental regulations, design and sign ordinances, historic preservation requirements, state/federal health codes, and paperwork procedures all impact upon the availability of affordable housing (Colon personal communication, June 2017). These actions undertaken by the City during the previous year to address negative effects of public policies are generally consistent with those actions proposed in the City's PY 2013 Action Plan. Many factors influence the cost of affordable housing over which local jurisdictions have little influence (interest rates, land costs, market pressures, building material costs, weather related disasters and events, etc.) (Ball personal communication, June 2017). However, the City of Birmingham has planned to provide ongoing support to those areas in which some impact could be made.

These **case studies** presented above form part of the historic urban fabric of Birmingham. As such, with the Visionary Birmingham Strategy, it was clear to areas that will be upgraded through affordable housing projects. It is hereto that these housing projects were in areas zoned for affordable housing. However, as noted by Birmingham (2010:20), land use and other regulatory policies are some of the planning tools that destroy affordable housing. Through the review of the years 2010-15, it was recommended that existing zoning and land use policies be reviewed to allow for more affordable housing. In a follow up with Colon (personal communication, June 2017), it became clear that the City's Strategic plan is currently under review and will address some of the pertinent lessons learnt through the past five years. Furthermore, this will go hand-in-hand with the review of successful models for developing new low- and moderate-income housing by other communities and private developers (Birmingham, 2010:80).

In proceeding with this argument, Silverman (2013:5) questioned whether houses and projects are placed at correct and relevant places (neighbourhoods of opportunity) to make an impact to the community, and be integrated and sustainable. Noting the findings of the research, the researcher acknowledges that in all three case study instances, the location of the affordable housing project does affect the region wherein it functions. Given the shrinking population, but growing investments to Birmingham, this could mean that it is a good time to review the Comprehensive Plan for Birmingham, taking into consideration public transport routes, neighbourhoods of priority and investment other than the fiscal commitments.

Furthermore, Arise Citizens (2008:12) made a recommendation in 2002 that the authority provided by the Alabama Legislature, should enable local officials to work to ensure that their communities encourage, rather than discourage, affordable housing development through planning, zoning and financial incentives for construction and/or rehabilitation of affordable housing. Through the softer side of the housing projects (community involvement and partnerships), many neighbourhoods are being rejuvenated, and public housing projects are being repaired through the HUD grant to

become affordable and inclusionary in nature (Ross, 2007:5; Ball personal communication, June 2017).

6.3 Case study: Cape Town

As noted in Chapter 2, the Western Cape Province has been delivering housing to the poor, but not enough to address the dire need. Due to the rate of immigration, the growing backlog is competing against limited funds, and the infrastructure backlog is another obstacle in trying to address the dire housing need (Taylor, 2007:45; Turok, 2015:2). Despite much dedication amongst the three spheres of governance, the delivery of houses, against the Apartheid spatial landscape, remains an elusive target. The Western Cape provincial minister for Human Settlements remarked in his 2015 budget speech:

“There are also many people earning between R3 500-R10 000 living in informal settlements because they earn too much to qualify for free government subsidy, too little and heavily indebted to qualify for mortgages. The housing policy is entrenching a culture of dependency and entitlement, undermining the capacity and the culture of saving in our communities. In 2013, African Response did a research on savings in the informal sector and discovered that more than R45 billion is generated by this sector in stokvels, food, Burial Societies, etc. This is a clear indication that our approach in housing provision needs a rethink; we cannot continue dotting the landscape, perpetuating apartheid spatial planning. Madam Speaker we are correcting the skewed pattern of housing allocation” (Madikizela, 2015).

In understanding this plea for change, there is a need to shift the way in which human settlements are perpetuating the spread of the **Apartheid spatial landscape**. Thus, Cape Town is seen as a “tale of two cities” – referring to the spatial segregation that dominates the Cape Town urban footprint (Turok, 2013:168). Cape Town displays how deeply Apartheid’s legacy, which was shaped by ideology, policy, and practice,

particularly through the urban spatial forms, social inequalities, and security practices it bequeathed the present (Samara, 2011:189), is entrenched. Although the racial politics of the past are explicitly rejected by proponents, their practices, difficult to distinguish from the pre-1994 period, persist if in somewhat innovative new forms, with similar outcomes. This is, however, our spatial reality which was not created through market forces alone, but also through the social engineering of the Apartheid system (Newman & Schuermans, 2013:578).

6.3.1 Segregation and poverty in Cape Town

Cape Town's transport, residential areas and topography further **entrench segregation**, and trigger leapfrog development and fragmentation. Impassable buffers between coloured, black and white suburbs, as seen in Figure 6.12 below, display a powerful interplay between the racial neighbourhood integration and segregation in Cape Town (Geyer & Mohammed, 2015:7) and it questions how the future residential developments contribute to integration and sustainable human settlements (refer to Figure 6.12). The City of Cape Town (2016:28) Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP) response and focus on transforming the urban form remains challenging, given the many other sectoral and strategic plans that need to be aligned and integrated (Graham, Jooste & Palmer, 2014:37; Newton & Schuermans, 2013:578). However, the BEPP is loaded with TOD and linking through transport routes, as the solution to redress the Apartheid planning disjuncture. It is through this strategy that remote settlements are to be linked with those better off over the next 10 years.

Many people in Cape Town live in **poverty**. Ndinda, Uzodike & Winaar (2011) estimated that approximately 400 000 families of colour do not have access to shelter and basic services in Cape Town (2011:766) while *"the estimated housing backlog in Cape Town is between 360 000 and 400 000, and growing at a rate of 16 000–18 000 units per year"* (2011:7). Thus, the **housing backlog** is predicted to reach 460 000 by 2020. Commentators point out that the growing housing backlog has the potential to undermine social stability (Socio-economic Rights Institute, 2013:44; UNDP, 2014:62).

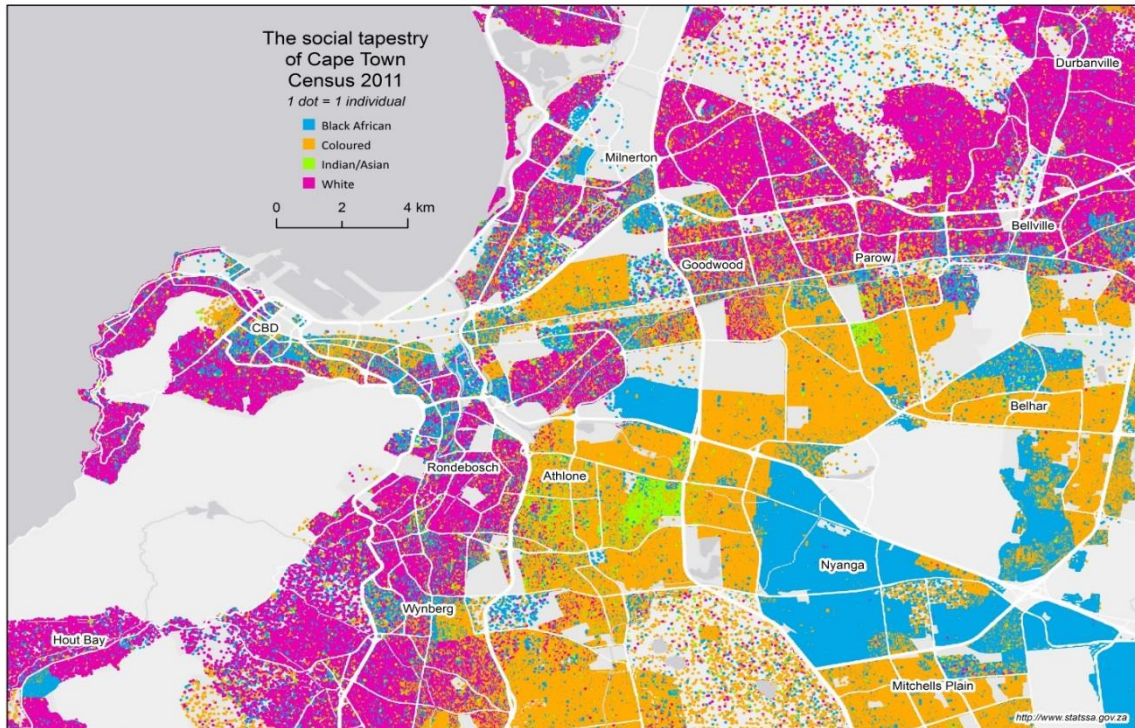


Figure 6.13: Segregation, according to race, in the Cape Town metropolitan region (Source: StatsSA, 2016:7)

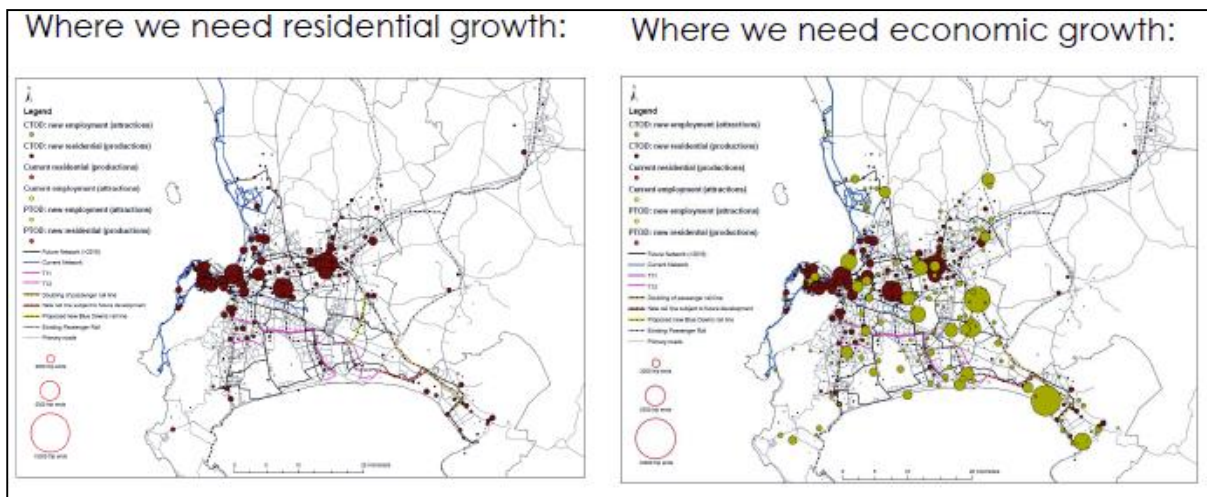


Figure 6.14: Future growth areas proposed for Cape Town area Source: City of Cape Town, 2016:1

StatsSA (2016:7) remarked that municipalities have become more racially integrated. However, the legacy of Apartheid still has a firm hold on the social composition of South African urban space (UNDP, 2014:59) and is visible in the Apartheid spatial landscape of Cape Town. Thus, it is argued that Cape Town is one of the most unequal

cities in South Africa (Miraftab, 2012:297; Denoon-Stevens, 2016:1; StatsSA, 2014:7; Mead, 2016:4; StatsSA, 2016:12).

6.3.2 Affordable housing projects in Cape Town

During the early 2000s, the private sector dominated the affordable housing delivery arena. It was only the last few years of this decade, that the government became more involved in the construction of affordable housing (Landman, 2012a:55). The private sector's role was to provide for the gap market, comprising households which earn too much to qualify for South Africa's impressive capital subsidy programme and too little to access mortgage finance (Carioila, 2014:1; Ngenga, 2012:16). Although these affordable housing initiatives may have been started by different initiators, they involve each other, with their respective contributions, so, government brings along grants and land, while the private sector brings expertise to the table. However, it is when planning with the community and beneficiaries should be undertaken, that the lines get blurred and it is open for interpretation, that is, consultation, engagement, public participation, or partnership (Smith & Vawda, 2003:27; Arnstein, 1969:217; Choguill, 1996:433; Winkler, 2011:265).

The researcher was able to gain direct access to the communities through the involvement of the ward councillors. They spread the word, informing the community members of the anticipated meetings and that they should meet at respective venues, against the secured time slots for the respective groups (male and females). Through these collective engagements, the communities remained anonymous. This was a very successful approach and their input is discussed under each sub-section.

a. Project 1: Westlake Village

Westlake Village is located in the southern suburbs of Cape Town surrounded by farms and nature reserves on the west, with the residential areas to the east (refer Figure 6.15 below).

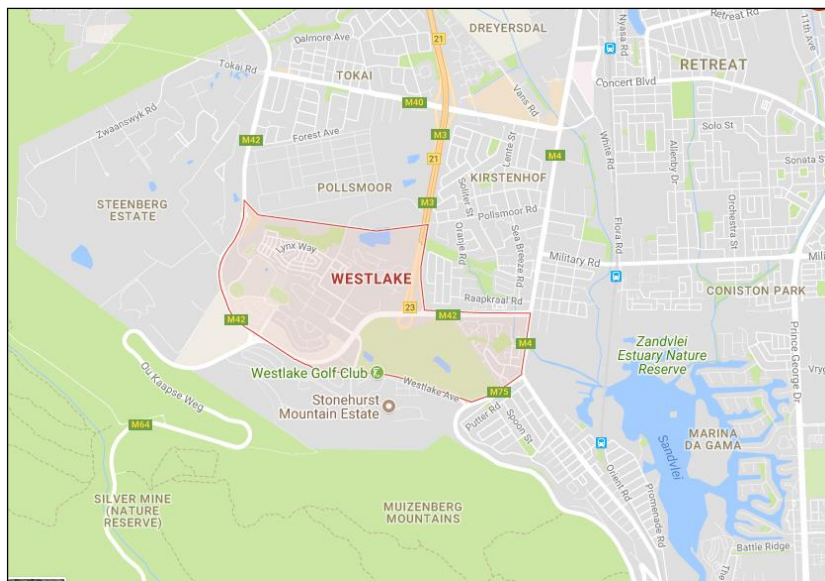


Figure 6.15: Location of Westlake Village
Source: GoogleMap, 2016

In October 1997, Lemanski (n.d:4), noted that the City of Cape Town: Housing Department undertook a survey of those living in formal and informal structures on the Westlake land. All households were registered and certificates were awarded to ensure home ownership in the forthcoming development (households/shacks accommodating more than one family were to receive separate certificates though this was not always the case). Thus, the housing survey identified 102 formal structures housing 821 people, alongside 327 informal structures housing 1 096 people, totalling a population of 1 917, all of whom were to be re-housed in Westlake village.

The construction of these houses was undertaken by Rabcav Development. Viljoen indicated “... *two totally dysfunctional hospitals and a home of refuge have been demolished and relocated and no fewer than 700 squatter families, who were living on the site in appalling conditions, have now been rehoused, at no cost to themselves, in two-bedroomed homes with electricity, cavity walls and tiled roofs*” (cited in Rabie, 2006:4).

Now, ten years later, the researcher evaluated this affordable housing project to determine whether it is successful as an integrated and sustainable human settlement. The researcher visited this housing project on Saturday 3 March 2016, Saturday 26 November 2016 and Saturday, 24 June 2017.

With an understanding of the layout plan, the thinking towards the provision and creation of an integrated and sustainable human settlement was questioned upon arrival in Constantia valley. What looked acceptable on a layout plan was completely different to the reality experienced by the communities during the researcher’s site visit. It was through more frequent visits to the area, that the researcher discovered the following:

- Most of the houses are being rented out. Furthermore, almost every erf has two or three *Wendy houses*/informal structures on them (refer to Figure 6.15 below). This became a source of extra income for the actual owner of the house. Very few houses are being extended by the actual owner.
- Containers are utilised as units for small businesses, such as barber shops, salons, vegetable stalls, *spaza* shops and *shebeens*. Some of these structures and containers encroach onto the pavement (refer to Figure 6.16).
- These houses are maisonettes with one bedroom. Most of the houses were bought and paid for by the farmers (of Klein Constantia and Kompanje), providing for their farm workers who had worked on their farms and were about to retire.
- With the household refuse bins overfull, much of the rubbish is dumped on a vacant site. The open strip of wetland is currently used as an illegal dumping

site, and also a place where young people hang around doing drugs ('tik') and crime (refer to Figure 6.17).

- The channel footbridge is continuously vandalised and is known as a place for youngsters to rob people passing through there.
- There is an overflowing sewer running down one of the main streets; household refuse dumped close to the wetland area or an open erf; gangster graffiti on the walls (refer to Figure 6.18); encroachments over the boundary wall (refer to Figure 6.20); and washing hanging on a vacant erf.



Figure 6.16: Overcrowding conditions in Westlake Village
Source: Author, 2017



Figure 6.17: Informal trading in Westlake Village
Source: Author, 2016



Figure 6.14: Vandalised palisade at channel bridge, with refuse dumping on site
Source: Author, 2016



Figure 6.19: Graffiti on property walls, to the back of the wetland
 Source: Author, 2016



Figure 6.20: Extended house encroaching over the boundary

Part of this development consists of a gated community, namely Silvertree Estate. As the researcher drove to the gated community's residents, a different picture was visible: the environment was clean and quiet. Access can only be obtained with permission from the residents living there (refer to Figure 6.21). This secluded gated community, fenced in with high walls and security access, seemed remote from their neighbour's plight. Silvertree Estate is a space reserved exclusively for residents and their approved visitors (Lemanski, 2005:12). This "privatopia" is further facilitated by the limited and separate access points in the development. Silvertree Estate is expensive (Lemanski, 2005:11) and sells between R3-R5 million per unit. The Reddam School, small community play park, as well as the multi-purpose sports field and facility, were visibly reserved for certain selected people. Due to this security access, the larger Constantia valley community was excluded.

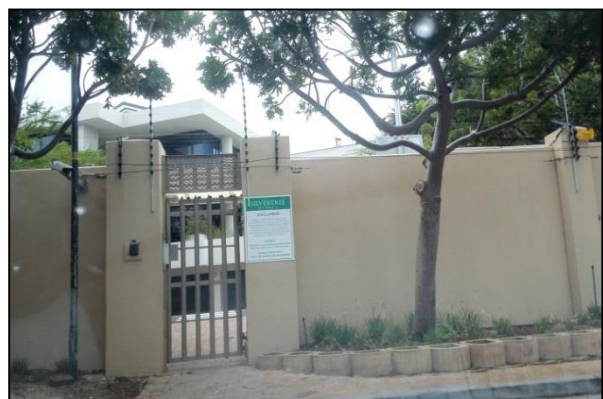


Figure 6.21: The entrance access and back of Silvertree, secured complex
 Source: Author, 2016

Spinks (2001:4) states that the post-Apartheid fear of crime stimulated a different form of internal residential spatial order, remarkably similar to Apartheid segregation. This resulted in the affluent residing in secluded and safeguarded areas, to eliminate the fear of crime (Landman, 2012b:52; Landman, 2004:4). Other than no integration or connection with the poor, it also means that although the secluded areas are not formally demarcated, they become inaccessible to the poor (Muyeba & Seekings, 2010:6; Landman, 2002:3). Although predominately the domain of the affluent, strategies to avoid “the other” (eliminate fear), have significant consequences for the poor (usually the excluded and avoided “different”), especially where wealth and poverty lie in close juxtaposition (Landman & Schonteich, 2002:80).

Although the Westlake development at first glance appears to have overcome apartheid planning by situating rich and poor areas and people in spatial proximity (i.e. Silvertree Estate and Westlake Village), in addition to situating a low-cost housing area on prime land, close to employment opportunities, the specifics of the design are worryingly similar to Apartheid (Lemanski, n.d.:7). The various components of the Westlake development were conceived and designed as segregated spaces, implementing mechanisms reminiscent of Apartheid planning, for example using buffers (i.e. Reddam House School and the business park) to separate Westlake Village and Silvertree Estate, and erecting high walls around each section of the housing developments (Lemanski personal communication, March 2016).

As the then City of Cape Town Director of Social Development, Ms Pam Naidoo, noted (in Lemanski, 2008:401):

“The developer went for a quick and fast approach to development, so it wasn’t sustainable. Little community participation, and beneficiary /consumer education enabled the future house owners to influence the planning or conceptualisation of this project, as they were seen as people receiving a ‘free gift’ from the developers.”

Lemanski (personal communication, March 2016) concurred with the above statement when she noted that the Westlake Village project could not be considered as an

integrated and sustainable human settlement. This housing project faces great potential for gentrification and downward raiding (the process whereby the middle-income families, themselves poorly housed, acquire the housing intended for low-income groups (Tomlinson, 1990:126)). Wealthy homeowners want to buy out Westlake Village homeowners to provide affordable and accessible housing for their domestic workers. Should the well-off home owners succeed, it will destroy the post-Apartheid vision of equality and poverty alleviation *via* housing in this area (Lemanski, 2014:13).

It was largely the older people that arrived at the venue, for the focus group discussions. Many of them originated from the neighbouring farms, or were the domestic workers working in the surrounding areas. Through these engagements, the following themes prevailed, and are compared with the other case studies' findings.

THEME 1: AFFORDABILITY AND INTEGRATION

WL 1 noted that *“My wife and I are both pensioners. We are not able to see ourselves through on that little money, and we depend on our daughter and son to carry us through. Although this house is paid up, it is still expensive for us to be able to afford it. I thank God for my children helping me.”*

He proceeds to add that: *“On the farm I stayed between black and brown, with a white boss/farmer. Race is no issue for me. As long as I live in peace, all is good.”*

Integration evolved over time in Westlake Village. Initially it was only the South African black and brown people, from different economic sectors. But over the past few years, more non-South African people have moved into this area, as it is cheaper to rent and accommodate their families, in this area. With this evolvment, came entrepreneurship – finding additional income sources, to sustain themselves. Hence, as the owners

erected containers, they started informal trading, as a means to gain second/third incomes, to sustain their families. This burgeoning of informal trading is now encroaching on the pavements, although it allows for a further mix of land uses.

THEME 2: OVER POPULATION AND SAFETY ISSUES

WL 2 stated that: *“As you can see, many even have Wendy houses on, sometimes up to four structures. Although it is overpopulated, this became a source of income to the main house dweller, sometimes the one that rents, and gives the collector permission to drink alcohol all day. For them, every day is Saturday.”*

WL 3 mentioned that *“I am an elder woman, working as a domestic worker. But this place is no longer safe or quiet like it used to be; even from upper Africa! There are so many drug people around here, that even the children are doing it. They are even prepared to rob you, just for a fix.”*

The safety of these households remains a concern; from the elderly, to the youth and children. It was noted that a few people had been robbed at the footbridge. The safety is a great concern, as this robbing and stealing can expand to the neighbouring communities, even including those in the secured complexes.

THEME 3: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In all the instances, the focus group stressed that the one-bedroom houses were not what was initially communicated to the beneficiaries. As such, the houses are too small, and the families had to erect informal structures to accommodate their families. It seems that there was no robust participation or open communication carried through this process.

Also, although they did not want to cause harm, they note that they are not involved in planning with the municipality, either through the IDP processes, nor through Ward Councillor meetings. Furthermore, when the houses were made available, they had not known of a Councillor in the area. It is here that one young man responded, *“They just dumped us here, and could not care what happens to us.”*

Neighbouring farming communities still contribute to these households, through hampers made available, and distributed once a month. Much of these form part of continuous support programmes to these communities, in order to sustain them. Mention was made that not all these hampers reach the intended households, and some of them get lost in the system. Also, an area-based nurse comes out to some pensioners, doing home checks to check on their health (for example taking their blood pressures and sugar readings).

THEME 4: CONSIDERATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT AND THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN

WL 2 argued that *“Government should give people land, so that they can build their own houses, as they want it, and they will be proud of what they have accomplished. Also, more should be done to educate the home owners, so that they can take care of their houses, and have pride in it.”*

WL 1 stated that *“One-bedroom houses is not a good option for families, and government should never again, in future consider such an option, especially if the erf doesn’t allow for extensions.”*

WL 4 stated: *“This settlement only provides for their current need. Most of the children will go to high school next year, or the follow years, and the area doesn’t allow for*

such. The children will have to go to the neighbouring area's schools, but they are expensive."

To further support this, Anonymous 5 noted: *"Much of the area's older people need to have access to a clinic. Currently a nurse is coming out to do house calls to the elderly, but that doesn't serve the full scope of the clinic."*

WL 3 and 6 both agreed that *"The channel, wetland and dumping site is unsafe and unhealthy. They propose that the dumping site be converted into a recreational area, where children can play safely. "*

In these remarks, there is sufficient room for government to utilise the vacant land creatively, to provide for recreation, and health facilities, other than safe and communal spaces for the older people.

b. Project 2: Pelican Park

Pelican Park is one of Cape Town's biggest housing development projects (March 2016) under construction to date and will house about 3 200 families when complete. Situated between Zeekoevlei and Strandfontein Road (refer to Figure 6.22), about five kilometres north of the False Bay coast, it will feature 2 100 subsidy houses, 760 Gap houses, 70 shops/houses and 360 open market houses (Pollack, 2011:1; ENCA, 2013:1). The affordable houses range in price from R290 000 to over R480 000. Pelican Park, a World Design Capital 2014 project, is integrated in terms of affordability (ENCA, 2013:1 and City of Cape Town, 2012). The development also includes the provision of two sites for schools, a clinic and another community facility, places of worship, as well as a commercial precinct.

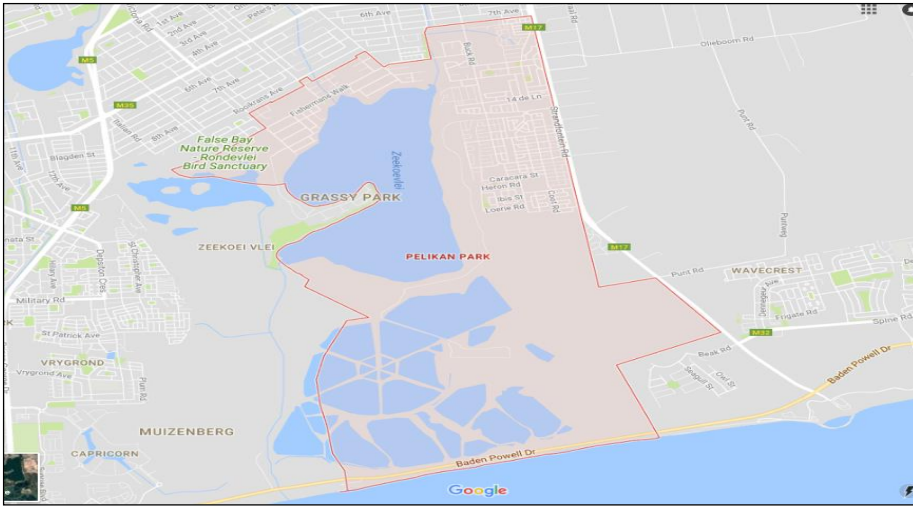


Figure 6.5: Location of Pelican Park
 Source: GoogleMap, 2016

The total cost of this development is approximately R700-million, which includes state funding and private investment. The researcher noted some aspects of integrated and sustainable human settlements addressed through this development, such as:

- Optimal use of the land, although not the most well-located site. This settlement is embedded on the Cape Flats that is stereotyped as a high crime area (refer to Map 4 in Annexure 3).
- Integration of demography (income levels, ownership, race, abilities, etc.) is provided for in this development. Compaction and densification are successfully addressed.
- A range of land uses such as schools, clinic, community facility, church, commercial precinct, not residential only, is planned for, but was not visible while on site, as this is the next phase.
- Range of housing programmes and typologies (refer to Figure 6.23) – families have freedom to exercise choice. This was considered during public participation and beneficiary training (refer to Figure 6.24).

- Considering the environment through sustainable resource use, which also adds to the long-term sustainability of the development project (refer Figures 32). Also, aesthetics and (hard and soft) landscaping are addressed in this development.



Figure 6.23: Some of the housing typologies throughout the development
 Source: Author, 2017

About 1 200 Breaking New Ground units have already been handed over to beneficiaries of the Pelican Park integrated human settlements development in Cape Town's southern suburbs, according to the city (SouthAfrica.info, 2015:3). Thus, “*the Pelican Park Greenfields project is the only fully integrated housing development in Western Cape. It will be a new town, with all the facilities needed to live, work and play.*” (SouthAfrica.info, 2015:2 and City of Cape Town, 2012).

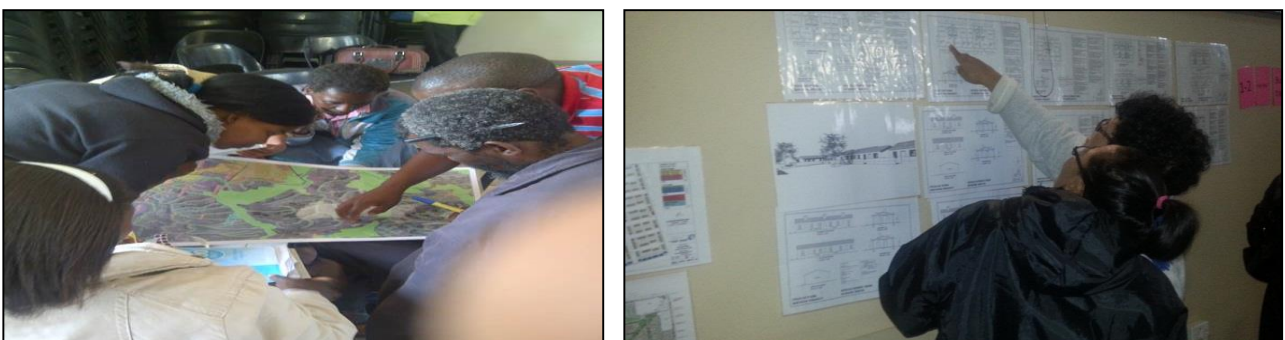
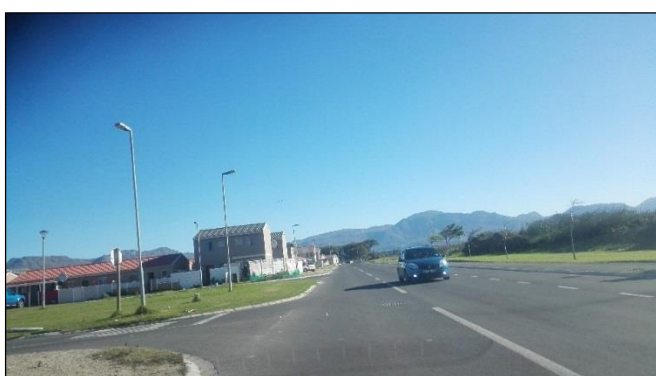


Figure 6.24: Active public participation process
 Source: Power Construction, 2014

The focus group discussions, conducted on 25 June 2017, revealed the following themes.

The arrangement of **housing typologies** meets the needs of the respective beneficiaries. Thus, it was not only what one can afford (income), but also what one would like the house to have. For example, some BNG houses use solar energy for heating water (refer to Figure 6.24). Furthermore, the different housing typologies are separated by physical barriers such as an access road, and the channel (refer to Figure 6.25). This demarcation by income (low income versus the gap housing group) causes exclusivity, and not the integration the project intended to realise (refer Figures 6.26, 6.27 and 6.28).



*Figure 6.25: The access road, dividing the low income from the gap housing area (followed by a green belt) to the right
Source: Author, 2017*



*Figure 6.26: A 3-bedroom single stand house for sale, in the gap market area
Source: Author, 2017*



Figure 6.27: Construction site for the further extension of the gap housing
Source: Author, 2017



Figure 6.28: Advertisement board to the office for gap housing
Source: Author, 2017

The housing project gave rise to Pelican Park shopping centre, that abuts this development (refer to Figure 6.29). Across Strandfontein Road, there are several agro-processing plants, providing for employment opportunities for this community.



Figure 6.29 Pelican Park shopping centre, neighbouring the development, on Strandfontein road
Source: Author, 2017

THEME 1: SPIRIT OF THE SETTLEMENT

PP 4 noted: *“Pelican park is always busy and alive. Even in the evenings. The cars driving in the roads. The young people walking up and down, talking loudly. There is no quiet moment in Pelican park.”*



Figure 6.30: Some of the houses already have an informal structure in backyard, and further informal trading happening on erf. Note the DSTV dishes.

Source: Author, 2017

THEME 2: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

PP 1 remarked: *“The City with the developer allowed us to say what kind of houses we would like. We had to be mindful of the price, as what can it provide for us. Also, we could select where we would like to stay, based on our house product. We were able to choose our neighbours in advance, and it was good to know that we are coming from the same area, staying again in the same area.”*

It is hereto that PP 4 alluded: *“When they told us to come and verify our details, as beneficiaries to this housing project, we couldn’t believe it. We thought we will never get a house, as we had been on the waiting list for long. We were very excited to finally move in!”*

THEME 3: MIX AND INTEGRATION

PP 2 stated: *“As you can see, people opened up their own house shops, as a means of income. Although this make this area feel home, we now struggle with youth hanging around in front of these properties, up to mischief.”*

PP 8, an elderly man, mentioned: *“Did you see that there are Coloureds, Christians as well as Muslims staying here? We respect each other.”*

PP 3 challenged the group when she noted: *“There are no parks or safe places for the children to play. The children play in the streets, and it is not always safe. As parents, we need to be outside to ensure that our children play safely. The nature reserve is encamped, but we see people going for walks in there.”*

It is herein that Anonymous 1 mentioned: *“They indicated that the schools, a community centre, churches and a clinic will be built on the other side. These are the basics, and I don’t think it is enough for this community.”*

THEME 4: SAFETY ISSUES

PP 7 added: *“We want to thank government for giving us these houses. We appreciate it. But there are too many young people standing around over the weekends, and late nights. It is them gambling on the street corners. These children left school, and they need to find work. It will be great if government can create places of work/apprenticeships in these kind of developments [sic] for such youth.”*

PP 6 mentioned: *“I think because we were able to choose where we would like to stay, and also our neighbours to some extent, we are looking for each other out as that of a community. We feel we can trust our neighbours in our blocks.”*

Many agreed on this. It seems this is something that can be taken forward in the development of future housing projects.

THEME 5: AFFORDABILITY AND MIX

PP 9 stated: *“We are the owners of these houses. We are able to afford our houses. However, doctors are far from here, so when our children get sick, we have to drive far to get to a government hospital. A clinic is not always a good option. We are far from trains and buses don’t pass here regularly. We have to use our cars to commute between A and B, work, and families outside Pelican Park.”*

THEME 6: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT AND CITY OF CAPE TOWN

PP 3 was very bold when she stated: *“The clinic they going to build must have enough space and doctors to help us. We hear and have seen clinics where old people have to stand in long lines, from the early mornings, just to be sent home and to return the next day. This should not happen here.”*

PP 5 stated: *“Our area looks very dull, with these colour houses. Even the open courts are paved. It will be great if we can have gardens, like vegetable and flower gardens, as we hear and see on the TV of other projects. It will be great if government can allow spaces for that for us.”*

PP 4 made a remark: *“I hope they are going to allow many crèche’s in this development. There are too many young children running around during the day, that should have been in a safe place. We hear too many stories of children being kidnapped, raped and killed.”*

This case study proved the importance of having the buy-in of the community in making a housing project successful. However, as noted by the focus group members, they might be able to afford the housing opportunity, but it is the extras in terms of the location and socio-economic facilities, that makes the settlement less affordable. The researcher is concerned that it is only a matter of time before this settlement will develop social ills, similar to the other case studies, if no intervention is undertaken to address and maintain the social cohesion of that exists.

c. Project 3: Melkbosch Village

This project can be accessed from the R27/West Coast road (refer to Figure 6.31). The housing project consists largely of housing, that is, secured complexes (gated communities) for middle- and higher-income groups, in addition to low-income housing. The Melkbosch development consists of seven residential clusters, Sagewood Close, Silver Oak Close, Manatoka Heights, Coral Heights, Aloe Close and Camphor Close (refer Figure 6.32 and 6.33), which were constructed between June 2009 and September 2012 (Mahlanga, 2013:4).

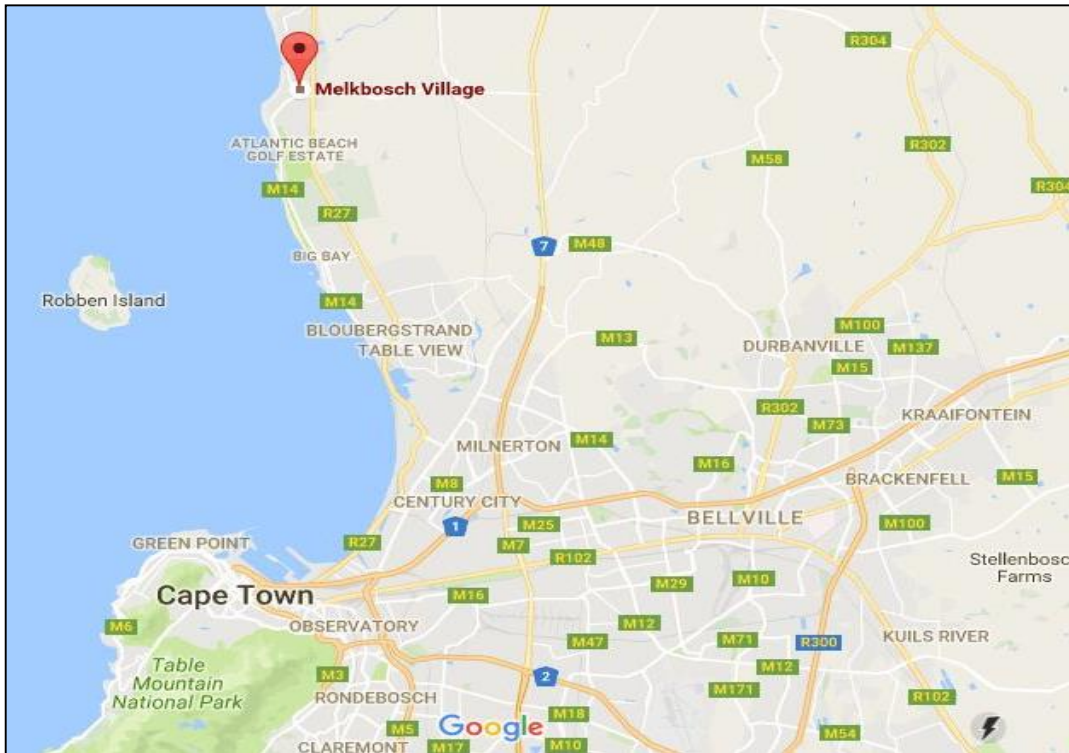


Figure 6.31: Location of the Melkbosch Village
Source: Google Earth, 2016

When the researcher went to the housing project, there was a distinct difference between the higher- and lower income-housing groups' housing. Firstly, the higher-income clusters had better exterior finishes. Olive Close comprises typical RDP houses, but is branded as social housing (refer to Figure 6.32) and is also secure and access-controlled. During the researcher's site visit, the community was relaxed, children were playing in the streets while the neighbours were socialising with each other.



Figure 6 Olive close, the low income housing section
Source: Author, 2016

Hassan (the commercial director of Asrin) states that “*there is a huge gap for housing in the R450 000 and R600 000 bracket, especially in Cape Town. It is difficult to deliver quality products within the affordable sector that includes the lifestyle additions such as gated houses, landscaping, play parks, entertainment areas and security, but Asrin is committed to doing this by sticking to low mark-ups on their developments.*” (Asrin, 2008).



Figure 6.33: Manatoka Heights, one of the cluster houses in the development
Source: Asrin, 2007

On the contrary, the research found that this housing development lacked socio-economic facilities. The thinking was that the all-inclusive community would access the services, including the shopping malls and the Netcare hospital from the greater Melkbosch Strand area. This area is well connected to the MyCity route (a rapid transit bus), and the households can also make use of the Golden Arrow bus services and taxis passing the R27/West Coast main road. As with Westlake village, the low-income housing section, disconnected from the bigger development, also shows signs of poverty and neglect, with unemployed beneficiaries merely surviving. This project displayed the groupings of different income groups, as per secured complexes, but that does not necessarily mean that there is an integration of income (or races, housing typologies).

The focus group discussions, as conducted on 3 June 2017, revealed that some of the households originated from two informal settlements, Ogieskraal and Rietvlei Bosch. In the absence of an active/known councillor for this ward, the inhabitants prefer to be

isolated and rather be left to their own devices, even in struggling to deal with drugs that enter this settlement.

Furthermore, the beneficiaries were promised one housing product, but what was approved and provided to them is completely different. The reason for this was that there was a bigger housing need identified, and the site had to be compacted to accommodate the two informal settlements, local domestic workers and the existing housing backlog from this area. Due to limited beneficiary and community involvement, communication lagged, to the detriment of the actual beneficiaries. This is currently further worsened by an inactive councillor.

THEME 1: THE SPIRIT OF THE SETTLEMENT

MV 1 noted: *“When I moved in here, it was calm, quiet and peaceful. These days, it is noisy and these houses has no privacy. Also, in the informal settlement, we could depend on each other, and know that we can run to another for help. Now, it is not possible; as each one is focusing on themselves.”*



Figure 6.34: Vandalised park on the right, nothing left of it
Source: Author, 2017

Most of the people are just waiting out the pre-emptive right time frame (eight-years), when they will receive their title deed, and then extend the house to improve it to their liking (build an extra bedroom and garage) or to sell it and then move to better areas.

THEME 2: AFFORDABILITY AND INTEGRATION

MV 2 stated that: *“The houses are affordable, whether you own or rent. We have some monies left at the end of the month. This is because we walk to the shops, and not take MyCity buses, or taxis. Even our children rather walk to school.”*

It is hereupon that MV 3 remarked: *“The rich people are paying for our ADT/neighbourhood watch, and the security at the front access gate. Also, we only pay R65 for levies. However, we have so many challenges with our utilities that the affordability of the houses becomes debateable.”*

Research has proven that the BNG houses become assets to their owners, and enable them to climb the economic ladder (Adebayo, 2011:4; Cross, 2009:8). However, more recent research has proven that these “assets” are becoming an economic burden to these households, due to the many house maintenance challenges. These settlements are open to the social ills of the community, and it can be understood why they want to move away, looking for better areas to stay in.

Many of them indicated that the housing is affordable, also in terms of where they are staying, they have transport options, but prefer to walk and save extra monies. This research proves that it is not only housing that should be affordable, but that other aspects, such as availability and access to socio-economic amenities and transport, also contribute to the affordability of an area.

THEME 3: SOCIAL ILLS

During the discussions, MV 4, who stays close to the park (where many illegal activities take place) noted: *“It is not safe to stay here. Our lives and even that of our children, especially daughters are in danger. This is due to the tik [A drug commonly sold as a combination of amphetamines and talcum powder, baking powder, starch, glucose or quinine. These additives can be very poisonous], and drugs entering this place. The security in front doesn’t help!”*

She continues, highly irritated: *“I have called the police from Melkbosstrand and Atlantis to come and address this, even gave them names and leads to catch these people, but it doesn’t help. They are just doing nothing about my complaints.”*

This case study proved the paramount importance of developing with the community and not only for the community. Developing in collaboration with the community, will ensure that not only will their wishes been addressed, but workable and sustainable solutions could have been considered to provide for cheaper utility options.

6.3.3 Summary regarding affordable housing projects: Cape Town

The City of Cape Town’s SDF is outspoken about transforming the Apartheid city and has, accordingly, put proposals in place (City of Cape Town, 2012:70). Apartheid may have ended more than 20 years ago, but the sense of apartness remains as strong as ever in Cape Town (Ndegwa, Horner & Esau, 2004:68). After decades of enforced segregation, the feeling of division is permanently carved into the city’s urban form, the physical legacy of a plan that was deliberately designed to separate poor blacks from rich whites. Yet, there exists a paralysis of how to stop apartheid (Miller personal communication, 10 June 2016). He states that the Cape Town communities had previously been disenfranchised, whereby power to speak, make an impact, or to

empower themselves, had been stripped from them, and now these households depend on government to provide for them.

Miller (personal communication, June 2016) remarked, *“Though apartheid ended decades ago, many physical barriers remain in Cape Town, highly visible in the built environment ... especially from above, taking aerial photographs.”*

It is when looking beyond the layout and subdivision plans that we find natural barriers (wetland, channel, etc.) and physical barriers (road, fences, shopping centre, etc.) used to limit integration. These were visible when visiting the sites and seeing the impact of these barriers constraining the flow of communities' engagement levels, and the feedback received during the focus group discussions, such as in Pelican Park. It should also be noted that the good intentions of the approved layout plans have fizzled out over the years, when the houses and recreational areas are not well maintained, or the community do not take ownership thereof, as seen by the vandalism of the Melkbosch Village play park and the Westlake Village's channel footbridge. Furthermore, as seen in Westlake Village, the channel running between the shopping centre and Westlake Village is used a dumping site, causing health and safety concerns, especially for the neighbourhood children.

Smith & Vawda (2003:27) argue that it is critical to build citizenship through **public participation** as part of service delivery. It was noted that **continuous** community engagement is critical in planning and delivering (affordable) housing projects that lend themselves to inclusion. It became evident that the Westlake and Melkbosch Village communities were not involved in the conceptualisation and packaging of the housing projects, contrary to Pelican Park, which had robust engagements over years of planning. Given the limited involvement of the municipal ward councillors in these settlements, it is not surprising that the communities remarked that they were not involved in the municipal planning processes or ward engagements; for example, with the IDP. If sufficient public participation is not undertaken, it will result in greater capital investment from stakeholders to change that settlement into something the community

can take ownership off (Patel, Greyling, Parnell & Pirie, 2016:188; Lemanski, 2008:399). Achieving this, due to the Apartheid history of division and disempowerment, will take dedication, a mind shift amongst communities and some good facilitation from the municipality, to achieve ownership of the greater development and a sense of “neighbourliness”. Through public participation, transformation of the community and the spatial landscape can be anticipated (Sitas & Pieterse, 2013:334).

All three housing projects contained **secluded and safety islands**. Secure complexes might also allow for diversity on a bigger scale (town or city level) but create homogeneity within a precinct (Lemanski & Oldefield, 2009:10). Demarcated and secluded areas might mean **safer living environments** for some, but in the bigger scheme of things, they do not contribute to an integration of communities. Rather, these settlements are vulnerable to crime and social challenges and further exclusion (Lemanski, 2008:395; Landman & Schönenteich, 2002:83). Furthermore, while gating may be an individually rational decision in the context of South Africa’s growing crime (and fear of crime), its collective consequences produce a divided city, at odds with the post-apartheid ideals of unity and equality (Lemanski, 2008:399).

Although it might seem that these affordable housing projects were initially on the right track in providing integrated and sustainable human settlements, to ensure inclusionary and affordable housing, it is **not enough**. The research has shown that more should be done in terms of providing for housing, changing the landscape or bringing diversity to a city. Also, more needs to be done, faster, and better to see a change in the post-apartheid landscape (Ganiyu, Fapohunda & Haldenwang, 2015:355). As the City of Cape Town is rolling out the MyCity system further into these suburbs, it is important that the affordable housing projects should be prioritised along these routes.

The architect, Jo Noero, commented to Wainwright (2014) in *The Guardian*, that Apartheid utterly destroyed the capacity of people to think about upgrading their own

homes, and the reconstruction and development programme is only doing the same. *“The government is still very paternalistic, so people expect it will provide everything,”* he adds. *“And they still fear that the more freedom you give people, the less easy it is to control them.”*

Noero argues that *“In South Africa there is a horrible lack of imagination about the future. There are grand plans to build whole new satellite cities outside Cape Town, but they’re following the same model of putting the poorest people furthest away. It seems like we’re just repeating all the mistakes of the past.”*

According to Miller (personal communication, June 2016) there are inequalities across South Africa due to the Apartheid regime and the continued effects thereafter (as explained in chapter 3). Consequently, he recommends that the buffer areas that were intended to create “spatial separateness” should be creatively utilised to bring a sense of togetherness amongst communities. Ironically, the urban social divide is reported to be widening, leading to a small suburban elite surrounded by vast poverty (Soja, 1995:30; Dear, 2000:25; Harrison & Mayekiso, 2003:15). This has resulted in what Harrison et al. (2003:16) have termed “protective citadels” due to a fear of the poor – the “other”, leading to further segregation.

In a country struggling to shed its apartheid legacy, it has been widely argued that gated developments inherently present undertones of re-segregation, in a re-creation of urban spaces of separation. According to Ramoroka and Tsheola (2014:59), the emulation of the West’s privatisation of urban spaces and securitisation and policing through city settlement planning has uniformly reinvented spatial social segregation in the developing world. Ramoroka and Tsheola (2014:57), together with Lemanski (2008:406) believe that acceptance of the gated-community model has paradoxically sustained social segregation in South Africa. The SAHRC (n.d.:26) concurs that gated communities cause social division, dysfunctional cities and lead to the further polarisation of our society, as confirmed by this research.

Both Frith (2016) and Miller (personal communication, June 2016) remarked that Cape Town, the Mother City is particularly segregated, compared to the other South African cities such as Johannesburg and Durban. Both made an urgent call on all town planners to facilitate planning that will move people away from their fears towards inclusionary projects and the perceptions of poverty in the cities.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the case studies, with further input from the interviews and group discussions. There is a need that more should be done towards developing these affordable housing projects to bring along greater integration and sustainability in the settlements, bridging the many barriers of Apartheid planning and symptoms thereof.

The researcher acknowledges that **Birmingham, Alabama** has progressed towards integration. This was because of the (limited) provision of affordable housing, mass transport for the town, as well as through greater strategic interventions such as active involvement of the stakeholders, particularly local communities and a clear vision of what the Council and broader community are working towards. Evidently, the USA state directed federal grants into making neighbourhoods sustainable and enabling the households to be financially able to pay their rent, and not as individual social grants, as in the South African instances.

With the shifts in fewer federal grants being made available towards (affordable) housing and support programmes to the households, Birmingham was able to define their vision towards a greater availability for affordable housing, and creating a safer living environment for all generations (Holt personal communication, June 2017). However, it is evident that the USA Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and

Birmingham City are not doing enough to provide for the dire need for affordable housing; despite further regional fragmentation (Bennett, 2016; Spencer & Williams, 2017:140). Also, in Birmingham, Alabama, there are signs of potential gentrification. It begs the question whether, if the inclusionary housing becomes more prescriptive and stricter, it will enforce a quicker and greater delivery of affordable housing, located in the correct neighbourhoods (Henson, 2013:87).

In learning from Birmingham, Alabama, Cape Town continues to struggle with further racial segregation (Berrisford, 2011b: 249) and socio-economic problems under the guise of affordable housing (Henson, 2013:87; Kelly, 2013:2; Lemanski, 2008:244). Currently, the South African affordable housing market is desperate for innovative solutions, which might be found in the resale of government-subsidised housing, the delivery of incremental housing on serviced stands, inner city rental, or conversion of office blocks to residential accommodation for sale or for rent.

Gated communities have further contributed to spatial fragmentation in the respective urban areas (Landman & Schontech, 2002:83). Goven et al. (2011:178) believe that the housing challenge in South Africa cannot ignore the fact that most of the people cannot afford to live in an exclusive gated community. Although it might seem that the affordable housing projects are integrated and sustainable within the case study settlements, it should not be accepted that it would be beneficial for the broader region, as it has a negative impact on spatial restructuring. Should South Africa move from a divided to an integrated city, there is an opportunity for South Africa to lead Africa into the provision of affordable housing, a greater balance between the formal and informal economy, as well as the creation of integrated and sustainable human settlements (Pieterse, 2002).

Mixed housing is slowly starting to “stir the urban pot” and is allowing greater integration and diversity in South African neighbourhoods and cities (Landman, 2012a:55). However, despite the positive signs, it is not yet part of South Africa’s mainstream housing development and it remains to be seen whether it will become

one of the preferred models for most of the people in the country. To make the housing projects a success, the softer side of development (less *ad hoc* planning, provision for public participation, beneficiary training, etc.) should be addressed.

The researcher anticipated that the USAs affordable housing would resemble more significance to integration, as well as sustainable human settlements, but to the contrary: there remains some open debates on the lingering segregation in neighbourhoods. The researcher reasons that due to the lessons learnt, through the USA and the South African affordable housing projects, there is much room for improvement, should South Africa want to move away from the fragmentation, and disparities in planning beyond their post-apartheid spatial landscape. The golden thread that emerges through these case studies is that town and regional planners need to do more: they must work with the community, package the projects more creatively, negotiate at a different level, and give greater guidance to the politicians. Some of the pertinent lessons learnt can be viewed in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Summary of lessons learnt through case studies

Leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If national/federal politicians are clear on their vision, it becomes easier for officials to work towards a tangible product. • Allow creativity and taking risks to bring positive change to settlements.
Involvement of community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership and ability to establish themselves as an entity (to speak as a united voice). • Leadership in community. • Pride in their houses and neighbourhood. • Involved to provide inputs towards community long-term planning.
Stakeholders (government, bank, private sector, NGOs, CBOs)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing is not only a governmental responsibility, but every sector should be involved and contribute. • When all stakeholders are clear on their roles and responsibilities; they can contribute in resources. • NGOs and CBOs should become more involved in housing, and not only due to the social ills of the communities.

Design and layout to proposals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to provide and exercise choice of land uses that will meet the need for the current community, with the ability to expand or convert over time. • It is more than just having access to a facility • Hard barriers should be eliminated, and rather consider softer corridors that will enhance the transitions between land uses or zonings.
Dealing with long term effects of urban renewal through inclusionary/affordable housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gentrification will happen. • Should look at how to equip community to resist against that factor. • On the contrary, if no upgrade, the area becomes a slum, prone to crime and other social evils.

Silverman (personal communication, June 2017) observed:

*“One thing to be aware of the degree to which **segregation and spatial equity** are addressed in the USA, is heavily dependent on the level of fair housing enforcement by the federal, state and local government. In the US, there have been historic problems with fair housing law and its enforcement, and the process of putting those laws in place and enforcing them has been incremental. A lot of the enforcement takes place at the local level by nonprofit advocacy organizations that receive federal funding to engage in these activities. So, in terms of South Africa, if the US model is applied, there would need to be support for a more robust affordable housing delivery system and fair housing enforcement.”*

Ehrenhalt (2016:4) argues that the affordable housing provision problem does not lie at local municipal level, but rather at federal or national level. In the absence of South Africa having an inclusionary housing policy, this chapter reveals that the private sector’s interpretation of affordable housing and inclusionary housing, does not necessarily translate into integrated and sustainable human settlements, or a move away from the Apartheid spatial landscape, but that the developments rather entrench it and cause further isolation, exposure to crime, and further poverty to the beneficiary households. Also, the Cape Town municipality has incorporated some aspects of new urbanism and smart growth principles in their strategic planning, but that does not materialise in the housing project or settlement planning either. The next chapter is

the conclusion and recommendation chapter, pulling the research together and finding a way forward.

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis by deliberating on the main answers to the research questions, pertaining to the main research question: “How can we plan for affordable housing, through inclusionary housing, to change the Apartheid spatial landscape in South Africa”. To reflect, Chapter 1 introduced and set the platform for this research. The insights gained through this study were obtained by the descriptive phenomenological approach. In Chapter 2, the researcher presented her research methodology, ensuring that all aspects including the limitations, ethics and the research paradigm were sufficiently addressed. Furthermore, part of Chapter 2 discussed the phenomenological approach, which describes the common meanings individuals ascribe to their living experiences with the basic purpose of reducing these individual experiences within a phenomenon to a universal description of their essence (Creswell, 2013:76; Finlay, 2009:7). From here on, the researcher discussed the literature related to (affordable and inclusionary) housing and human settlements in Chapter 3. She also took the different planning theories that affect inclusionary and affordable housing into consideration. In these planning theories, it became evident that there is a need to balance the good intentions of smart growth and new urbanism against critical theory as contained in the right to the city and quality of life for individuals (Watson, 2009b:2264).

With an established background to the South African challenges arising from Apartheid planning, the researcher discussed her findings in relation to the South African housing and planning policies in Chapter 4. Through a critical and analytical lens, the researcher questioned the contributions these policies made to change the Apartheid spatial policies to create integrated and sustainable human settlements. Chapter 5 focused on the interviews the researcher conducted seeking answers to the

research questions. In addition to these interviews with experts, six developments recommended as inclusionary and affordable projects were analysed. Three of these case study developments were in Birmingham, Alabama (USA) and three in Cape Town. In addition to secondary sources, the analysis was supported with interviews with planners (Birmingham) and residents (Cape Town), in Chapter 6. Chapter 7, then, concludes the research, and emphasises the contribution to knowledge and lastly, paves the way forward to further research. The conclusions drawn and recommendations made are based on the research enquiry.

Although the researcher initially assumed that the professionals in the human settlement arena understood the broad concepts related to human settlement planning, even in the broader context of Apartheid, this study proved the contrary. Compared to other disciplines (such as medical doctors, architects, business traders, etc.) the town and regional planning discipline in South Africa is still very young, although much more is expected from this discipline in contributing to change the Apartheid spatial landscape. This will transpire through the following sections, wherein the research questions were answered.

7.2 Synopsis of the background and research study

As noted in Chapter 1, the purpose of this research was to investigate how affordable housing, through the mechanism of inclusionary housing, can change the Apartheid spatial landscape. The discussion focused on the symptoms and the continuous after-effects of Apartheid planning, which have a ripple effect on other sectors (economic, social, and infrastructure) as well as the community's well-being. The provision of RDP houses, on the fringes of the town, do not support or complement the household's living conditions, but cause further poverty and segregation (Pieterse, 2001:8; 2006:286). During this study, Cape Town, as a study area, confirmed these challenges. Questions was raised as to whether the solution can lie with the provision of affordable housing through inclusionary housing. Hence, as housing is a mechanism that unlocks investments and infrastructure, the settlements' character

should bring a greater sense of integration and sustainability (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015:676). There is room for change, should South Africa want to create inclusionary, integrated and sustainable human settlements, as were explored through international studies.

7.3 Summary of the research findings

It is in review of the research questions that the researcher presents and summarises her findings, to make recommendations, paving the way forward for integrated and sustainable human settlements in South Africa. During the research, the interviews, case studies, focus group discussions, as well as the literature review, revealed a range of different interpretations, understandings and conflicting theories. Much of this will be discussed below, based on the respective research questions.

7.3.1 Vagueness on definition and characteristics of integrated and sustainable human settlements

Although many welcomed the definition within the BNG and see the South African human settlement goals fit into the international vision (as that of Habitat I, II and III), there remains vagueness about the BNG definition for integrated and sustainable human settlements.

Although BNG (2004:12) provides a definition for integrated and sustainable human settlements as *“the South African context, sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life are defined by:*

- *access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable;*
- *access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity;*

- *security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; and*
- *access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance.”*

the attempt to answer this research question resulted in additional ambiguity. Much of this vagueness is around the definitions, understandings and perceptions etched in by our Apartheid thinking of what integrated and sustainable human settlements could be. To translate integrated and sustainable human settlements into housing projects, or even to settlement level, becomes muddled with further contradictions. Yet, the vision towards integrated and sustainable human settlements remains worth striving for; it is in the understanding, the “how” to apply it, and “how” to measure it that the greatest confusion or uncertainty lies.

Many of the respondents could list the characteristics of BNG, while some added other aspects based on their understanding and experiences, but in the same breath, some of the pertinent aspects were also omitted. The researcher’s definition of integrated and sustainable human settlements is based on the BNG concept, which is very similar to the concept of “live-work-play”. Yet this is the ideal, and this Utopia might seem out of reach, given the South African Apartheid context. The BNG definition has some aspects that require further clarity to contextualising, and equip the professionals to be able to measure settlements and housing projects accordingly, such as:

- what is well-managed;
- what entities are referred to; and
- how broad is sustainable development?

Despite the above definition, respondents (Titus personal communication, October 2015; Steenkamp personal communication, November 2015; Hutchermeyer personal communication, December 2015) raised further limitations as integrated and sustainable human settlements should display all the following characteristics:

- provision of a variety of economic and business opportunities;
- provision of socio-economic amenities (e.g. health, safety, educational, and recreational);
- inclusive of dynamic demography of the community, including income, race, age, occupations;
- variety of housing options;
- consultative process with communities, beneficiaries, private- and public-sector role players; and
- accessible (public) transport, as well as cycle routes, and pedestrian friendly environment.

As underpinned in the concept of “integrated and sustainable human settlements”, these functional settlements will be inclusive, viable, accessible, providing choice, as well as affordable to all persons in the community. It is through this perceived limited understanding and some confusion amongst the professionals and town planners of South Africa, that the broader understanding of affordable and inclusionary housing added further elusiveness.

7.3.2 Different professions and environments have different interpretations of affordable and inclusionary housing

The international literature review showed that there is a clear distinction in the definitions of affordable and inclusionary housing (Calvita & Mallach, 2010:15; Mooney, 2007:7). There are different interpretations of affordable and inclusionary housing within the USA, India, and the UK. In the South African context, the respondents believed that there is a significant difference between affordable and inclusionary housing, and the related funding and planning implications, although they are used interchangeably in South Africa (Steenkamp personal communication, November 2015). As such, the banking and private sector realised that affordable housing will differ from place to place (municipal areas and towns) depending on the

income levels of the community, in addition to their bankability (credit worthiness). However, the public sector stands firm that the affordable housing market is those persons earning between R3 501 and R15 000 combined household income (as guided by the National Housing Code, 2009:45), with no flexibility or relevance to the economic climate.

Through the case studies, it was demonstrated that, although some of the beneficiaries can afford the house, this does not mean that the area or **location is affordable**. Aspects of the spatial location, such as cheap and accessible transport, availability and variety of socio-economic opportunities, and the safety of the living environment, contribute to the affordability of the settlements for the households. It is only through striking a balance amongst these factors that social and economic segregation can effectively be reduced within South Africa (Onatu, 2012:70).

Amongst the respondents, there was some uneasiness in sharing their thoughts on inclusionary housing, and at times it transpired as confusion. For some it relates to mixed housing, or mixed-income housing, which creates further uncertainty (Landman, 2012:52; Turok personal communication, February 2016), while others perceive it only as a mix of income levels (Steenkamp personal communication, November 2015; Kedzeija personal communication, December 2015). Do these terms refer only to housing programmes or do they include other land uses, or are they influenced by households' income levels? Thus, the respondents were not able to concur with confidence, even in the unpacking of these concepts.

7.3.3 Inclusionary housing contributes to integrated and sustainable settlements

This research indicated that the South African history of segregation and Apartheid development has had a lasting effect on many settlements. As seen in the case studies of Cape Town, people are still segregated by race, income and class, as proven by Berrisford (2011b:249). According to Pendall, Treskon, Novara & Khare (2017:20), there is no one approach to change segregation patterns. Thus, it will take many years,

even with concerted efforts by government, the private sector and the communities themselves, to address the problems.

If inclusionary housing is applied in a correct manner over time consistently, it will change the spatial and community landscape to become more **inclusive**, with the concomitant reduction in social and economic segregation (Titus personal communication, October 2015). With considerable financial and political commitment, as well as the planning readiness, many generations can benefit from these housing projects. Also, the attractiveness of the settlement depends on the variety of land uses, densification and the beautification of the broader settlement (Berrisford & Kihato, 2008:385). The inclusiveness within the settlements will also attract businesses and become a prime area for commercial nodes, leading to increased property prices, making these settlements prime areas in which to live.

As smart growth and new urbanism principles are applied through inclusionary housing, these settlements will display vibrancy and diversity at neighbourhood level (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000:341). However, such inclusive settlements are also prone to **gentrification** as rapidly increasing housing prices push middle-class and low-income residents away from well-paying jobs, reliable transportation, good schools, and safe neighbourhoods (Henson, 2013:87; Keita et al., 2016:20).

In summary, it is worth it to understand how the BNG (2004:12) definition is addressed through the case studies, as well as the theories analysed through this research. Table 7.1 below indicates that the case studies did not do justice to the definition, and are far from the ideal view of integrated and sustainable human settlements. Furthermore, although the intention is admirable - to let households have quality of life and their rights to the city - this does not equate to an integrated and sustainable settlement, free from social ills or ownership challenges. Although it might seem that Pelican Park is by far a better, more affordable housing project, there is need to provide more non-residential land uses, to make the settlement more inclusive, expand the MyCity system to serve this area in future; as well as taking the focus group recommendations

into consideration. The case studies shown that in order to provide for integrated and sustainable human settlements, more should be done, and as noted by the focus groups, much of this lies with the City of Cape Town as how it develops these projects.

Table 7.1: Summary of findings in relation to the case studies meeting the BNG definition and the theories

<p>BNG (2004:12) definition: “the South African context, sustainable human settlements and improved quality of household life are defined by: • access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable; • access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity; • security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; and • access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance.”</p>						
Case Studies	Criteria				Theories	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> access to adequate accommodation that is suitable, relevant, appropriately located, affordable and fiscally sustainable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> access to basic services such as water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> security of tenure irrespective of ownership or rental, formal or informal structures; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> access to social services and economic opportunities within reasonable distance (20km/1h). 	<p>Right to the city/Quality of life</p>	<p>New Urbanism/Smart growth</p>
Westlake (WV)	A free house, but too small for their families, and many had to extend or get a Wendy house.	The households have access to municipal services, but it is not regular. These municipal	Secured ownership, but the families’ safety is at stake due to crime and gangsterism,	Most of the socio-economic facilities are outside Westlake, but the taxi services link these households to Wynberg, Retreat/Steenberg,	They were happy where they originated from (Farm, informal settlement), but are placed here because of promises of	<p>None</p> <p>Public spaces are not preserved, but rather vandalised.</p> <p>Unattractive community with</p>

	Not all the houses are well maintained, by the owners or the City of Cape Town.	services, are expensive, and other means of incomes are sourced.		Cape Town, etc. safely.	security and better futures with their families.	limited sense of place.
Pelican Park (PP)	A variety of accommodation – relevant to the community needs. Ability to exercise choice – in being part of a consultative process.	The development makes use of sustainable energy resources (solar panels) adding to the cost effectiveness for the households.	Secured ownership, and taking ownership of their house and community.	Each household has their own car, so they are mobile to go where they need to, even if it is beyond this settlement.	Move out of poverty stricken areas to better opportunities (and quality of life), with more to choose from.	Greater functionality and efficiency in this community; making it cost effective
Melkbosch Village (MV)	The houses are not what was promised – no garage and no two bedroomed house; but just to have a house, is better than nothing.		Their ownership is pending (the pre-emptive rights clause has an 8-year lapse) the home owner need to abide to, before they get their	Well located land, with good linkages, but households feel isolated from the Melkbosch development; as well as their neighbours.	Access to opportunities, and using the liability/social compact of the 'better off' communities to have a better quality of life	Part of BRT linkages, but able to choose to walk to safely. Public spaces are not preserved, but rather vandalised. The community is not involved in the

			title deed – with no certainty of the future.		(safe environment)	planning with the City.
--	--	--	--	--	-----------------------	----------------------------

Inclusionary housing **alone will never solve the housing crisis**, as demonstrated internationally, especially in the USA, where the housing need is escalating (Silverman personal communication, June 2017). Thus, it should be used in parallel with other housing programmes, and other interventions to meet housing and human settlement needs. In the South African context, it will address the unmet housing demand, as well as change the manner in which planning was undertaken previously; for example, where greater consideration is given to the spatial location and urban linkages in areas where the housing will be provided. In addressing this housing need, settlements will become more sustainable and integrated, and not lend themselves to become poverty traps.

7.3.4 Role of town planners to create settlements that are more integrated and sustainable

Internationally, there are not sufficient town and regional planners to undertake the successful implementation of urban planning (UN Habitat, 2014:137). This is due to a number of issues such as the need to be familiar with the planning environment, the availability of information, time pressures that limit detailed studies, the costs of formal planning, and also as some educational institutions may not be familiar with the best practices or are ill-equipped to address the challenges students face that operate in different world regions. Yet, there are many excellent examples of agencies, cities and institutions that have overcome these obstacles through intentional self-reflection, development, as well as partnerships, as much of this relates to taking risks, and being creative with their current challenges (Napier personal communication, February 2016).

Despite the above-mentioned challenges, planners from the global north remained relevant with **technology**. It is through information systems, real estate and business analysis understanding, that these development planners can plan settlements where land uses will cross-subsidise the other, making it a win-win situation for all stakeholders (Spinks, 2001:24). Beyond technology, these planners have explored **newer concepts** to plan settlements on a regional level. Being **creative and**

innovative through planning enables the stakeholders to find collaborative solutions in partnerships (Madikizela personal communication, November 2016). It is through collaborative planning of settlements, even at precinct level, that should translate to the newer thinking around communicative planning or planning in partnership. Such planning will require another kind of commitment. South Africa has tried collaborative planning in an *ad hoc* manner, with many failed attempts.

Relevant policies are the backbone to successful implementation. Nonetheless, without the ability to translate them into action, through daily implementation, the many policies and laws will mean nothing to South Africa. Consequently, over time, housing policies, especially those relating to affordable and inclusionary housing, need to be reviewed to stay abreast of the market, economy the needs of the intended beneficiaries and communities (Steenkamp personal communication, November 2015). Town planners should influence the practicality of such regulation and policy, by ensuring that the policies are implementable and functional at community level, other than identifying projects as part of municipal planning (Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:18). It is through this close involvement, that other funding streams from the private sector, in addition to government funds can be utilised. Given the Habitat III New Urban Agenda, Brown-Luthango (personal communication, June 2017) challenged the planners to think innovatively and explore workable solutions in the South African context.

7.3.5 South African housing and planning policies do not create an enabling environment to plan and develop inclusionary housing as a form of affordable housing

With a medley of many policies (some contradictory), South Africa has been slow to implement and transition beyond the Apartheid spatial landscape. Part of this is due to the mind-set of built environment professionals (town planners, engineers, architects, etc.) that were trained and worked from the **Apartheid/segregation mentality**, and are now caught in a fundamental tension of **conflicting rationalities** (Watson, 2003:399). In moving away from the Apartheid mind-set and technocratic manner of

planning, South Africa has adopted some new urbanism and smart planning principles, but there is still a need to revise the planning approach, to ensure it fits the global South or South African context (Turok, 2016b:13; Watson, 2009b:2265; 2014:4). Additionally, many **planning tools** that are currently used are obsolete, irrelevant or unable to bring the impactful change producing integrated and sustainable human settlements (Pieterse, 2004b:5).

These challenges cut across the housing programmes and funding streams. Joubert (personal communication, February 2016) stated that Apartheid planning is continuing and worsening due to using the same funding and planning models that are used by government. However, although government's intentions may be sincere in that they seek to address the principles of integration, sustainability, equity, redress, and efficiency, the finished product of communities (poverty, informalities, inequalities, socio-economic challenges) and settlement (rapid urbanisation, fragmentation), do not reflect these noble aims (Watson, 2014:8). Quite the opposite is visible. **worsening fragmented settlements** isolated from amenities, as well as poverty and social ills, challenging the progression of such communities (Pieterse, 2007:1; Turok, 2016a:12; Brown-Luthango personal communication, June 2017).

The **underlying principles** of integration, efficiency, and compactness as contained in SPLUMA and the Western Cape Land Use Planning Act, are all in place to redress the apartheid spatial landscape. Undertaking municipal and provincial planning are small steps to making generational impacts in geographical areas that can materialise through the SDF and IDPs of such municipalities (Joscelyne, 2015:51). However, these impacts can only succeed if supported and followed through by other organisations, stakeholders, and communities with a common vision for South Africa (Turok personal communication, November 2016).

Furthermore, noticing the small nudges towards inclusionary housing, the professionals of South Africa can gear themselves towards a policy/framework for it, with a greater involvement from government. This **involvement** should not be limited to only providing funds and monitoring the spending thereof, but rather to facilitate and

enable the private sector, community based organisations, and individuals to plan and build such integrated and sustainable human settlements, through the provision of affordable housing.

It is the newer policies, such as the Human Settlement Policy or the Integrated Urban Development Framework, which the researcher hopes will bring along the intended change to the apartheid spatial landscape. These policies have a strong housing, informal settlement and urban focus. The positive changes could be one way to initiate some post-Apartheid change. However, against the backdrop of the existing environmental and spatial legislation, the manner in which affordable and inclusionary housing is planned should be well defined (Huchermeyer personal communication, October 2015). Standing on the brink of the review of the Housing Code and the White Paper on Human Settlements, as influenced by the Habitat III debate, it may mean that a different approach could be followed towards the provision of (affordable) housing or even a stronger focus on inclusionary housing, generating a new policy. Also, beyond these policies, it will take some **mind-set changes** (from leadership, officials, organisations, and communities), that will be accomplished through vigorous engagements, also participation at different levels that should stretch beyond the limited level of **public participation** (Turok, 2016b:15). The success of the latter will require keeping the community accountable in taking ownership of their settlement and become active in municipal and ward planning (Napier personal communication, October 2015).

7.4 Contribution to knowledge

This was a journey of discovery and exploration for the researcher. She could uncover what other countries are doing to address their housing needs, to make it affordable and inclusionary, and to move beyond segregation. Through this study, the researcher could also find potential solutions to redress the Apartheid spatial landscape. As such, this thesis' contribution to knowledge is that it provides findings that **revealed weak and limited understandings of concepts such as integrated and sustainable human settlements, inclusionary housing, and affordable housing**, which had been used very loosely in the South African planning and housing arena. In the

absence of clarity, further confusion and inconsistencies are created, and this needs to be addressed at national level, as monitoring and facilitation is undertaken at that provincial level, and is being implemented at local municipal level. This confusion contributes to the persistence of the Apartheid spatial landscape that leads to concentrations of unequal and fragmented settlements with an uneven distribution of, and hence access to, socio-economic facilities. This is contrary to the concept of social justice and to the South African Constitution's Bill of Rights.

While the subject of (affordable) housing provision is not unique to this thesis, this research adds significantly to knowledge and scholarship by virtue of its analytical discussion and contribution to the subject of sustainable urban planning. Much had been written on the Apartheid city, the global south, as well as how planning theories, such as "right to the city," have an impact on service delivery (Parnell & Pieterse, 2010:150; Isandla, 2011:5; Tissington, 2010:28). This is the first of kind of research focusing on inclusionary housing in South Africa. The researcher acknowledges that much research had been done in the housing sphere, policies and governmental interventions, but even those were not sufficient to bring change to the Apartheid spatial landscape, and as proven through this study, South Africa remains far from the ideal of integrated and sustainable human settlements.

In acknowledging this contribution of knowledge, this study reveals that there is **not enough done to plan and provide for integrated and sustainable human settlements, even in the consideration of affordable housing**; hence, the continuation of the Apartheid spatial landscape. The Cape Town case studies proved that without a clear understanding of the concepts (integrated and sustainable human settlements, affordable housing, inclusionary housing), these settlements are dormant settlements open to social ills. Similarly, the supply of affordable housing in well located areas could increase if public authorities had a coordinated public asset management strategy with a common public land disposal policy, where "best use" is defined in terms of densification and equitable access, and not necessarily just in terms of cost of the development. In noticing the lack of progress to change the Apartheid landscape the past twenty years, Todes (2008:6) argues that urban spatial change is **slow and relatively path dependent**. Thus, planners need to work largely around existing

patterns and this requires a better understanding of the socio-spatial and economic dynamics of cities, as well as how they are changing. Consequently, SACPLAN and other planning organisations should consider a support programme to ensure that the planners remain relevant to their planning environment (scale, politics, economy, research, etc.).

The researcher investigated what South Africa has done the past two decades to move away from the Apartheid spatial landscape towards the well-intended integrated and sustainable human settlements in Cape Town. One such mechanism was affordable housing with the application of new urbanism and smart growth theories. In unpacking **new urbanism and smart growth principles**, developed in the first world countries, the researcher found some traces thereof in the case studies, such as plans for affordable settlements close to TOD (MyCity routes were considered in the Melkbosch Village) and in walking distances to facilities (limited work and socio-economic facilities considered in Pelican Park and Westlake Village). Although the intention was to add value to the settlement (Landman, 2012a:52), there is a need to ensure that these principles, take cognisance of the global south environment and so that the urban fabric showed a continuation of the existing footprint and not a misplaced development (Sirr, Stewart & Kelly, 2006:10).

The biggest challenge in achieving affordable housing is **political** (Lee, 2016:44). However, in the South African context, the political parties agreed on providing affordable housing, but it is in the unpacking and working towards this common vision, that the housing agenda should be resolved, beyond their five-year electoral term. This needs to be broken down, giving a **clear path** as to what will lead to what, by when. In this clarity, the professionals (town planners, strategic planners, engineers, community workers, architects, etc.) should join forces to understand the spirit of that vision, to enable the successful implementation and evaluation thereof. Without these actions, the gap between a “good ideas” versus what is done, will remain, resulting in **broadening the gap between rich and poor**, entrenching the apartheid spatial landscape and further segregation.

This study identified, firstly, that the acknowledged gap between the rich and poor has widened; with the poor are getting poorer, displaced on the periphery, with few socio-economic facilities from which to choose. Secondly, due to the location of the (affordable) housing projects, it is assumed that those who did not previously own a house and have since benefited through the government's housing projects (RDP, BNG or upgrade of informal settlements), are now better off, with a house (formal structure) to their name. However, these case studies, especially Melkbosch Village, proved that a house does not imply that the household's **quality of life** had improved. Thirdly, transformation is a long process and if all parties involved do not share the vision of integrated and sustainable human settlements, planning in the "same old way" or adding on some "nice-to-haves," will continue to expose the weakness in the current urban spatial planning outcomes.

Furthermore, the sectoral plans and strategic documents say all the right things, but the **products delivered do not change the Apartheid landscape**. There is a need to rethink the approach, and consider developing relevant planning tools that result in the **restructuring of settlements**. These planning tools and products are isolated from the communities, due to inconsistent municipal planning and ward planning processes, other than public participation and beneficiary education. By following the bottom-up approach, some influences and better planning can feed into such planning tools and deliver better products on the ground. Another pertinent change required is that a **greater fiscal base** should be made available for building communities that are also integrated and sustainable human settlements. This means that it is not municipal housing allocations or housing projects that are funded, but rather, it is communities that are built – from greenfields to where they are able to be self-sustaining (able to add to the municipal revenue base, create jobs within the community and renew and recycle products, etc.).

A **change in government's role to become an enabler and facilitator** will imply that communities and other stakeholders must step up and take responsibility in the development process (Patel, Greyling, Parnell & Pirie, 2016:188). It is through regular and consistent communication and training that households and communities will understand that they are responsible for their own well-being, dignity and progress in

life. However, the success and effectiveness of inclusionary programmes depend on the **health and vibrancy of the market**. The programmes require a prospering, strong housing market and, as the case studies show, collaborative stakeholders, and political will to work well.

Most recent **policies** in South Africa address similar principles and visions for a better South Africa. However, there is a need to find **a balance between policies/regulations and that of (urban) planning**. In the post-Apartheid context, there are numerous policies but little planning that gives effect to those policies. It might be early days (twenty years), but a concerted effort should be made by all planners at all levels and sectors, to plan differently, with a common vision and clear understanding of integrated and sustainable human settlements. The planning approaches and tools should be different, where affordable housing through inclusionary housing is just one such means to an end.

7.5 Contribution to theory

In relation to the theories of planning, this research proved that the provision of affordable housing through inclusionary housing cannot happen in the absence of acknowledging the vision of sustainable housing as well as the critical thinking of “right to the city.” It is in these instances that there is a need to **find a balance** between the sustainable urban planning paradigms versus the critical urban theory. Thus, the Global North (Canada, UK, and USA), has proven that sustainable housing can be provided through including new urbanism and smart growth principles. It is in this niche that inclusionary housing lends itself to being accessible, enabling the beneficiaries to exercise choices, and the provision for housing for low- to middle-income households.

Similarly, some third world countries, as seen in India, provided inclusionary housing to address the dire need for affordable housing in their city centres. A similar strategy could be considered in South Africa, in addressing the urban indigent’s human and Constitutional rights. Thus, quality of life, with sustainability and integration, is the ideal

in South Africa. Although it has been argued that the rich and poor should have equal access to the city, that does not always realise in quality of life for all. As seen through this research, although affordable housing was provided for the poor (as examined in the case studies), they were not always better off through formal housing provided for them. The continuous struggle with informal settlements, backyard dwellings, poverty, lack of sufficient infrastructure and service delivery puts sustaining pressure on the quality of life for all in the urban settlements. It is through integration (and the sustainable human settlement development) that quality of life for all can be enhanced, in that all have a right to the city.

The researcher acknowledges that urban planning in Cape Town should move beyond the provision of housing that will include both the first and third world challenges and their respective directives. With the greater pressure of being guided by the visionary global trends set by UN Habitat conventions and declarations, it is argued that inclusionary housing allows enough room in South Africa to change the Apartheid spatial landscape.

7.6 Paving the way forward for further research

Mekawy (2014:1927) states that an equitable, socially efficient mix and distribution of land uses (including housing), contributes to its impact on new housing delivery, location, and affordability of the settlement. In understanding these dynamics, Monk et al. (2006) affirm that the sufficient mix and distribution of land uses has successfully played that role in varying contexts in many countries, as seen in some countries referred to in Chapter 3. However, as shown in Figure 2.1, several factors are crucial for enhancing the opportunities to secure affordable housing delivery through the planning system. Onathu (2012:70) assert that the effective delivery of affordable housing through the planning system, is enhanced when planning approaches are supported by central government, and well connected to other related government policies, funds and incentives and matched to housing market contexts.

The main criticisms to affordable housing is that it is applied in inappropriate market conditions, while it remains pale in comparison to its previous accomplishments and proven benefits. To ensure efficiency, implementation should be carefully crafted and monitored within a larger, comprehensive housing strategy, tailored to a community's housing market and affordable housing needs.

Possible areas for future research identified during the course of this study, are:

- Research on understanding why the good intentions of the strategic (IDP) and sectoral plans (SDF and Human Settlement Plans) do not happen on the local level, even with many governmental interventions; and what can be done to unblock those bottlenecks.
- Research to plan for backyarder and informal settlement dwellers to be accommodated through affordable housing, given their great needs and the health and safety risks to those households. This will require a different approach to the National Housing Code's interpretation of UISP and affordable housing, but it begs the question whether all those programmes are still relevant.
- Research to determine how the different role players to affordable housing can be sharpened, based on international studies (especially global south cities) and how they can contribute to integrated and sustainable human settlements. Currently, in South Africa, there is confusion as who should do what and when, as well as reluctance to become involved, as it is perceived as not being profitable. Having this clarity, will not only expedite the provision of affordable housing projects, but also contribute to the quality of human settlements once this common understanding is created, as well as how it will be evaluated as such affordable and integrated and sustainable human settlements.
- Research on how the redefinition of housing and human settlements (as per SPLUMA, IUDF, and Human Settlement Act) brings change in the manner (settlements) are planned. Pertinent hereto will be how affordable housing has contributed to settlement formation in making a quantum leap towards inclusive settlements.

- Researchers should consider what could be done creatively within those Apartheid-created buffer and transitional areas, to develop more inclusive spaces where different social and economic classes can meet within a vibrant environment.

Based on these proposals, government, the private sector, and even communities can consider ways to make these tracts of land available to undertake such innovative and creative planning. Furthermore, there is an opportunity for universities, NGOs, CBOs, and other community organisations, to become more involved in changing the Apartheid landscape. It is in each taking an initiative, and not waiting for government to create a platform, to combine forces, join hands, and work together, that we can move towards a sustainable community.

7.7 Practical implications for planning

The following are some of the recommendations the researcher would like to propose, based on this research:

- There is a need to firstly, obtain clarity on the definitions and broad concepts pertinent to human settlements, integrated and sustainable human settlements, affordable housing and inclusionary housing. The New Urban Agenda, endorsed at Habitat III, should set a sound platform for South Africa to embark on turning these loose concepts into sharper definitions. Research should be considered as a possible way for these, or better more relevant, concepts to set the tone for a visionary future for South Africa.
- A more transparent process and articulation of what the vision of the future Human Settlements Act will be, and how it will unfold, given that the metropolitan areas will be accredited.
- There is a willingness from town planners to do things differently. The great challenge is the how; after being trained in the old Apartheid thinking of separateness. With SPLUMA setting the spatial and urban debate for integration and related principles, and the further roll out of IUDF, White Paper on Human Settlements as an Act, there is potential to revisit the town and regional planning curriculum. Planners must be encouraged to do research, attend conferences and network. Furthermore, there is a need for greater support to trained town planners, and create the platforms to learn from other countries, mentoring the

planners, allow for exchange programmes, having laboratories of implementing best practices and scenario planning.

- The research revealed that there is a dire need for an inclusionary housing policy to be developed at national level. This will force a change in how housing is planned that can begin to change the apartheid landscape. This should be seen as a contributor to many other initiatives to work towards integrated and sustainable human settlements.
- For social cohesion to materialise, there is a need to move away from gated communities and exclusionary policies and promote far more inclusiveness between race, income and class and furthermore to address social evils especially those found in poor communities.
- The case studies proved the pertinent importance of public participation. There is a need to revisit the MSA and SPLUMA, beyond the context of the IDP public participation processes with a greater focus on planning collaboratively with a long-term vision.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the reason why Cape Town cannot move towards delivering affordable housing through inclusionary housing, or integrated and sustainable human settlements, lies in the continuation of Apartheid planning and delivery, the old paradigm planning thinking, and the inability to adapt the global north planning concepts and tools to fit the South African spatial environment. Although the policies (SPLUMA and IUDF for example) do translate into municipal planning, it remains far from the “how to” of being implemented. This causes further inequalities, disparities and segregation.

While the political leadership and strong will is in place to change the Apartheid landscape, the growing housing need, in addition to urbanisation, aggravates the pressure to deliver quicker and better products. This entrenched Apartheid spatial legacy means that urban areas are currently highly unequal, inefficient and segregated places. The persistence of this apartheid spatial divide, fragmented communities and associated social exclusion, rapid urbanisation, housing demand exceeding supply, lack of integration and compaction, results in spatial and resource inefficiencies that

have serious negative consequences for the functioning of settlements, the environment, government finances (particularly municipal finances) and for household livelihoods.

Furthermore, this study demonstrated, based on international and local case studies that South Africa could move beyond segregation towards integration. Although this transformation and restructuring will take time, there is commitment (amongst professionals, spheres of government, private sector, communities and many other stakeholders) towards building integrated and sustainable human settlements (Parnell & Crankshaw, 2013:3). If we remove the vagueness and gain clarity of what South Africa is striving for in its settlements, this transformation can be accomplished in leaps and bounds (Maritz, Van Huyssteen, Le Roux, Pieterse, Ndaba, Mans & Ngidi; 2015:4).

The persistent argument had been that housing should be pursued as the mechanism that can change the apartheid spatial landscape. It is not only affordable housing, nor low cost housing either. However, housing, in itself, will not be able to accomplish this change. Similarly, the town and regional planning discipline will neither be able to redress the Apartheid spatial landscape, although it will be able to be a facilitator, enabler and negotiator for integrated and sustainable human settlements. This will require dedication and continuous commitment with open communication amongst all role players. Now is the time to change South Africa's spatial development trajectory.

CHAPTER 8: REFERENCE LIST

- Adebayo, O. 2010. *Still No Room at the Inn: Post-Apartheid Housing Policy and the Challenge of Integrating the Poor in South African Cities*. (unpublished report)
- Ackerman, C. 2016. *Evaluating Integrated Human Settlements by means of sustainability indicators*. Potchefstroom: University of NorthWest.
- Ahmed, S.S. 2015. *Sustainable Housing*. University of Sulaiman: Faculty of Engineering Architecture Department. Available from: (<http://www.slideshare.net/shayanzangana/sustainable-housing-44224333>) [Accessed on 14 April 2016].
- Albrechts, L., Healey, P. & Kunzmann, K. R. 2003. Strategic Spatial Planning and Regional Governance in Europe. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 69(2): 113-129.
- Alexander, G. & Kane-Berman J. 2014. The 80/20 Report: Local government in 80 indicators over 20 years. Report for the SA Institute of Race Relations. Available from: <http://irr.org.za/reports-and-publications/occasional-reports/files/the-80-20-report-on-local-government-26-may-2014-1.pdf> [Accessed 17 June 2015].
- Arise Citizens. 2008. *Locked out: Low wages and affordable housing in Alabama*. Birmingham: Arise Citizens
- Arnstein, S. R. 1996 A Ladder of Citizen Participation, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4): 216-224.
- Asrin 2008 Social housing for Melkbos Village. <https://www.property24.com/articles/social-housing-for-melkbos-village/5553> [Accessed on 12 April 2015]
- Aurand, A. 2010. Density, Housing types and mix land use: smart tools for affordable housing. *Urban Studies*, 47(5): 1015-1036.
- Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2002. *The Practice of Social Research*. Oxford: O.U.P.
- Babbie, E & Mouton, J. 2011. *The Practice of Social Research*. Oxford: O.U.P.
- Baloyi, N. W. 2014. *Sustainable State Housing Programmes: The Case of Pennyville*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

- Banister, D. 2008. Cities, Mobility, and Climate Change. *Journal of Industrial Ecology* 11(2):7-10.
- Basolo, V., 2011. Viewpoint: Inclusionary housing: the controversy continues. *TRP*, 82(2): i-vi.
- Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. 2000. The causes of unemployment in post-apartheid Johannesburg and the livelihood strategies of the poor. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie / Journal of economic and social geography*, 91(4): 379-396.
- Beavon, K. S. O. 2000. *Northern Johannesburg: part of the 'rainbow' or neo-apartheid city in the making?* MOTS PLURIELS, no 13, April. Available from: <http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP1300kb.html> [Accessed on 15 April 2016]
- Bengs, C. (n.d.). Planning Theory for the naive? *European Journal of Spatial Development*: 1-12.
- Bennett, R.L. 2016 Alabama needs more safe, decent, affordable housing. Guest Voices
http://www.al.com/opinion/index.ssf/2016/05/alabama_urgently_needs_more_l_o.html [Accessed on 12 August 2016]
- Berrisford, S. 2011a. Why it is difficult to change urban planning laws. *Urban Forum*, 22: 209-228.
- Berrisford, S. 2011b. Unravelling Apartheid spatial planning legislation in South Africa: A case study. *Urban Forum* 22: 247-263
- Berrisford, S. & Kihato, M. 2008. *Local Government Planning, Legal Frameworks and Regulatory tools: Vital signs? In Consolidating developmental government: lessons from the South African experience.* (Eds.) Van Donk, M; Swilling, M; Pieterse, E & Parnell, S. Cape Town: Isandla Institute
- Bertaud, A. (n.d.). The use and value of urban planning (pages 1-9). *Unpublished commentary*. Place: Organiser?
- Bhamwiki, 2012 Birmingham's history. http://www.bhamwiki.com/w/Main_Page [Accessed on 12 May 2015]

- Birmingham Alabama Annual Performance Plan. 2013/14. Available from: (<http://www.birminghamal.gov/download/community/CAPER%20PY2013.pdf>). [Accessed on 15 March 2016].
- Black, J.A., Paez, A. & Suthanaya, P.A. 2002. Sustainable urban transportation: performance indicators and some analytical approaches. *Journal of urban planning and development*. December: 184-192
- Blanco, H., Alberti, M., Olshansky, R., Chang, S., Wheeler, S.M., Randolph, J. & London, J.B. 2009. Shaken, shrinking, hot, impoverished and informal: Emerging research agendas in planning. *Progress in Planning*, 72: 195-250.
- Blumgart, J. 2015. *Public housing is dead: Long live public housing!* Available from: (<http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/1/public-housing-reformchestercamden.html>) [Accessed on 11 May 2015].
- Boelens, L. 2011. Going beyond planners' dependencies: An actor-relational approach to Mainport, Rotterdam. *TPR*, 82(5): 547-572.
- Bookman, J. n.d. *Neighbourhood quality of life planning*. Chicago: The LISC/Chicago new communities programme.
- Boland, P. 2014. The relationship between spatial planning and economic competitiveness: the 'path to economic nirvana' or a 'dangerous obsession'? *Environment and Planning*, 46: 770 – 787.
- Bolt, K. 2013. Introduction Special Issue: Mixing neighbourhoods: Success or failure. Guest Editorial, *Cities* 35: 391-396.
- Bond, P. & Tait, A. 1997 The failure of housing policy in post-apartheid South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 8(1): 19-41.
- Boustan, L.P. 2011. Racial Residential segregation in American cities (Chapter 14). *Social and Equity Issues*: 318-339.
- Breen, R. 2006. Practical Guide to Focus-Group Research. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 30 (3): 463-475.
- Brown-Luthango, M., Makanga, P. & Smith, J. 2012. Towards effective city planning: the case of Cape Town in identifying potential housing land. *Urban Forum*: 1-15
- Brunick, N., (n.d.). Inclusionary Housing: Proven Success in Large Cities. *Zoning Practice: American Planning Association*, 10: 2-7.

- Brunick, N. 2010. *The Impact of inclusionary zoning on development Business and professional people for the public interest*. Available from: (http://www.bpichicago.org/documents/impact_iz_development.pdf) [Accessed on 13 June 2016]
- Brunick, N.J. & Maier, P. 2010. Renewing the land of Opportunity. *Journal of Affordable Housing* 19(2): 161-190.
- Bryman, A. 2004. *Social Research Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bunn, 2016
<http://www.fastcodesign.com/3061586/slickercity/5rulesfordesigninggreatecitiesfromdenmarksstarurbanist> [Accessed on 6 May 2017]
- Burchell, R. & Galley, C. 2000. Inclusionary Zoning: Pros and Cons. *New Century Housing Inclusionary Zoning: A Viable Solution to the Affordable Housing Crisis? The Center for Housing Policy* 1(2): 3-12.
- Caberera, J.F. & Najarian, J.C. 2013. Can new urbanism create diverse communities? *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 33(4): 427–441.
- Calavita, N. & Mallach, A. 2010. *Affordable Housing, Social Inclusion, and Land Value Recapture*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Calburn, S. & Mbembe, A. (n.d.). *Design in motion? Urban design and the post-apartheid city* (unpublished paper)
- California Association of Realtors, 2016. Inclusionary zoning pros and cons. Available from: (<http://www.car.org/governmentaffairs/localgovernmentaffairs/inclusionary/izproscons/>) [Accessed on 13 June 2016].
- Cain, A. 2014. Africa's urban fantasies: Past lessons and emerging realities', *Environment and Urbanisation*, 26(2): 1-7.
- Cameron, A. 2015. This day in Cape Town history. Cape Town partnership <https://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/2015/02/this-day-in-cape-town-history/> [accessed on 19th January 2017]
- Cameron, R. 2015. *Preparing for SPLUMA: The Main points of discussion*. (31 March and 1 April 2015) MCA Urban and Environmental Planners
- CapeTownPartnerships, 2015. <https://www.capetownpartnership.co.za/type/news/> [Accessed on 21 November 2016]

- Cardo, M. 2014. Social Inclusion and Policymaking in South Africa: A Conceptual Overview. *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, 73 (August): 9-15.
- Cevero, R. 2013. *Bus Rapid Transit (BRT): An efficient and competitive mode of public transport*. Place: University of California: Institute of Urban and Regional Development (Working Paper).
- Choguill, M.B.G. 1996. A Ladder of Community Participation for Underdeveloped Countries. *Habitat International* 20(3): 431-444.
- Choguill, C.L. 2007. The search for policies to support sustainable housing. *Habitat International*, 31: 143-149.
- Cilliers, S., Du Toit, M., Cilliers, J., Drewes, E. & Retief, F. 2014. Sustainable urban landscapes: South African perspectives on transdisciplinary possibilities. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 125: 260–270.
- Cirolia, L.R. 2014. Reframing the ‘gap market’: lessons and implications from Cape Town’s gap market housing initiative. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 1-14.
- City Alliance, 2010. *The city statute of Brazil: A commentary*. São Paulo: Cities Alliance and Ministry of Cities.
- City Alliance, 2014. *The Evolution of National Urban Policies: A global overview*. Nairobi: UN-Habitat.
- City of Birmingham, 2012. *Chapter 3: Understanding Birmingham today...for a better Birmingham tomorrow*. Birmingham: City of Birmingham.
- City of Birmingham, 2013. *Zoning Ordinance (Ordinance No. 15-133) dated 9/15/15*. Available from: (http://www.birminghamal.gov/download/building_codes/ZoningOrdinance_2.pdf) [Accessed on 10 May 2016].
- City of Cape Town, 2006 *Communications & Marketing Strategy for the Urban Renewal Programme*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.
- City of Cape Town. 2012a. *Densification policy*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.
- City of Cape Town. 2012b. *Khayelitsha/Mitchell’s Plain District Plan: Spatial Development Framework & Environmental Management Framework (executive summary)*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.
- City of Cape Town, IDP 2012-1017. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town, 2012 Councillor Sonnenberg conducts site visit to key housing project - Pelican Park
(<https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/Pages/CouncillorSonnenbergconductssitevisit.aspx>) [Accessed on 21 January 2016]

City of Cape Town, 2014. State of Cape Town report: Summaries (unpublished report)
City of Cape Town. 2016, Built Environment Performance Plan 2016/17. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Johannesburg, 2012. City of Johannesburg: Cosmo City is a thriving suburb.
(http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2089&Itemid=168) [accessed on 15th November 2016].

City of Johannesburg, 2016. Cosmo City to have its own fire station.
(http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10406&catid=88&Itemid=266) [Accessed on 15th November 2016]

Citydata. 2016. *Jefferson County, Alabama*. Available form: (http://www.city-data.com/county/Jefferson_County-AL.html#ixzz44ZU7yEj8) [Accessed on 39 March 2016].

Clarke, A. & Dawson, R. 1999. *Evaluation Research: An Introduction to principles, methods and practices*. London: SAGE.

Clayton, F.A. & Schwartz, G. 2015. *Is Inclusionary Zoning a Needed Tool for Providing Affordable Housing in the Greater Golden Horseshoe?* Ontario: Centre for urban research and land development, Toronto.

Clos, J. 2015. The opportunity in tackling the affordable housing challenge. *McKinsey & Company*. Available from: (<http://www.mckinsey.com/global-themes/urbanisation/the-opportunity-in-tackling-the-affordable-housing-challenge>) [Accessed on 25 April 2016].

CoGTA, 2014. *Integrated Urban Development Framework*. Pretoria: CoGTA.

COGTA, 2016. *Integrated Urban Development Framework: A new deal for South African cities and towns*. South Africa: The Presidency.

Coggins, T. & Pieterse, M. 2011. Rights and the City: An Exploration of the Interaction between Socio-economic Rights and the City. *Urban Forum*: 1-22.

Coggins T. & Pieterse, M. 2015. A Right to Transport? Moving Towards a Rights-based Approach to Mobility in the City, *SAJHR*, 31: 294-314.

- Community Centre of Law, 2007. Paper 1: Developmental local government – determining appropriate functions and powers. University of the Western Cape: Community Law Centre.
- Congress for the New Urbanism, 2000. Charter of New Urbanism. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 20(4): 339-341.
- Connerley, C. E. 2006. *The most segregated city in America: City Planning and Civil rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.
- Cox, W. 2015. A question of values: middle-income housing affordability and urban containment policy. Ontario: Frontier Centre for public policy.
- Cox, W. & He, A. 2016. *Canada's middle-income housing affordability crisis*. Ontario: Frontier Centre for public policy.
- Crane, W. & Swilling, M. 2008. 'Environment, Sustainable Resource Use and the Cape Town Functional Region: An overview'. *Urban Forum*, 19: 263-287.
- Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. 2000. Local government, poverty reduction and inequality in Johannesburg. *Environment & Urbanisation*, 12(1): 107-122
- Creswell, J. W. 2013. *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches (3rd Edition)*: Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Croese, S., Cirolia, L.R. & Graham, N. 2016. Towards Habitat III: confronting the disjuncture between global policy and local practice on Africa's challenge of slums'. *Habitat International*, 53: 237-242.
- Cross, C. 1996. *Attacking urban poverty with housing: Toward more effective land markets*. Muldersdrift: Urban LandMark
- Cross, C. 2009. Reaching towards sustainable human settlements. *HSRC: presentation to 3rd DBSA Developmental State Conference*. Place: HSRC.
- CSIR, 2012. *Guidelines for the Provision of Social Facilities in South African Settlements*. Pretoria: CSIR
- CUTA. 2004. *Transit-oriented development: smart growth in action*. Canada: October (Issue paper 9)
- Daniels, T. 2001. Smart Growth: A New American Approach to Regional Planning, *Planning Practice & Research*, 16: 3-4, 271-279.
- Davies, R. & Thurlow, J. 2010. Formal–informal economy linkages and unemployment in South Africa. *South African Journal of Economics*, 78(4): 438-459.

- Dawson, H. & McLaren, D. 2014. Monitoring the right of access to adequate housing in South Africa: An analysis of the policy effort, resource allocation and expenditure and enjoyment of the right to housing. SPII: *Ford Foundation (Working Paper 8)*.
- Dayaratne, R. 2016. Creating places through participatory design: psychological techniques to understand people's concepts. *Journal of House and the Built Environment*. 1-23.
- De Kam, G., Needman, B. & Buitelaar, E. 2013. The embeddedness of inclusionary housing in planning and housing systems: insights from an international comparison. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. 1-14.
- De Soto, H. 2000. *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. New York: Basic Books.
- Dear, M. 1992. 'Understanding and Overcoming the NIMBY Syndrome'. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 58(3): 288-300.
- Dear, M.J. 2000. *The Postmodern Urban Condition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Denoon-Stevens, S.P. 2014. The role of land management in shaping (or preventing) the creation of sustainable human settlements (pp. 123-148) In *From Housing to Human Settlements: Evolving Perspectives*. South Africa: Cities Network.
- Denoon-Stevens, S.P. 2016. Developing an appropriate land use methodology to promote spatially just, formal retail areas in developing countries: The case of the City of Cape Town, South Africa. *Land Use Policy*, 54: 18-28.
- Dewar, D. & Kiepiel, J. 2012. Spatial development frameworks on a broader scale: An integrative approach. *Town and Regional Planning Journal*, 61: 30-35.
- Donaldson, R. 2001. *A Model for South African Urban Development in the 21st Century*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.sustainabledevelopmentnetwork.com/pdf1/52783458-A-Model-for-South-African-Urban-Development-in-the-21st-Century.pdf> [Accessed on 12 February 2015].
- Donaldson, R., Du Plessis, D., Spocter, M. & Massey, R. 2013. The South African area-based urban renewal programme: experiences from Cape Town. *Journal for Housing and the Built Environment*, 28: 629–638.

- Downs, A. 2007. Smart growth: why we discuss it more than we do it. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71(4): 367-378.
- Dubow, S. 1989. *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-1936*. London: Macmillan
- Du Plessis, D. 2013. A critical reflection on urban spatial planning practices and outcomes in post-apartheid South Africa. *Urban Forum*: 1-20.
- Du Plessis, D. 2015. *Spatial transformation in SA cities: Random patterns or statically significant change?* (Presentation) Stellenbosch: CRUISE
- Dulchin, B., Gates, M. & Williams, B. 2013. Housing Policy for a strong and equitable city. Towards a 21st century city for all. Available from: www.21cforall.org [Accessed on 12 October 2016]
- Duranton, G. & Guerra, E. 2016. *Developing a common narrative on urban accessibility: An urban planning perspective*. Washington DC: Brookings.
- Ehrenhalt, A. 2016. Why Affordable Housing Is Hard to Build. Assessments (June)
- Eisenhart, M. A. 1991. *Conceptual frameworks for research circa 1991: Ideas from a cultural anthropologist; implications for mathematics education researchers*. Proceedings of the 13th annual meeting of the North American Chapter of the International Group for the Psychology of Mathematics Education (vol. 1, pp. 202 –219).
- El Din, H.S., Shalaby, A., Farouh, H.E. & Elarine, S.A. 2012. Principles of urban quality of life for a neighbourhood. *Journal of Housing and Building National Research Center*, 9: 86–92.
- Ellis, C. 2002. The new urbanism: critiques and rebuttals. *Journal of urban design* 7(3): 261-291.
- Elshater, A. 2012. New Urbanism Principles versus Urban Design Dimensions towards Behavior Performance Efficiency in Egyptian Neighbourhood Unit. *Social and Behavioral Sciences* 68: 826 – 843.
- Escale Responsable. 2010. Mumbai: Escale Responsable. (www.escale-responsible.com)

- Eva, G. 2002. Evaluation of a Vision for Cape Town by Stakeholder Groups. (*Occasional Paper No. 13*). Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch: Department of Sociology.
- Evans, A.W. & Hartwich, O.M. 2005. *Unaffordable housing: fables and myths*. London: Policy Exchange.
- Fainstein, S., 2000. New Directions in Planning Theory. *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(4): 451-478.
- Fainstein, S., 2005. Cities and diversity: Should we want it? Can we plan for it? *Urban Affairs Review*, 41(1): 3-19.
- Findley, L. & Ogbu, L. 2011. *South Africa: from township to town*. [Online] Available at: <https://placesjournal.org/article/south-africa-from-township-to-town/> [Accessed 27 November 2014].
- Finlay, L. 2009. Debating phenomenological research methods. *Phenomenology & Practice* 3(1): 6-25.
- Firdaus, G. & Achmad, A. 2013. Relationship between housing and health: A cross-sectional study of an urban centre of India. *Indoor and Built Environment* 22(3): 498-507.
- Fiscal and Finance Commission. 2013. *Exploring Alternative Finance and Policy Options for Effective and Sustainable Delivery of Housing in South Africa*. Midrand, Fiscal & Finance Commission. Available from: www.ffc.co.za
- Fleming, A. 2013. Affordable housing in the central city: frequent asked questions (www.capetownpartnership.co.za/2013/08/affordable-housing-in-the-central-city/) [Accessed on 19 February 2016].
- Fleming, A. 2014. *Low-cost housing in the CBD: Yes, we can!* Available from: (www.capetownpartnership.co.za/2014/10/low-cost-housing-in-the-cbd-yes-we-can/) [Accessed on 10 February 2016].
- Fleming, A. 2015. The future of Housing in Cape Town. Molo: Future City (March)
- Fleming, A. & Makalima-Ngewena, B. 2012. *Cape Town's central city development: A strategy of partnership and inclusion*. Cape Town: Planning Africa Congress.

- Forbes, J. 2011. *An introduction to municipal planning within South Africa*. Durban: SALGA.
- Forsyth, A. & Crewe, K. 2009. New visions for suburbia: reassessing aesthetics and place-making in modernism, imageability and new urbanism. *Journal of Urban Design* 14(4): 415-438.
- Fraser, J. & Nelson, M., 2008. Can Mix-Income Housing Ameliorate Concentrated Poverty? The significance of a geographically informed sense of community. *Geography Compass*, 2(6): 2127-2144.
- Frescura, F. 2000. Deconstructing the Apartheid city (Workshop) South African Cities in Transition, HSRC Conference, Pretoria, on 26 January 2000.
- Frescura, F., 2014. Deconstructing the Apartheid City. [Online] Available at: <http://www.francofrescura.co.za/urban-issues-apartheid-city.html> [Accessed 16 January 2015].
- Friedmann, J. 2003. Why do planning theory? *Planning Theory* 2(1): 7-10
- Furlong, A. 2016. Calls to halt sale of prime city land: Civil society organisations and Western Cape Province clash over four inner city properties (8 February 2016) www.groundup.org.za/article/calls-halt-sale-prime-city-land [Accessed on 19 February 2016]
- Gallant, M.R. (n.d.). *Post-Apartheid urbanization in the Western Cape, South Africa: Its impact on the water systems*. (unpublished report)
- Ganiyu, B.O., Fapohunda, J.A. & Haldenwang, R. 2015. *Conceptual framework for sustainable affordable housing construction in South Africa*. Livingstone, Zambia: Proceedings of the DII-2015 conference on Infrastructure development and investment strategies for Africa (16-18 September 2015)
- Gauteng Partnership Fund. 2016. Pennyvale Available from: <http://www.gpf.org.za/Projects-Funded/Pennyville> [Accessed on 20 June 2016].
- Gauteng province, (n.d.) Implementation of the BNG policy through the National priorities (Cosmo City/Malibongwe Ridge and Fleurhof Integrated Mixed Development Housing projects). Presentation
- Gauteng province, 2012. Affordable housing indaba. Presentation (17 October 2012).
- Geyer, H.S. & Mohammed, F. 2015. Hypersegregation and class-based segregation processes in Cape Town 2001-2011. *Urban Forum*, 10: 1-24

- Gibson, N. 2011. What Happened to the “Promised Land”? A Fanonian Perspective on Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Antipode*, 00(0): 1-27.
- Gilbert A. 2004. Helping the poor through housing subsidies: lessons from Chile, Colombia and South Africa. *Habitat International* 281: 13–40.
- Goetz, E., 2003. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Goss, H., Busgeeth, K. & Le Roux, A., 2010. *The Housing/Human Settlements Atlas series: continued support towards more sustainable human settlements*. CSIR: Pretoria.
- Goven, G., Richards, R. & Rendall, A. 2012. *2 Billion strong: A Regenerative Solution to Building Sustainable African Cities*. Cape Town: CommunitGrow.
- Govender, G.B. 2011. An evaluation of housing strategy in South Africa for the creation of sustainable human settlements: A case study of the Ethekwini region. Unpublished Doctorate in Philosophy. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Graaff, T. 2013. Design in the economic system. *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, 69: 39-46
- Graham, N. 2012. How to maximize the benefit of State investment in land: Lessons from the application of the Urban LandMark Land Release Assessment Tool in the Western Cape and Gauteng. (Presentation dated 13 April 2012)
- Graham, N., Jooste, M. & Palmer, I. 2014. Municipal Planning Framework (pages 29-54) In *From Housing to Human Settlements: Evolving Perspectives*. South Africa: Cities Network.
- Grant, J.L. 2009. Theory and practice in planning the suburbs: Challenge to implementing new urbanism, smart growth, and sustainability principles. *Planning Theory & Practice* 10 (1): 11-33.
- Gray, J. 2010. New housing design to breathe life into Birmingham’s Ensley neighbourhood. (http://blog.al.com/spotnews/2010/03/post_520.html) [Accessed on 9 November 2016]
- Green, K.P., Filipowicz, J., Lafleur, S. & Herzog, I. 2016. *The Impact of land-use regulation on housing supply in Canada*. Fraser Institute. Available from: www.fraserinstitute.org.
- Greenberg, S. 2010. The Gauteng City-Region: Private and Public Power in the Shaping of the City. *Politikon*, 37(1): 107-127.

- Groenewald, T. 2004. A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(1): 1-26.
http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_1/pdf/groenewald.pdf GroundUp, 7 April 2016 (<http://www.groundup.org.za/article/concern-about-government-plans-move-people-pelican-park/>) [Accessed on 14 May 2016].
- GTZ. 2015. *My Home, Your Business: A Guide to Affordable Housing Solutions for Low-Income Communities*. Germany: GTZ.
- Gulyani, S. & Bassett, E.M. 2007. "Retrieving the Baby from the Bathwater: Slum Upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 25(4): 486–515.
- Haeffele-Balch, S. 2010. *Inadequate housing and adequate solutions: An analysis of Habitat for Humanity in Birmingham, Alabama*. Mercatus Centre: George Mason University.
- HAD Birmingham District, (n.d.) Modernization and development: Current and recently completed projects (<http://www.habdsite.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Current-and-Recently-Completed-Projects.pdf>) [Accessed on 12 February 2016].
- Haferburg, C. 2016. Townships of To-Morrow? Cosmo City and inclusive visions for post-apartheid urban futures. *Habitat International*, 39: 261-268.
- Hall, P. 2002. *Cities of tomorrow: An intellectual history of urban planning and design in the twentieth century*. London: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hamann, C. & Horn, A.C. 2015. Continuity or Discontinuity? Evaluating the Changing Socio-Spatial Structure of the City of Tshwane, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 26: 39-57.
- Hancock, T. 2016. Habitat III can revolutionise urban thinking on health and well-being. Citiscope's Global News: Commentary (25 April 2016)
- Handy, S. 2002. Smart growth and the transportation-land use connection: What does the research tell us? *International Regional Science Review*, 28(2): 146–167.
- Harrison, P. 2006. On the edge of reasoning: planning and urban futures in Africa. *Urban Studies*, 43(2): 319-335
- Harrison, P. 2014. Regional and spatial development Background paper for 20-year review. RSA: The Presidency, Pretoria.

- Harrison, P.; M. & Mayekiso, M. 2003. *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Harrison, P. & Todes, A. 2013. *Spatial considerations in the development of urban policy in South Africa: a research paper as input into the preparation of the integrated urban development framework (IUDF)*. Available from: <http://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/iudf/1078-iudf-background-report-on-spatial-transformation-12-july-1?path> [Accessed 26 May 2016]
- Harrison, P & Todes, A. 2015. Spatial transformations in a “loosening state”: South Africa in a comparative perspective. *Geoforum*, 61: 148–162.
- Harrison, P., Todes, A. & Watson, V. 2008. *Planning & Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. 2008. The Right to the City. *New Left Review*, 53: 23-40.
- Hendler, P. & Wolfson, T. 2013. The planning and the “unplanning” of urban space 1913 to 2013: Privatised urban development and the role of municipal governments. *Conference on “Land divided: land and South African society in 2013, in Comparative perspective” (24-27 March 2013)*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Henson, Z.F. 2013. *Separate Tables: Segregation, Gentrification, and the Commons in Birmingham. Alabama’s Alternative Food and Agriculture Movement*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Hickey, R. 2013. *After the downturn: new challenges and opportunities for inclusionary housing*. Washington DC: Centre for Housing Policy
- Hickey, R., Sturtevant, L. & Thaden, E. 2014. *Achieving Lasting Affordability through Inclusionary Housing*. Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Hills, J. 2001. Inclusion or exclusion? The role of housing subsidies and benefits. *Urban studies*, 38(11): 1887-1902.
- Hindson, D. 1995. The apartheid city: construction, decline and reconstruction. *Antipode*: 75-106.
- Hirt, S. 2013. Home, Sweet Home: American Residential Zoning in Comparative Perspective. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 33(3): 292–309.

- Hoffman, M. 2017. 7 ways cities can become more equitable, vibrant and affordable. (Nextcity.org/daily/entry/equitable-affordable-cities-housing-transit) [Accessed on 12 January 2017].
- Hogarth, K, 2015. *Leveraging the Private Sector to Enable the Delivery of Well-located Affordable Housing in Cape Town*. Unpublished document. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Holden, E. & Norland, I.T. 2005. Three challenges for the compact city as a sustainable urban form: household consumption of energy and transport in eight residential areas in the greater Oslo region. *Urban Studies*, 42(12): 2145-2166.
- Holliday A. 2007. *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.
- Holmqvist, A. 2009. The Effect of Inclusionary Zoning on Racial Integration, Economic Integration, and Access to Social Services: A Davis Case Study. *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 33(3): 101–159.
- Housing Authority Birmingham District, 2015 Locations of affordable housing projects <http://www.habdsite.org/> [Accessed 31 January 2016]
- Housing Development Agency, 2014. *Guidelines for the identification of well-located land for human settlements*. Johannesburg: HDA.
- Housing Subsidy System, 2015. Pretoria: National Department of Human Settlements.
- Huchzermeyer, M. 2001. Housing for the poor? Negotiated housing policy in South Africa. *Habitat International*, 25: 303-331
- Hurley, A.K. 2016. Will U.S. Cities Design Their Way Out of the Affordable Housing Crisis? *In Housing Solutions*. pp. 5-11. Philadelphia: NextCity. <http://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/terms.php> Glossary. South Africa: overcoming Apartheid building democracy [Accessed on 23 January 2016]
- Iceland, J. 2014. *Residential segregation: A transatlantic analysis*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute
- Ikeda, S. & Washington, E. 2015. How land-use regulation undermines affordable housing. *Mercatus Research*. Place??: George Mason University.
- Inch, A. 2010. Culture change as identity regulation: the micro-politics of producing spatial planners in England. *Planning Theory and Practice*, 11(3): 359-374.
- Isandla, 2011. *The Right to the City: NGO Submission*. Cape Town: Isandla

- Jacobs, J. 1993. *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- James, P. 2015. How should we design cities to make the most of urban ecosystems? *The Conversation*: London
- Jepson, E.J. & Edwards, M.M. 2010. How Possible is Sustainable Urban Development? An Analysis of Planners' Perceptions about New Urbanism, Smart Growth and the Ecological City. *Planning Practice & Research*, 25(4): 417-437
- Joscelyne, K. 2015. THE NATURE, SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF SPATIAL PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA: Towards a more coherent legal framework under SPLUMA. Unpublished MPhil degree. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Jurgen, U. & Donaldson, R. 2012. A Review of literature on transformation process in South African townships. *Urban Forum*: 1-11.
- Katz, B. 2003. Rethinking local affordable housing strategies: lessons from 70 years of policy and practice. Place: The Brookings Institute Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and The Urban Institute (discussion paper)
- Kay, D. 2004. *South Africa city planning: A study in post-1994 national planning legislation and the local planning context within the Buffalo city municipality*. Unpublished Thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Keeton, G. 2014. Inequality in South Africa. *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, 74: 1-6.
- Keita, A. D., Hannon, L., Buys, D. Casazza, K. & Clay, O. 2015. Surrounding community residents' expectations of HOPE VI for their community, health and physical activity. *Journal of Community Practice*, 24(1):18-37
- Kelly, M. 2013. Gentrification: Birmingham's future? (www.Welbham.com/blog/2013/06/23) [Accessed on 14 May 2014]
- Kenworthy, J.R. 2006. The eco-city: then key transport and planning dimensions for sustainable city development. *Environment & Urbanisation*, 18(1): 67–85.
- Kent, A. & Frohlich, T.C. 2015. America's most segregated cities. Available from: (<http://247wallst.com/special-report/2015/08/19/americas-most-segregated-cities/5/>) [Accessed on 2 November 2016].

- Keita, A.D., Hannon, L., Buys, D., Casazza, K. & Clay, O. 2016. Surrounding Community Residents' Expectations of HOPE VI for Their Community, Health and Physical Activity. *Journal of Community Practice*, 24(1): 18-37
- Khaki, I., 2009. *Housing in South Africa: the Challenge to provide sustainable, integrated, affordable housing*. Unpublished M Business Admin degree. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Khan, F. & Thurman. S. 2001. *Setting the Stage: Current Housing Policy and Debate in South Africa*. Cape Town: Isandla.
- Khuzwayo, N. Z. 2014. *The sustainability of housing built under the "breaking new grounds" housing policy: A case study of Carr gardens, Johannesburg*. Unpublished Master's Degree in land and property development management. Bloemfontein: University of Free State:
- Kihato, C. W. 2013. Beyond Bricks and Mortar: South Africa's Low-Cost Housing Programme 18years after Democracy. *Poverty & Race*, 22(1): 1-6.
- Kitchin, F. & Ovens, W. 2008. *Developing Integrated Towns: Key Findings*. Pretoria: Urban LandMark.
- Klein, G., Klug, N. & Todes, A., 2012. Spatial planning, infrastructure and implementation: Implications for planning school curricula. *Town and Regional Planning*, 60: 667-678.
- Klug, N., Ruben, M. & Todes, A. 2013. Inclusionary housing policy: a tool for shaping South Africa's spatial legacy? *House and the Built Environment*, 28: 667-678.
- Kolbadi, N.; Mohammadi, M. & Namvar, F. 2015. Smart growth theory as one of the main paradigms of sustainable city. *International Journal of Review in Life Sciences*, 5(9): 201-219.
- Kotze, N. & Donaldson, S. 1998. Residential Desegregation in two South African Cities: A comparative study of Bloemfontein and Pietersburg. *Urban Studies*, 35(3): 467-477.
- Kushner, J.A. 2002. Smart growth, new urbanism and diversity: progressive planning movements in America and their impact on poor and minority ethnic populations. *Journal of Environmental Law*, 21: 45-74

- KZNPA Housing Portfolio Committee. 2016. Report on the study tour to India with the KZNPA housing portfolio committee - 27 November to 13 December 2006. (unpublished report). Place: source.
- Lallo, K. 1999. Arenas of Contested Citizenship: Housing Policy in South Africa. *Habitat Intl*, 23(1): 35-47.
- Landman, K. 2002. Gated communities in South Africa: building bridges or barriers? *International conference on private urban governance: Germany, Mainz* (6-9 June)
- Landman, K. 2003. Sustainable 'Urban Village' Concept: Mandate, Matrix Or Myth? Pretoria: CSIR: Conference on management for Sustainable Building, 26-30 May 2003
- Landman, K. 2004a. *Gated communities in South Africa: A review of relevant policies and their implications*. Pretoria: CSIR.
- Landman, K. 2004b. A review of relevant policies and their implications for gated communities and vice versa. Pretoria: CSIR.
- Landman, K. 2009. *Medium Density Mixed Housing in South Africa: the case of Cosmo City*. CSIR: Pretoria
- Landman, K. 2012a. Stirring the Urban pot: The nature and Future of Mixed Housing in South Africa. *Innovate*, 7: 52-55
- Landman, K. 2012b. Gated communities in South Africa: Tensions between the planning ideal and practice. *Town and Regional Planning*. 61:1-9
- Landman, K. & Schönenteich, M. 2002. Urban Fortress: Gated Communities as a reaction to crime. *African Security Review* 11(4): 71-85.
- Laven, C. 2014. Four ways to make housing more affordable. *World Economic Forum*. Available from: (<https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2014/11/4-ways-to-make-housing-more-affordable/>) [Accessed on 25 April 2016].
- Lee, M. 2016. *Getting serious about affordable housing: Towards a plan for metro Vancouver*. Vancouver: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- Leedy, P. D. & Omrod, J. E. 2010. *Practical research: Planning & Design* (9th Edition). New Jersey: Pearson.
- Lelevier, C. 2013. Social mix neighbourhood policies and social interaction: The experience of newcomers in three new renewal developments in France. *Cities*, 35: 409-416.

- Leildé, A. 2001. "Identity (re)construction in the Cape Town Metropole"; *paper presented at the first PICS meeting in South Africa - Stellenbosch, September 2001.*
- Liedeman, R., Charman, A., Piper, L. & Petersen, L. 2013. Why are foreign-run spaza shops more successful? The rapidly changing spaza sector in South Africa. Available on <http://www.econ3x3.org> [Accessed on 12 March 2014]
- Lemanski, C. (n.d.) Appendix 3.4: Westlake (unpublished), pp. 1-14
- Lemanski, C. 2005. Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection: Linkages between a gated community and its poorer neighbour in a Cape Town master-plan development *Report 21*. Cape Town: Isandla Institute.
- Lemanski, C. 2008. Houses without community: problems of community (in)capacity in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment & Urbanisation*, 20(2): 393-410.
- Lemanski, C. 2014. 'Hybrid gentrification in South Africa: theorizing across southern and northern cities'. *Urban Studies*, 51(14): 2943-2960.
- Lemanski, C., 2017. Citizens in the middle class: The interstitial policy spaces of South Africa's housing gap. *Geoforum*, 79: 101–110.
- Lester, F.K. 2005. On the theoretical, conceptual and philosophical foundations for research in mathematics education. *ZDM* 37(6): 457-467.
- Lewellyn, W. 2013. Gentrification: Birmingham's future. (weldbam.com/blog/2013/06/26/gentrification-birminghams-future) [Access on 20 January 2017]
- Lim, G. & Albrecht, J. 1987. A search for an alternative planning theory: use of phenomenology. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 4(1): 14-30
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. 1985. *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills: Sage
- Litman, T. 2016. *Evaluating affordable housing development strategies*. Available from: <http://www.planetizen.com/node/85106/evaluating-affordable-housing-development-strategies> [Accessed on 21 May 2016]
- Lupton, R. & Power, A. 2004. *What We Know About Neighbourhood Change: A literature review*. Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion: London

- Lurie, D. 2013. Encounters at the edge. Future of our cities. *Helen Suzman Foundation*, 53-58.
- Mabin, A. 1991. A Comprehensive segregation: the origins of the Group Areas Act and its Planning Apparatuses. *Journal for Southern African Studies*, 18(2): 405-429.
- Mabin, A. & Smith, D. 1997. Reconstructing South Africa's cities? The making of urban planning 1900-2000. *Planning Perspectives*, 12(2): 193-223.
- Madikizela, B. 2015. *2015 Budget Speech Delivered by Minister Bonginkosi Madikizela*. Available from: (<https://www.westerncape.gov.za/gc-news/409/36115>) [Accessed on 11 November 2016].
- Mah, J., 2009. Can inclusionary zoning help address the shortage of affordable housing in Toronto? *CPRN Research report*. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Mahadevia, D., Joshi, R. & Sharma, R. 2009. Integrating the Urban Poor in Planning and Governance Systems, India. *Working Paper, Number 3*. India: Centre for Urban Equity
- Mahlanga, D. 2013. *Home loans and affordable housing*. (Unpublished article, dated 8 Feb 2013).
- Marais, L. 2016. Local economic development beyond the centre: Reflections on South Africa's secondary cities. *Local Economy*, 31(1-2): 68-82.
- Marcuse, P. 2009. From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City* 13(2-3): 185-197.
- Maritz, J., Van Huyssteen, E., Le Roux, A., Pieterse, A., Ndaba, D., Mans, G. & Ngidi, M. 2015. *Are We Achieving Spatial Transformation In South Africa? Can Sub-City Spatial Indicators make a Contribution?* Pretoria: CSIR.
- Massey, R. T. 2013. Competing rationalities and informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town, South Africa: a recipe for failure Policy & Practice (author's personal copy) Springer
- Mason J. 2002. *Qualitative Researching*. London: SAGE.
- Maylam, P. 1995. Explaining the Apartheid City: 20years of South African Urban Histography. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 19-38.
- McCann, E. 2008. *Livable City/Unequal City: The politics of Policy-Making in a creative boomtown*, Paris: Revues.

- McCarthy, J. & Smith, D. P. 1981. The political economy of urban land use and land use planning: review of the theory with conclusions for South Africa. *Social Dynamics*, 7(1): 8-31.
- McKinsley & Company, 2003. *Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a world-class city*. New Delhi: Cirrus Repro.
- McKinsley & Company, 2003. *Bombay First, Vision Mumbai: Transforming Mumbai into a world-class city*. September ed.: McKinsley & Company.
- McKinsey Global Institute, 2014. *A blueprint for addressing the global affordable housing challenge*. Place: McKinsey & Company.
- McPearson, T., Parnell, S., Simon, D. & Elmqvist, T. 2016. Scientists must have a say in the future of cities. *Nature*, 538: 165-166.
- Mead, N. 2016. Can Johannesburg reinvest itself as Africa's first cycle-friendly megacity? *The Guardian*.
- Meda, J.B. 2009. How urban planning instruments can contribute in the fight against homelessness. An international overview of inclusionary housing. *European Journal of Homelessness* 3: 155-177.
- Medford, R. 2004. Housing discrimination in US suburbs: a bibliography. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 18(4): 399-458.
- Mekawy, H. S. 2014a. "Inclusionary housing programs: A prospected tool for prompting affordable housing and social inclusion in Egyptian cities", *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 3(8); 1611-1637.
- Mekawy, H.S. 2014b. "Role of planning mechanisms in affordable housing delivery: Inclusionary zoning", *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 3(9): 1927-1945.
- Metzger, M. 2011. *The reconcentration of poverty: Patterns of housing voucher use, 2000 to 2008*. Place: NorthWestern University.
- Miljan, L. & Spicer, Z. 2015. *De-amalgamation in Canada: Breaking up is hard to do*. British Columbia: Fraser Institute.
- Miraftab, F. 2009. Insurgent planning: situating radical planning in the global south. *Planning Theory*, 8(1): 32-50.

- Miraftab, F. 2012. Colonial Present: Legacies of the Past in Contemporary Urban Practices in Cape Town, South Africa. *Journal of Planning History*, 11(4): 283-307.
- Monk, B. 2016. *Inclusionary zoning does not drive up housing costs*. Available from: (www.citylab.com/housing/2016/06/what-we-know-about-inclusionary-zoning) [Accessed on 6 June 2016].
- Mooney, N. 2007. *Mixed Income or Gentrification? Hawthorne's Spatial Transformation*. Senior Seminar Papers: University of Pennsylvania.
- MorphCodeAcademy. 2014. *Global trends in urbanisation*. Available from: (<http://morphocode.com/global-trends-urbanisation/>) [Accessed on 14 April 2016].
- Motaung, N. 2012. *Nodal growth impact transport and parking demand in decentralised Johannesburg*. On Point. Johannesburg: Jones Lang LaSalle
- Motsepe, F. 2013. "Unity in diversity". The built environment. *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, 69: 47-52.
- Mpehle, Z. 2015. Socio-economic and spatial inequalities in the provisioning of sustainable housing. *Politeia*, 34 (1): 67-83.
- Mphambukeli, T.N. 2015. Exploring the strategies employed by the greater Grasland community, Manguang in accessing basic services. Unpublished Doctor in Philosophy in Urban and Regional Planning Thesis. Bloemfontein: University of the Free State.
- Mugnano, S. & Palvarini, P. 2013. "Sharing space without hanging together": A case study of social mix policy in Milan. *Cities* 35: 417–422.
- Musvoto, G.G. 2014. The historical evolution of settlement patterns and trends in South Africa: Unlocking the log-jam of the unsustainable settlements impasse. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinary*, 9: 2, 154-172.
- Muyeba, S. & Seekings, J. 2015. *Inter-racial attitudes and interactions in racially-mixed low-income neighbourhoods in Cape Town, South Africa*. Centre for social science research: Cape Town.

- Muzondi, L. 2014. Urban development planning for sustainability: urbanisation and informal settlements in a democratic South Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (14): 641-648.
- Myambo, R.R. 2014. Cosmo City: not quite new ground The Con. <http://www.theconmag.co.za/2014/11/20/cosmo-city-not-quite-new-ground/> [Accessed on 4 February 2016]
- Myers, G. 2011. Why Africa's cities matter? *African Geographical Review*, 30(1): 101–106.
- Mzimakwe, T. 2010. Public participation and engagement in local governance: A South African perspective. *Journal of Public Administration* 45(4): 501-519.
- Napier, M., 2005. *A macro-perspective on the first decade of South African housing delivery and its contribution towards the formation of sustainable settlements and communities*. Pretoria: DBSA Knowledge Week.
- Napier, M., Berrisford, S., Kihato, C.W., McGaffin, R. & Royston, L. 2013. *Trading places: Accessing land in African cities*. Somerset West: African Minds for Urban landmark.
- Narsoo, M. 2014. Moving from Housing to Human Settlements: Opportunities for cities (pp. 193-201). In *From Housing to Human Settlements: Evolving Perspectives*. South Africa: Cities Network.
- National Department of Housing, 2004. *Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements*. Pretoria: National Department of Housing.
- National Department of Housing, 2007. Inclusionary Housing Policy (Draft), Pretoria: Department of Housing.
- National Department of Human Settlements, 2009. The National Housing Code: Volume 1: Policy Context. Part 2. Pretoria
- National Department of Human Settlements, 2014. A Social contract for the development of sustainable human settlements. Pretoria: DoHS.
- National Department of Human Settlements, 2014. National Human Settlements Spatial Plan: Concept plan. Pretoria.

- National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2016. *The Advocate's Guide*. Washington DC: PNC.
- Ndabeni, L. (n.d.) *An analysis of rural-urban linkages and their implications for policies that sustain development in a space continuum* (unpublished report).
- Ndegwa, D; Horner, D & Esau, F. 2004. *The Links Between Migration, Poverty and Health: Evidence from Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain*. Cape Town: UCT: Centre for Social Science Research.
- Ndinda, D (n.d.) *Is it affordable? A case study of social housing in Atlantis* HSRC: Cape Town: Western Cape Government.
- Ndinda, C., Uzodike, N.O. & Winaar, L. 2011. From informal settlements to brick structures: housing trends in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Public Administration*, 46(1): 761-784.
- Nel, E.L. 2011. Rethinking patterns of social African urban growth: 1911-2001. *Urban Forum* 22: 331-342.
- Nel, E. & Rogerson, C. M. 2009. Rethinking Spatial Inequalities in South Africa: Lessons from International Experience. *Urban Forum*, 20: 141-155.
- Nel, E. & Rogerson, C. M. 2013. Special Economic Zones in South Africa: reflections from international debates. *Urban Forum* 24: 205-217.
- Nel, V. 2016. Spluma, Zoning and Effective Land Use Management in South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 27(1): 79-92.
- Nel, V. & Denoon-Stevens, S. 2015. *A literature review on the performance of local government over the past two decades*. South African Cities Network (report).
- Neuman, M. 2005. The compact city fallacy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 25: 11-26.
- New Geography. Available from: <http://www.newgeography.com/gentrification> [Accessed on 15 March 2016].
- Newman P.W.G. & Kenworthy, J.R. 1996. The land use-transport Connection: An overview. *Land Use Policy*, 13(1): 1-22.
- Newman C. & Schuermans, N. 2013. More than twenty years after the repeal of the Group Areas Act: housing spatial planning and urban development in post-

- apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 28(4): 579–587.
- Nieuwenhuis, J. 2007. Qualitative research design and data gathering techniques. In Maree, K. (Ed.) 2007. *First steps in research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik, pp 69-97
- Nkambule, S.J. 2012. *A Critical Analysis of Sustainable Human Settlement in Housing – The Case of Hlalani, South Africa*. Grahamstown: Rhodes University
- Ntenga, L. 2012. The impact of unfunded mandates in South African intergovernmental relations. In *Financial and Fiscal Commission: Submission for the 2012/13 Division of Revenue – Technical Report*.
- O’Neil, M., Volmert, A. & Taylor, N. (n.d.) *Not Telling the Whole Story: Media and Advocacy Discourse about Affordable Housing*. Frameworks Institute: Washington DC.
- Oberholzer, S. & Burger, M. 2013. Sustainable Human Settlements in Government Housing programmes: A South African Investigation. *Advanced Research in Scientific Areas, December (2-6):* 52-60.
- Okeke, I. N. 2014. *Towards a new growth path in Africa: A study of national urban policy responses to urbanisation*. (Working paper) South Africa Cities Network: Braamfontein
- Okpala, D. 2009. Regional Overview of the status of urban planning and planning practice in Anglophone (sub-Saharan) African countries. *United Nations: Global Report on Human Settlements*.
- Oldfield, S. 2002. Local state restructuring and urban transformation in post-apartheid Cape Town. *GeoJournal*, 57: 29–37.
- Oldfield, S. 2004. ‘Urban networks, community organising and race: an analysis of racial integration in a desegregated South African neighbourhood’. *Geoforum*, 35: 189–201.
- Onatu, G. O. 2012. Sustainable land use and development: perspective on Cosmo City, Johannesburg, South Africa. *Journal of Sustainable Development and Environmental Protection*, 2 (1): 67-77.
- Oranje, M. 2014. Back to where it all began...? Reflections on injecting the (spiritual) ethos of the Early Town Planning Movement in Planning, Planners and Plans in post-1994 South Africa. *HTS Teologiese Studies*, 70(3): 1-10.

- Orfield, M. 2006. Land use and housing policies to reduce concentrated poverty and racial segregation, *Fordham Urb. L. J XXXIII*: 101-159
- Osborne, T. & Rose, N. 1999. Governing cities: Notes on the spatialisation of virtue. *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 17(6): 737–760.
- Osman, A., Arvanitakis, D. & Sebake, N., 2013. *Faster, Harder, Smarter: Towards a vision for sustainable human(e) settlements for all South Africans*, Pretoria: Tsela Tshewu Design Team.
- Parnell, S. (n.d.) The making of class: Johannesburg's backyards: The slums of New Doornfontein, Bertrams and Prospect Township, 1934-1939 (University of Witwatersrand: History workshop)
- Parnell, S. 1993. Creating Racial Privilege: the origins of South African Public Health and Town Planning Legislation. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19(3): 471-488)
- Parnell, S. & Crankshaw, O. 2013. The politics of 'race' and the transformation of the post-apartheid space economy. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 10: 15-30.
- Parnell, S. & Mabin, A. 1995. Rethinking Urban South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(1): 39-61.
- Parnell, S. & Pieterse, E. 2010 The "Right to the City": Institutional Imperatives of a Developmental State. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34(1): 146-162
- Parnell, S., Pieterse, E. & Watson, V. 2009. Planning for cities in the global South: an African research agenda for sustainable human settlements. *Progress in Planning* 72(2): 1-17.
- Patel, K. 2014. *Book review of 'Affordable Housing in the Urban Global South: Seeking sustainable solutions'* (2014), edited by Jan Bredenoord, Paul van Lindert and Peer Smets, Abingdon/New York: Routledge
- Patel, Z., Greyling, S., Parnell, S. & Pirie, G. 2016. Co-producing urban knowledge: experimenting with alternatives to 'best practice' for Cape Town, South Africa. *IDPR*, 37(2): 187-203.
- Patton, M. Q. & Cochran, M. 2002. *A Guide to using qualitative research methodology*. London: Medecins Sans Frontiers.

- Pendall, R., Treskon, M., Novara, G. & Khare, A. 2017. The cost of segregation: national trends and the case of Chicago, 1990-2010. *Research report*. Chicago: Urban Institute: Metropolitan housing and communities policy center.
- Pettman, C. 1913. *Africanderisms; a glossary of South African colloquial words and phrases and of place and other names*. Longmans: Green and Co.
- Pflieger, G., Kaufmann, V., Pattaroni, L. & Jemelin, C. 2009. How Does Urban Public Transport Change Cities? Correlations between Past and Present Transport and Urban Planning Policies. *Urban Studies*, 46(7): 1421–1437.
- Pieterse, E. 2004a. *Recasting Urban Integration and Fragmentation Development Update*, Cape Town: Isandla.
- Pieterse, E. 2004b. Untangling 'Integration' in Urban Development Policy Debates. *Urban Forum*, 15(1): 1-25
- Pieterse, E. 2007. Tracing the 'Integration' Thread in the South African Urban Development Policy Tapestry. *Urban Forum*, 18(1): 1-31.
- Pieterse, E. 2008. *City futures: confronting the crisis of urban development*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Pieterse, E. 2009. "Post-apartheid Geographies in South Africa: Why are Urban Divides So Persistent?". Leuven: Cities in Development: Spaces, Conflicts and Agency.
- Pieterse, E. 2010. *Urbanisation imperatives for Africa: Transcending policy inertia*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, ACC.
- Pollack, M. 2011. *Pelican Park housing project construction to start by September*. Available from: www.capetown.gov.za/en/pages/Pelicanparkhousingprojectconstart. [Accessed on 6 July 2015]
- Porta, D.D. & Keating, M. 2008. *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*. Cambridge University Press: UK.
- Pottie, D. 2003. Housing the nation: the politics of low cost housing policy in South Arica since 1994. *Politeia*, 22(1): 119-143.
- Poulsen, L. 2010. A room in the City: Strategies for accessing affordable accommodation. *Urban Forum*, 21: 21-36.

- Powell, D. 2012. Imperfect transition – local government reform in South Africa 1994-2012 (SUN Media)
- Powell, B. & Stringham, E., 2003. Affordable housing laws make homes more expensive. *American Institute for Economic Research*, 43(12): 1-8.
- Presidency. 2006. *National Spatial Development Perspective*. Pretoria: The Presidency Policy Coordination and Advisory Services.
- Presidency. 2013a. *Twenty Year Review: South Africa (1994-2014) - Background Paper: Regional and Spatial Development*. Pretoria: The Presidency.
- Presidency. 2013b. *Twenty Year Review: South Africa (1994-2014)*. Pretoria: The Presidency.
- Prinsloo, B. D. 2008. *The South African Inclusionary Housing Policy*. Unpublished M Business Admin Degree. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- Rabie. 2006. *SAPOA accolade for Westlake development*. Available from: <http://www.rabie.co.za/sapoa-green-spiral-award-westlake/> [Accessed on 15 December 2015].
- Rae, A. 2011. Learning from the Past? A Review of Approaches to Spatial Targeting in Urban Policy, *Planning Theory & Practice*, 12(3): 331-348
- Rai, P.T. 2012. Townships for sustainable cities. *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 37: 417 – 426
- Ramoroka, T. & Tsheola, J. 2014. Gated-communities and the privatization of public spaces in urban South Africa: Democratic social integration or exclusion? *Journal of Geography and Regional Planning*, 7(4): 58-68.
- Regional Planning Commission of Greater Birmingham, 2014. Western Area Communities Framework Plan.
- Republic of South Africa, 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No. 18 of 1996.
- Republic of South Africa Government 2013. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Bill, 2013
- Republic of South Africa, 2013. Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act, No 3 of 2013.

- Reid, K. 2015. *Inclusionary Housing: The Good and the Bad*. Available from: (<http://www.theinspiringenterprise.com/blog/inclusionary-housing/>) [Accessed on 13 June 2016]
- Reitz, K. (n.d.) The Future of Birmingham: Modest incremental improvement (<http://wadeonbirmingham.com/2015/09/11/the-future-of-birmingham-modest-incremental-improvement/>) [Accessed on 21 June 2017]
- Rink, B. 2015. Quartering the City in Discourse and Bricks: Articulating Urban Change in a South African Enclave. *Urban Forum*, 27: 19–34.
- Robinson, C. 2002. *Real World Research*. Victoria: Blackwell.
- Ross, J. 2007. Inclusionary housing: What's happening nationally and right here at home. Birmingham: National inclusionary housing conference.
- Ross, J. (n.d.) Balanced Residential Communities: Including Affordable Housing in Smart Growth and New Urbanist Development. *Housing News Network: Florida* (pp.9-12).
- Rossouw, J. 2016. Op-Ed: Zille fails on providing affordable housing. *Daily Maverick*. Available from: www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2016 [Accessed on 19 February 2016]
- Roy, A. 2009. Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization. *Planning Theory*, 8: 76-87
- Rust, K. 2003. *No shortcuts: South Africa's progress in implementing its housing policy, 1994-2002*, Auckland Park: Institute for Housing of South Africa.
- Rust, K. 2006. Analysis of South Africa's housing sector performance. Paper for Finmark Trust.
- Sachs, A. 1973. *Justice in South Africa*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- SACPLAN data 2016 (<http://www.sacplan.org.za>) [Accessed on 17 February 2015]
- Saitta, D. 2016. Are garden cities sustainable? http://www.planetizen.com/node/87038?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=06272016 [Accessed on 7 January 2016]
- Samara, T. 2011. *Cape Town after Apartheid: Crime and governance in divided city*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

- Satterthwaite, D. & Dodman, D. 2016. A new urban agenda? *Environment & Urbanisation Brief*, 33: 1-6.
- Schneider, D.B. 2009. *Downtown Ensley & Tuxedo Junction, The City of Birmingham*. Washington DC: National Park Services.
- Schuetz, J., Meltzer, R. & Been, V. 2009. 31 Flavors of Inclusionary Zoning: Comparing Policies From San Francisco, Washington, DC, and Suburban Boston, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 75:4, 441-456.
- Seekings, J. 2010. Race, class and inequality in the South African City. Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR Working Paper No. 283), November
- Seekings, J. 2013. *Economy, society and municipal services in Khayelitsha*. Rondebosch: Centre for Social Science Research.
- Seeliger, L. & Turok, I. 2015. Green-sighted but city-blind: Developer attitudes to sustainable urban transformation. *Urban Forum* 26(3): 321-341.
- Seitles, M., 1996. The Perpetuation of Residential Racial Segregation in America: Historical Discrimination, Modern Forms of exclusion, and inclusionary Remedies. *Journal of Land Use & Environmental Law*, 141: 1-28.
- Sha, R. 2016. South Africa's quest for smart cities: Today's journey into tomorrow's reality. Available from: <http://memeburn.com/2016/02/south-africas-quest-for-smart-cities-todays-journey-into-tomorrows-reality/> [accessed on 28 April 2016]
- Shamsudin, S., Abu Hassan, N.R. & Bilyamin, S.F.I 2012. Walkable environment in increasing the liveability of a city. *Social and Behavioral Sciences* 50: 167 – 178
- Shenton, A.K. 2004. Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information* 22: 63–75.
- Shrey, S., Kandoi, S. & Srivastava, S. (n.d.) *Urban planning in India*. (unpublished report). Place: source.
- Silverman, R. 2013. *Shrinking cities: Are we siting affordable housing in neighbourhoods of opportunity?* University at Buffalo: The State University of New York.
- Sirr, L., Stewart, D. & Kelly, R. 2006. Smart growth: A buffer zone between decentrists and centrist theory? *International Journal of Sustainable Development*, 1(1): 1-13.

- Sisulu, L. 2014. Budget speech by the Minister of Human Settlements, 15 July. <http://www.gov.za/speeches/view.php?sid=46729> [accessed on 7 February 2016]
- Sitas, R. & Pieterse, E. 2013. Democratic Renovations and Affective Political Imaginaries. *Third Text*, 27(3): 327-342
- Siu, K.W. & Huang, Y.H. 2015. Everyday life under modernist planning: A study of an ever-transforming urban area in Hong Kong. *Urban Design International*, 20(4): 293-309.
- Smart Growth Network, 2001. *Affordable housing and smart growth: Making the connection*. Washington DC: National Neighbourhood Coalition.
- Smeddle-Thompson, L. 2012. *Implementing Sustainable Human Settlements*. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Smith, A. K. 2011 Homelessness in Birmingham, AL: An analysis using the local homeless management information system and surveys of local supportive housing programs. University of Alabama at Birmingham.
- Smith, J. L. 1999 Cleaning up public housing by sweeping out the poor. *Habitat Intl.* 23(1): 49-62
- Smith, S. 2017 Conceptualising *slum* in an urban African context. *Cities*: 1-42
- Socio-Economic Rights Institute, 2013 'Jumping the Queue', Waiting Lists and other Myths: Perceptions and Practice around Housing Demand and Allocation in South Africa. University of the Western Cape: Community Law Centre.
- Soja, E. 1995. Heterotopologies: A remembrance of other spaces in the citadel-LA (pp 13-34). In Watson, S. & Gibson, K. (Eds.) *Postmodern Cities and Spaces*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Song, Y. 2005. SMART GROWTH AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT PATTERN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. *International Regional Science Review* 28(2): 239–265.
- South Africa, 1994. White Paper on Reconstruction and Development of 1994. Cape Town: Government Gazette.
- South Africa, 1994. Department of Housing. White Paper: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa. Notice 1376 of 1994. Cape Town: Government Gazette.

South Africa, 1995. The Development Facilitation Act, Act 67 of 1995. Cape Town: Government Gazette.

South Africa, 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 1997. The Housing Act, Act 107 of 1997. Cape Town: Government Gazette.

South Africa, 1998. Local Government Municipal Demarcation Act, Act no. 27 of 1998. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 1998. Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 1998. White Paper on Local Government (WPLG), Notice 423 of 1998. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 1999. The Rental Housing Act, Act 50 of 1999. Cape Town: Government Gazette.

South Africa, 2000. Local Government: Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 2001. Department of Land Affairs. Wise land use: White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management. Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa, 2001. Water Services Act, Regulations Relating to Compulsory National Standards and Measures to Conserve Water (GN 22355 of 8 June 2001).

South Africa, 2003. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. National Framework Document: Strengthening Environmental Sustainability in the Integrated Development Planning Process.

South Africa, 2004. National Treasury Department. Municipal Finance Management Act, Act 56 of 2003. MFMA Circular No. 1 of 2004. Pretoria.

South Africa, 2009. Department of Human Settlements. National Housing Code: Technical and General Guidelines – Specified National Housing Programmes, Part 3, Vol. 2. Pretoria.

South Africa, 2013. The Spatial Land Use Management Act, No. 16 of 2013. Cape Town: Government Gazette.

- South African Council for Planners, 2014. Guidelines for Competencies and Standards for Curricula Development. Midrand: SACPLAN
- South African History Online: towards a people's history
[http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/cape-town-segregated-city#Towards racial segregation](http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/cape-town-segregated-city#Towards_racial_segregation) [Accessed on 19th January 2017]
- South Africa Info, 2015. Cape Town celebrates a thousand new homeowners (<http://www.southafrica.info/about/social/pelican-park-110315.htm#ixzz41w0EJmZO>) [Accessed on 15 February 2016]
- South African Cities Network, 2014. *State of SA Cities Report*. Johannesburg: SACN.
- SouthEast Research, 2016. Jefferson County Cooperation Study. Alabama: Montgomery
- Spinks, C. 2001. *A New Apartheid? Urban Spatiality, (fear of) Crime, and segregation in Cape Town, South Africa*. Cape Town: Development DESTINY Studies Institute: Working Paper Series (ISSN1470-2320).
- Staley, S.R. 2004. Urban planning, smart growth and economic calculation: an Austrian critique and extension. *The Review of Austrian Economics*, 17(2-3): 265-283.
- Stats SA. 2011. *Highlights of key results*. Pretoria: StatsSA
- StatsSA. 2014. *Housing from a human settlement perspective: In-depth analysis of the General Household Survey data 2002-2014 (GHS Series Volume III)*. Pretoria: StatsSA
- StatsSA. 2016. *From housing to human settlements*. Pretoria: StatsSA
- Swilling, M. 2010. Dealing with Sustainability. in Pieterse, E. *Counter Currents – Experiments in Sustainability in the Cape Town Region*. Cape Town: Jacana
- Talen, E. 2002. The social goals of new urbanism. *Housing Policy Debate* 13(1): 165-188.
- Talen, E. 2006. Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal. *Journal of Planning*, 20(3): 233-249.
- Talen, E. 2012. Zoning and diversity in historical perspective. *Journal of Planning History*, 11: 330–347.

- Taylor, N. 2007. *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*. London: Sage.
- Theart, A. 2002. Smart Growth: A sustainable solution for our cities? Unpublished M Phil degree. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Thellane, M. L., 2008. Making land available for affordable housing: challenges for local government. University of Witwatersrand: Johannesburg
- Thorne-Lyman, A., Yake, C., Nemirow, A. & Fogarty, N. 2013. *Transit-Orientated Development Typology Strategy for Allegheny County*. Pittsburgh: Centre for Transit Oriented Development.
- Tipple, A. G. & Speak, S. 2005 "Definitions of homelessness in Developing Countries", *Habitat International* 29(2): 37-52.
- Tirado, J. (n.d.) Smart growth: Smart growth advances nationally. Available from <http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/smartgrowth.html> [accessed on 28 April 2016]
- Tissington, K. 2010. A review of housing policy and development in South Africa since 1994. *Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa*.
- Tissington, K. 2011. A resource guide to housing in South Africa 1994-2010: legislation, policy, programmes and practice. *Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa*.
- Tlabela, K., Viljoen, J. & Adams, W. 1995. *The importance and implications of historical factors causing and inhibiting past migration in South Africa*. Place: HSRC Migration workshop (18 March 1995)
- Todes, A. 2008. Rethink Spatial Planning. [Online] Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTSOUTHAFRICA/Resources/Todes_bladgereedSSno_532008_revised3.pdf [Accessed 29 September 2015].
- Todes A., Karam, A., Klug, N. & Malaza N., 2010. Beyond master planning? New approaches to spatial planning in Ekurhuleni, South Africa. *Habitat International*, 34: 414-420.
- Toly, N. 2016. *In the future, cities may finally solve problems that have stumped the world's biggest nations*. Place: Quartz
- Tomberlin, M., 2010. *Interest in old Ensley Works renews as industrial site*. Available from: (http://blog.al.com/businessnews/2010/03/interst_in_old_ensley_works_r.html). [Accessed on 9 November 2016].

- Tomlinson, M. 2007a. A literature review on housing finance development in Sub-Saharan Africa. FinMark Trust. In Tonkin, A. 2008. *Sustainable medium-density housing: A resource book*. Cape Town: Development Action Group.
- Tomlinson, M. 2007b. *A Literature review on housing finance development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Place: FinMark Trust.
- Tonkin, A. 2008. *Sustainable medium-density housing: A resource book*. Cape Town: Development Action Group.
- Tomlinson, M. & Narsoo, M. 2008. *Inclusionary housing a proposed policy intervention aimed at integration and inclusion*. Johannesburg: Discussion paper for the Gauteng Department of Housing.
- Trail, E. R. 2006. *The Spatial Form of Post-Apartheid Cape Town*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Tshangana, A. 2013. *Local Government Position on Municipal Response and Backyard Dwellings (Draft Policy Proposal)*. SALGA: Cape Town.
- Turok, I., 1994. Urban Planning in the transition from apartheid. *Town planning Review*, 65(3): 243–258.
- Turok, I., 2001. Persistent Polarisation Post-Apartheid? Progress towards Urban Integration in Cape Town. *Urban Studies*, 38(13): 2349-2377.
- Turok, I. 2010. Urban Development Business Day: (www.businessday.co.za/articles/content) [Accessed on 20 May 2015].
- Turok, I. 2012. Urbanisation and Development in South Africa: Economic imperatives, spatial distortions and strategic responses. IIED: London (http://www.delog.org/cms/upload/pdf-africa/Urbanisation_and_Development_in_South_Africa_-_Economic_Imperatives_Spatial_Distortions_and_Strategic_Responses.pdf) [Accessed on 25 April 2016].
- Turok, I. 2013 Transforming South Africa's divided cities: Can devolution help? *International Planning Studies* 18(2):168-187
- Turok, I. 2014. The Resilience of South African Cities a Decade after Local Democracy. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(4): 749-769
- Turok, I. 2015. Housing and the urban premium. *Habitat International*: 1-7

- Turok, I. 2016a. South Africa's new urban agenda: Transformation or compensation? *Local Economy* 3(1): 9-27
- Turok, I. 2016b. Leadership needed for SA cities to emerge from the malaise. (Published from The Business Day, 1 September 2016)
- Turok, I. & Borel-Saladin, J. 2015. Is urbanisation in South Africa on a sustainable trajectory? *Development Southern Africa*, 31(5): 675-691
- Uitermark, J. 2003. Social Mixing and the Management of Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods: The Dutch Policy of Urban Restructuring Revisited. *Urban Studies*, 40(3): 531–549.
- UN Habitat, 2014a. *International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning* (Final Draft), New York: Un Habitat. December
- UN Habitat, 2014b. *Affordable land and housing in Africa*. Volume 3. Kenya: UN Habitat.
- UN Habitat, 2014c. *The state of African cities, 2014: Re-imagining sustainable urban transitions*. Kenya: UN Habitat.
- UN Habitat, 2016. *Habitat III: Revised zero draft of the new urban agenda*. New York: UN Habitat.
- UNDP, 2014. *The impacts of social AND economic inequality on economic development in South Africa*. UNDP: New York.
- United Nations, 1948. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Adopted by General Assembly Resolution 217 A(III) of 10 December 1948, Paris.
- United Nations, 1998. *Global Strategy for Shelter to the year 2000*. General Assembly, 43 session.
- United Nations, 2003. *Human Settlement: Canada: Human Settlement Profile* (pages 1-14)
- United Nations, 2006. *State of the World's Cities 2006/2007*. Earthscan: London.
- United Nations, 2009. Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context: Mission to Canada. p. 7.
- United Nations, 2012. *Sustainable Housing for Sustainable Cities: A Policy framework for developing countries*. Kenya: UN Habitat.

- United Nations, 2014. *World Urbanisation Prospects: The 2014 Revision, Highlights (ST/ESA/SER.A/352)*, s.l.: Morphocode. (Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Poverty Division)
- United Nations, 2016. *Habitat III: Revised zero draft of the new urban agenda*. United Nations conference on housing and sustainable urban development. (18 June 2016)
- United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, 1996. *The Habitat Agenda*. Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements.
- University of South Alabama, 2007. Strength and weaknesses of quantitative research (https://www.southalabama.edu/coe/bset/johnson/oh_master/Ch14/Tab14-01.pdf) [Accessed on 12 May 2016]
- Urban LandMark 2011 *Land release assessment tool: Pennyville case study*. Urban LandMark: Johannesburg
- US Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2015. Huduser.org. [Online] Available at: www.huduser.org [Accessed 10 January 2015]
- Van der Merwe, F. & Roelofse, J. 2013. IMPROVING QUALITY OF LIFE ONE HOME AT A TIME. *Document for internal distribution – version 1*. DEADP: Cape Town.
- Van der Merwe, I.J. 1993. The South African city in relation to international city form. *Development Southern Africa*, 10 (4): 481-496.
- Van Graan, A. 2009. Contested modernism: post Slums Act public housing in Cape Town. *SAJAH* 24(2):31-40.
- Van Niekerk, W., Mans, G., Maritz, J., van Huyssteen, E., Beukes, A. & Green C. 2014. *Trends in youth and female migration in South Africa 1996-2011*. CSIR Regional Dynamics and Interactions Analysis. Available from: www.Stepsa/regionaldynamics.org.za [Accessed on 12 February 2015].
- Van Wyk, L. 2001. "Where our city planners are going wrong" Cape Argus, 25 September 2001, p. 12.
- Van Wyk, J. & Oranje, M. 2014. The post 1994 South African spatial planning system and Bill of Rights: A meaningful and mutually beneficial fit? *Planning Theory*, 13: 349–369

- Venter, A., Marais, L., Hoekstra, J. & Cloete, J. 2015. Reinterpreting South African Housing Policy through Welfare State Theory. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 32(3): 346-366.
- VPUU: Situational crime prevention <http://vpuu.org.za/> [accessed on 26 August 2015]
- Wade Park. 2014. Available from: <http://www.wadeparkfrisco.com/> [Accessed on 12 December 2016]
- Wainwright, O. 2014. *Apartheid ended 20 years ago, so why is Cape Town still 'a paradise for the few'?* Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/apr/30/cape-town-apartheid-ended-still-paradise-few-south-africa> [Accessed on 1 February 2017].
- Watson, V. 1998. "Planning under Political Transition - Lessons from Cape Town's Metropolitan Planning Forum". *International Planning Studies*, 3(3), 1228: 335-350.
- Watson, V. 2003. Conflicting rationalities: implications for planning theory and ethics, *Planning Theory and Practice*, 4: 395–408.
- Watson, V. 2009a. "The planned city sweeps the poor away...": Urban planning and the 21st century urbanisation. *Progress in Planning* 72: 151–193
- Watson, V. 2009b. Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issue. *Urban Studies* 46(11): 2259-2275
- Watson, V. 2012. Planning and the 'stubborn realities' of global south-east cities: Some emerging ideas. *Planning Theory* 12(1): 81–100
- Watson, V. 2013. African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares? *Environment & Urbanisation* 26 (1):1-17
- Watson, V. & Harrison, P. 2010. *Planning and Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*. Cape Town: African Centre for Cities.
- WCED, 1987. *Our Common Future: The World Commission on Environment and Development*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wegener, M. 2000. New Spatial Planning Models. Paper presented at the Emerging Directions in Urban Planning Research Seminar, ITC, Enschede, 6 December 2000. Published in *International Journal of Applied Earth Observation and Geoinformation*: 3(3), 224-237.

- WesCape Life, 2013 Wescapex Overview. Communitgrow: Cape Town
- Western Cape Housing Demand Database, November 2015
- Western Cape Government. 2016. Provincial Strategic Plan 2014-2019. Department of the Premier: Cape Town.
- Western Cape Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning. March 2009. PSDF: Inclusionary Housing. *Discussion Document, (discussion document)*. Cape Town: WCPDEA.
- Western Cape Department of Human Settlements. 2010. *The Western Cape Department of Human Settlements: 5 year Strategic Plan*. Cape Town: Provincial Publishers.
- Western Cape Department of Human Settlements. 2014. *Annual Performance Plan*. Cape Town: Provincial Publishers.
- Western Cape Department of Human Settlements. 2016. *Budget speech of Minister Bonginkosi Madikizela*, Cape Town: Western Cape Provincial Department of Human Settlements.
- Western Cape Provincial Department of Local Government (n.d.) Mitchell's Plain Nodal Economic Development Profile
- Wexler, H. 2001. HOPE VI: The market means/public ends - The goals, strategies, and midterm lessons of HUD's Urban Revitalisation Demonstration Program. *Journal of Affordable Housing & Community Development Law*, 10(3): 195-233.
- Whittemore, A.H. 2014. Phenomenology and city planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 34(3): 301-308.
- Wilkinson, P. 1998. Housing Policy in South Africa. *Habitat Intl*, 22(3): 215-229.
- Williams, J.J. 2000. South Africa: Urban transformation. *Cities*, 17(3): 167-183.
- Wilson, S. 2011. Planning for inclusion in South Africa: The State's duty to prevent homelessness and the potential of 'meaningful engagement'. *Urban Forum*, 22: 265-282.
- Winkler, T. 2011. Retracking Johannesburg: Spaces for participation and policy making. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31(3): 250-271

- Worden, N. 2012. *The making of modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy* (5th Edition). UK: Wiley-Blackwell
- World Economic Forum. 2015. *Inspiring future cities and urban services: Shaping the future of urban development and services initiative*. World Economic Forum: Switzerland
- World Charter on the Right to the City. 2005. Available at: <<http://www.globalgovernancewatch.org/resources/world-charter-on-the-right-to-the-city> [Accessed on 15 January 2017]
- Wray, C., Musango, J., Damon, K. & Cheriuyot, K. 2013. *Modelling urban spatial change: a review of international and South African modelling initiatives*. Johannesburg: Gauteng City Region Observatory. Ye, L.; Mandpe, S. & Meyer, P.B. 2005 What is “smart growth” really? *Journal of Planning Literature*, 19 (3): 301-315
- Zarate, L. 2015. Right to the City for All: A Manifesto for Social Justice in an Urban Century. In *The Just City Essays: 26 Visions for Urban Equity, Inclusion and Opportunity*. (Eds.) Griffin, T. L., Cohen, A. & Maddox, D. Volume 1. Ford Foundation: New York.
- Zizzamia, R., Schotte, S., Leibbrandt, M., Ranchhod, V. 2016. Vulnerability and the middle class in South Africa. *SALDRU Working Paper Number 188/ NIDS Discussion Paper 2016/15*. Cape Town: SALDRU, University of Cape Town.
- Zulu, T. 2013. *A Green Paper for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements*. Pretoria: Department of Human Settlements.

ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Example of interview schedule to SA respondents, and covering letter

Covering Email to interviewees

On 13Oct, 2015, at 2:13 PM, Raynita Robertson <raynita2011@hotmail.com> wrote:

Good day Dr Cecil Madell

I hope this message reach you in good health.

I am undertaking my PhD through the University of FreeState (refer to the letter of support attached), and is investigating the Affordable housing as a means to integrated and sustainable human settlements, against the Apartheid spatial landscape. For your convenience and perusal, I attach the interview questions.

Please advise your availability for the rest of this month, as I would like to conduct a face to face or telephonic interview with you, allowing 1 hour?

Thank you very much again. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,

Ms Raynita N Robertson

"Be the best you can be... you have permission"

<LECTORI SALUTEM - Robertson.pdf><PERSONAL INTERVIEWS_facetoFace_FOR PLANNERS.docx>

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

BRIEF

Thank you for time and effort to complete this interview.

The research is looking at “Affordable and inclusionary housing in the South African context, learning from international studies“. Pertinent hereto, we value your thoughts, and sharing in knowledge and experience, as you will also contribute to this research.

Your responses will be treated with confidentiality, and only your aggregated responses will be included in this research.

If you feel uncomfortable at any point, feel free to ask for clarity, or to stop questions and refuse to further the interview process.

Basic information

Name and Surname:

Registered as (Candidate/Technical/Professional planner) at SACPlan:

SAC Plan Registration #

Job designation:

Organisation employed at:

How long been in this post: years

QUESTIONS ON I&SHS

1. As town and regional planners we use the concept of “integrated and sustainable human settlements” quite often.
 - a. What is your perception of an “integrated and sustainable human settlement”?
 - b. What are the features/critical factors of integrated and sustainable human settlements?
2. According to the Breaking New Ground (2004), “sustainable human settlements are defined as (**CARD**). To the contrary, the Istanbul declaration (YEAR) conceptualise sustainable human settlements as (**CARD**).
 - a. Noting these two definitions, would you like to note similarities, or differences, based on your perspectives?
 - b. Furthermore, based on your perspective, what factors should change, redirected, enhanced, limited, or removed in these definitions/concepts.
3. Will you say that in the Western Cape, South Africa, we (planners, government, private sector and parastatals) are delivering integrated and sustainable human settlements? Explain your response

QUESTIONS ON APARTHEID PLANNING

4. It is 21 years after the dismantling of the Apartheid regime, and post-Apartheid planning should be undertaken to redress the imbalance, inequity, sustainability and integration of the settlements. If you have to reflect, would you note that due to our current (post-Apartheid planning) that the Cape Town settlements seems

Factors	Yes	No	Don't know
• More sustainable			
• More integrated i.t.o. land use,			
• More integrated i.t.o. race,			
• More integrated i.t.o. income			
• Mix of housing programmes			
• In urban area – in according to urban edge delineation.			
• Accessible to social and economic facilities; and public transport			
• Affordable and inclusive settlements			

Remarks: substantiate the above mentioned remarks?

5. In order to work towards integrated and sustainable human settlements, South Africa must make a concerted effort to plan for such settlements.
 - a. What would you recommend South Africa (housing, government, private sector, banks) do to make the settlements integrated and sustainable?

 - b. How can this be implemented?

AFFORDABLE- AND INCLUSIONARY HOUSING

- 6. What is your understanding of
 - a. affordable housing and

 - b. inclusionary housing?

- 7. Do you know of such examples and best practices?
 - a. Can you mention any of such?

- 8. Why do you think they were successful as affordable housing?

- 9. To what extent were they inclusionary housing projects as well? Inclusionary can be defined as

- 10. Noting your above mentioned remarks, what would you recommend South Africa should undertake to implement

	Affordable housing (definition included)	Inclusionary housing (definition included)
Policy/law		
Planning		
Implementation		
Funding sources		

Partnerships		
Projects		
Incentives (to developers)		

Thank you for your time and contributions.

Annexure 2: Ethics letter



Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences

22-Nov-2016

Dear Ms Raynita Robertson

Ethics Clearance: PLANNING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING THROUGH INCLUSIONARY HOUSING AGAINST THE APARTHEID SPATIAL LANDSCAPE IN THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

Principal Investigator: Ms Raynita Robertson

Department: Urban and Regional Planning (Bloemfontein Campus)

APPLICATION APPROVED

This letter confirms that a research proposal with tracking number: UFS-HSD2016/1120 and title: 'PLANNING FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING THROUGH INCLUSIONARY HOUSING AGAINST THE APARTHEID SPATIAL LANDSCAPE IN THE WESTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA' was given ethical clearance by the Ethics Committee.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: UFS-HSD2016/1120

Please ensure that the Ethics Committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the Ethics Committee on completion of the research.

The purpose of this report is to indicate whether or not the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the Ethics Committee should be aware of.

Note:

1. This clearance is valid from the date on this letter to the time of completion of data collection.
2. Progress reports should be submitted annually unless otherwise specified.

Yours Sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'RN' or similar initials.

Annexure 3: Maps

Map 1: Cape Flats



The term *Cape Flats* refers to well, a **flat**, sandy stretch of land which is located on the outskirts of the city of Cape Town. It has been accurately (I think) described as the "dumping ground of apartheid" and it is here that people of colour (non-whites in "old South Africa" language) were relocated to in terms of the infamous Group Areas Act.

This is the **political** definition of the term. The term also has a **geographic** interpretation, in which case it would include some of the former white areas in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town. In these pages, the term refers to the **political** definition as described above and below.

<http://capeflats.org.za/modules/home/overview.php>

Annexure 4: Anticipated interviews and those that were actually interviewed (for South Africa persons)

	<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Trade</u>
NGOs			
1	Dr. Mercy Brown-Luthango (DAG)	3 June 2017	Not registered planner
	Mr Moegsien Hendricks or Ms Bunita Kohler (COURC)	0	
	Ms Ansabeth Tonkin (Isandla)	0	
	Mr. Gavin Silber (Ndifuna Ukwazi: Head of Policy)	0	
Universities			
2	Prof. Marie Hutchermeyer (Univ Wits)	8 December 2015	Qualified planner, but not registered
3	Dr Cecil Madell (UCT)	30-Nov-15	Registered planner
	Prof Stephen Berrisford	0	
	Prof Sue Parnell (UCT)	0	
	Prof Vanessa Watson (UCT)	0	
4	Dr Warren Smith (UCT: ACC)	23 February 2016	Researcher
	Dr. Karina Landman	0	
5	Ms Anele Horn (US: Geography - CRUISE)	1 March 2016	Qualified planner, but not registered
6	Mr Herman Geyer (US: Geography - CRUISE)	02 March 2016	Qualified planner, not registered
National Department of Human Settlements			
7	Ms Jennifer Mirembe (NDoHS: Planning)	21 October 2015	Qualified and practicing as planner
	Ms S Naidoo (NDoHS: Policy)	0	
Western Cape Government			
8	Mr Marek Kedzeija (DEADP: Spatial Planning)	08 December 2015	Qualified and practicing as planner
9	Mr. Brian Mabothe (DoHS: DD for Affordable Housing)	4 June 2017	Strategic Financial Planner
10	Mr Francois Wust (DEADP: VPUU/RSEP)	29 February 2016	Qualified and practicing as planner
11	Mr Francious Joubert (DPW&T: Regeneration)	01 March 2016	Not registered planner
12	Mr. Willem Steenkamp (WC DoHS: Strategic Planning)	03 November 2015	Strategic Planner for Partnerships
	Dr Elizabeth Barclay (WC: DEADP)	0	
City of Cape Town			
13	Mr. Nigel Titus (CoCT: Spatial Planning)	22 October 2015	Qualified and practicing as planner
	Mr. Pogiso Molapo (CoCT: Social Housing)	0	
	Mr. Jens Kuhn (CoCT: New Housing)	0	
	Mr Rushdi Abrahams (Project Manager: Pelican Park)	0	
Parastatals			

	Interviewee	Date	Trade
14	Prof Ivan Turok (HSRC)	23 February 2016	Not registered planner
15	Dr. Mark Napier (CSIR)	20 October 2015	Architect
	Ms Michelle Essink (SALGA: Social Housing Expert)	0	
	Mr. Dealt Koekemoer (SHRA)	0	
	Ms. Kehsia Rust (SHIFT)	0	
Private sector			
16	Ms Lisa Van Aarde (Planning Partners)	25 November 2015	Qualified and practicing as planner
17	Mr. Matt Cullinan (MCA Planners)	16 February 2016	Qualified and practicing as planner
	Ms Leanne Seeliger (Env Company, after HSRC)	0	
	Ms Tanya De Villiers (CNDV Africa)	0	
	Mr. Simon Nicks (CNDV Africa)	0	
18	Mr. Rodney Conright (SetPlan)	0	Qualified and practicing as planner

NOTE: 0 signifies people that didn't undertake the interview.

Table : Anticipated interviews and those that were actually interviewed (for Birmingham, Alabama case studies)

	Interviewee	Date	Remarks
1	Dr. R Silverman	June 2017	University of Buffalo (Urban and Regional Planning)
2	Mr J Colon	June 2017	Birmingham (Alabama: State/Government)
3	Mr C Ball	June 2017	City of Birmingham (Regional Planning Commission of Greater Birmingham)
4	Dr W Holt	June 2017	University of Birmingham (Urban Environmental Studies)

Table : Interviews relating to case studies

	Case study	Interviewee	Date
1	Westlake village	Dr Charlotte Lemanski (University of Cambridge)	February 2016
		NGO: Westlake United Church Trust = Anthea	June 2017
2	Pelican Park	Power Construction company (Brian)	June 2017
		Ms Lisa van Aarde (Planning Partners)	October 2016
		Mr Nigel Titus (City of Cape Town: Spatial Planning)	October 2016
		Mr Brian Mabothe (WC Dept of Human Settlements: Affordable housing Directorate).	30 May 2017
3	Melkbosch Village	Mr Nigel Titus (City of Cape Town: Spatial Planning)	October 2016
		Mr Brian Mabothe (WC Dept of Human Settlements: Affordable housing Directorate).	30 May 2017

Annexure 5: Research protocol

Area	Deliverable	Time frames	NOTES
Enrol at UFS		Jan 2015	Finalise the Research proposal Read wide, compile literature list.
	Research proposal accepted	April 2015	Start working on the Thesis
Start to write: Chapter 1 Introduction	Draft to promoter Do language and editing ** progress: check in with promoter!	May - July 2015	Read wide – focusing on largely in South Africa, summarised notes based on thematic topics identified as well as potential research methods. Receive feedback July 2015: make further adjustments to topic of research. Consider themes for interview schedules.
Write up Chapter 3 Literature review	Draft to promoter Make adjustments, further investigations, Do language and editing	August - October 2015	Read wide – investigate other countries (USA, Canada, UK, and India), summarised notes based on thematic topics identified as well as potential research methods. Start to write up, package for context and argument. Received feedback in September 2015: make amendments towards a

			<p>stronger introduction, views of affordable housing and effect on settlement, as well as international debates on affordable housing/inclusionary housing.</p> <p>Receive further feedback in December 2015: review and conceptual framework to be expanded on in context of research topic – consider restructure document.</p> <p>Submit updated chapters 1-2 (Jan 2016)</p> <p>Further edits received – March 2016</p> <p>Further edits – May 2016</p>
Write up Chapter 2 Methodology	Submit to Ethics committee for approval	August 2015	Submit March 2016
	Start to write up	September 215	
	<p>Develop interview schedules – consider relevant persons</p> <p>Selection to case studies</p> <p>Selection to focus groups</p> <p>Acquire letter from UFS to support student research</p>	October 2015	

	Undertake interviews	October 2015- February 2016 * Consider follow up interviews with USA respondents, and focus groups. Further interviews (South Africa and USA): June 2017	Received comments (May 2016): tighten up
	Focus group discussions	June 2017	
	Undertake site visits to case studies	November 2015 June 2017	
	Do diagrammes, tables for analysis: testing	December 2015	
	Write up and finalise the Chapter Bring into context of earlier chapters.	Jan -March 2016	
Write up Chapter 4: Finding and Analysis	Submit findings report to promoter Do language and further editing ** progress: check in with promoter!	March-April 2016	Receive feedback on Chapter 4 (April 2016): stronger and separate chapter to case studies. Interviews need some rework – representation of results better. Further edits(May 2016) – relevant to case studies Further edits: Prof satisfied. Technical issues to attend to.

Write up: (part of Chapter 3) Policy Review		May 2016.	Receive feedback (May 2016): appropriateness of case studies, Analysis of methodology for Cape Town.
Write up: (Part of Chapter 4) Case studies		June 2016	Receive comments (July 2016): include to other chapter dealing with Findings. Structure better, reflect onto chapter 2 (Methodology).
Write up Conclusion & Recommendation Chapter	Submit report to supervisor Do language and further editing	October – December 2016	Receive comments (Jan 2017): more concrete/strong/directness to findings.
Assemble Chapters Include the Recommendations and Conclusion	Submit report to supervisor Do language and further editing	December 2016 - February 2017	August 2016: Undertake further edits (esp Introduction, Methodology).
Finalise Reference list Assemble the Annexures	Undertake the Abstract development	August 2016	Edits to Chapter 2: Aug 2016
	Restructure and edits to whole thesis. (Submit for external examination)	February 2017	Sept 2016: Chapter 3 edits, Chapter 7 (Case studies), Chapter 2 (theory implications)
Proof reading Further clean up and verification of research	Undertake further work, and corrections to be made. 1. Interviews 2. Focus group discussion	May-July 2017	

	3. Theory application		
	Do final editing of document, and send for proof reading.		Submit to Prof Submit to Proof reader
	Submit for external examination.		Submit to University for External examination.

* Arranged according to date, and not to Chapter (as this was under continuous construction)

Annexure 6: Focus Group Questions/Guide

Thank you for your time to be part of this discussion. We value your insights and sharing of your experiences.

Your remarks will only be used for the purposes of this research. Your responses will remain anonymous and you may refrain from answering a question.

1. Where did you live before you become the successful owner of your house, in this project?

2. How long have you been staying here (number of years)?

3. To receive a new house for the first time, is quite an accomplishment.
 - a. How did you feel when you moved in?

 - b. Did you feel welcome?

 - c. Can identify with this area?

HOUSING IN CONTEXT OF INTEGRATED AND SUSTAINBLE HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

4. From childhood to adulthood, we form pictures of the house you would like to own one day. What were your expectations in terms of getting a house?
 - a. In the form of a structure

b. Part of a complex/development

c. Neighbourhood/settlement

d. Surrounding land uses

INTEGRATION AND INVOLVEMENT OF BENEFICIARIES

5. Government is working towards the provision of integrated and sustainable human settlements.

a. Do you know the concept of integrated and sustainable human settlements? (**CARD**)

b. To what extent would you note this settlement complies with that description?

6. When you were identified as the beneficiaries to this project, were you part of the conceptualisation of the project? Why, or why not?

7. Now that you are the proud owners of your house, are you involved in the planning for this area? Why or why not?

8. You noted that you previously stayed in the areas of Now that you are staying here, how does that impact on

- a. Where you work

- b. Travel to work and back home

- c. Children going to school

- d. Where you do your shopping

- e. Recreation facilities for children and family

Note if they bound to the familiar places, or established other/new networks while here – sense of place – if they utilise the services in the bigger community, we can note if they feel part of the bigger community.

CONCLUSION

- 9. What recommendations would you like to make to Government/Municipality/Private sector in planning similar housing projects?

Thank you very much for your participation. Just to confirm, your remarks will only be used for the research purposes.

2.
