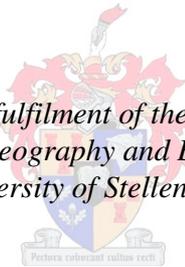


**THE RISE OF THE PHOENIX OR AN ACHILLES
HEEL? BREAKING NEW GROUND'S IMPACT ON
URBAN SUSTAINABILITY AND INTEGRATION**

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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, and that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicably otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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SUMMARY

In 2004, the then Department of Housing's Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy introduced a compilation of principles that underlie a sustainable human settlement. The principles were aimed at guiding, amongst others, municipal officials in the decisions they take when faced with a housing development project. This thesis will set out to determine how municipal officials have taken up BNG's principles for sustainable housing settlements as well as the perceptions, methods of implementation and degree of acceptance that housing and town planning managers have of BNG. In the study, the perceived relevance that these managers have of BNG within their non-metropolitan towns is explored using five of the fifteen leader towns of the Western Cape Province. This research has shown that BNG considers the compact urban form, coupled to other development considerations, as the most sustainable for South Africa. In terms of building sustainable human settlements: the low-income housing unit has evolved substantially since its conception, and that the current unit is held in far higher regard (by both municipalities and beneficiaries) than its predecessors. The design of this unit remains standardised due to a lack of funding for a more flexible design, but its structure allows for additions to be made at the cost of the beneficiary. Funding thus remains a major constraint to housing delivery. Municipalities feel that they are able to implement BNG, but that there are certain shortcomings in the document which prevent its full implementation. One of these shortcomings is the lack of an external funding mechanism for housing delivery, proposed in BNG, but never having materialised. Further, BNG focuses more on the metropolitan scenario and is not always relevant to non-metropolitan towns. Almost all of the municipalities have initiated inner city regeneration projects, but fewer have included the provision of social housing as part of their inner city rejuvenation.

Subsidy housing is the most implemented housing typology, but these units often experience decay due to the absence of original owners who have (mostly illegally) sold or rented out their units. The one-erf-one-unit nature of subsidy housing is not seen as sustainable owing to space limitation experienced by most of the municipalities interviewed. Contrary to earlier research, in situ upgrading is a common occurrence in municipalities. However, there is a great need for stronger regional (or broader scale) planning regarding housing delivery. Low-income housing is strongly influenced by politics – a fact which municipalities say negatively influences housing delivery. Migration also poses a serious threat to municipal backlogs. Currently, the fight against an escalating demand for low-cost housing is a losing battle as the rate at which government is rolling out housing is vastly ineffectual. Municipalities deem that large-scale projects like the N2 Gateway might be a solution to their housing backlogs which, they concur, are at crisis point. However, municipalities indicated that their implementation of large scale projects will not follow the same path as the N2 Gateway – the planning of which is seen to be substandard. Currently, urban integration takes place on an income basis and not due to racial division. Inclusionary housing is seen as a relevant tool for the promotion of integration, but cannot be enforced to its full potential due to a lack of supporting legislation.

Key words: sustainable integrated cities, low-income housing, spatial planning, housing typologies, inclusionary housing, and place-making.

OPSOMMING

In 2004 het die destydse Departement van Behuising se *Breaking New Ground* (BNG)-beleid 'n aantal beginsels bekendgestel wat onderliggend aan 'n volhoubare menslike nedersetting is. Hierdie beginsels was onder meer daarop gemik om munisipale amptenare te lei in die besluite wat hulle met betrekking tot 'n behuisingontwikkelingsprojek sou neem. Hierdie tesis beoog om te bepaal hoe munisipale amptenare BNG-beginsels op volhoubare behuisingnedersettings toegepas het. Asook om die persepsies, implementeringsmetodes en vlak van aanvaarding van behuising- en stadsbeplanners op bestuursvlak se mate van aanvaarding van BNG te bepaal. In hierdie studie word die waargenome relevansie ondersoek wat dié bestuurders binne hul nie-metropolitaanse dorpe aan BNG heg. Hiervoor word vyf van die vyftien Wes-Kaapse leierdorpe as voorbeeld gebruik.

Hierdie navorsing toon dat BNG die kompakte stedelike vorm, saam met ander ontwikkelingsoorwegings, as die mees volhoubare vorm vir Suid-Afrika beskou. Sover dit die bou van volhoubare menslike nedersettings aangaan, het die lae-inkomstebehuisingseenheid sedert die instelling daarvan beduidend ontwikkel – sowel munisipaliteite as diene wat daarby baat vind, het 'n veel hoër dunk van die huidige eenheid as van sy voorgangers. 'n Tekort aan fondse verhoed 'n meer buigsame ontwerp, en daarom het die huidige ontwerp die standaard gebly. Die struktuur maak egter aanbouings – op die bevoordeelde se eie rekening – moontlik. BNG het addisionele behuisingstipes bekendgestel, maar groter diversiteit is steeds nodig, en veral onder opsies wat stedelike integrasie bevorder. Befondsing bly dus 'n groot beperking wat die lewering van behuising betref. Munisipaliteite reken dat hulle wel BNG kan implementeer, maar dat daar bepaalde tekortkominge in die dokument bestaan wat die volledige implementering daarvan verhoed. Een so 'n tekortkoming is die gebrek aan 'n eksterne befondsingsmeganisme vir behuisingselewering. Dit is wel in BNG voorgestel, maar het nooit 'n werklikheid geword nie. Voorts fokus BNG sterker op die metropolitaanse situasie en word die situasie in die nie-metropolitaanse dorpe nie werklik daarin verreken nie. Feitlik al die munisipaliteite het reeds vernuwingsprojekte in hul middestede aangepak, maar nie so baie het die verskaffing van sosiale behuising daarby ingereken nie.

Gesubsidieerde behuising is die mees algemene behuisingstipe, maar sulke eenhede word dikwels verwaarloos aangesien die oorspronklike eienaars dit (gewoonlike ontwettig) verkoop of uitverhuur. Gesubsidieerde behuising se een-erf-een-eenheid-aard word nie as volhoubaar beskou nie; die meeste munisipaliteite waarmee onderhoude gevoer is het beperkinge met betrekking tot ruimte ervaar. In teenstelling met wat vroeëre navorsing aangedui het, is in situ-opgradering 'n algemene verskynsel by munisipaliteite. Daar is egter 'n groot behoefte aan beter beplanning op streeksvlak (of dan beplanning op 'n breër skaal) in soverre dit die lewering van behuising betref. Lae-inkomstebehuising word sterk deur die politiek beïnvloed – 'n feit wat volgens munisipaliteite 'n negatiewe impak op die lewering hiervan het. Migrasie vorm ook 'n ernstige bedreiging vir die agterstande wat munisipaliteite ondervind. Die stryd teen 'n stygende aanvraag na lae-kostebehuising kan tans nie gewen word nie aangesien die tempo waarteen die

regering behuising lewer heeltemal onvoldoende is. Munisipaliteite beskou grootskaalse projekte soos die N2 Gateway as 'n moontlike oplossing vir hul behuisingsagterstande wat, volgens eie erkenning, krisissafmetings aanneem. Munisipaliteite het egter aangedui dat hul implementering van grootskaalse projekte nie dieselfde roete as die N2 Gateway sal volg nie, aangesien hierdie projek se beplanning klaarblyklik nie aan die nodige vereistes voldoen nie. Stedelike integrasie word tans deur inkomsteoorwegings bepaal, en vind nie op grond van ras plaas nie. Inklusiewe behuising word as 'n relevante hulpmiddel vir die bevordering van integrasie beskou, maar kan as gevolg van 'n gebrek aan ondersteunende wetgewing nie tot sy volle potensiaal toegepas word nie.

Sleutelbegrippe: volhoubare geïntegreerde stede, lae-inkomstebehuising, ruimtelike beplanning, behuisingstipes, inklusiewe behuising.

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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CBD	Central Business District
CRU	Community Residential Unit
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HWP	Housing White Paper
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IH	Inclusionary Housing
ITS	Integrated Transport Strategy
LED	Local Economic Development
LM	Local Municipality
MEC	Member of the Executive Committee
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NHF	National Housing Foundation
NIMBY	Not in My Backyard
NSDP	National Spatial Development Perspective
PHP	Peoples' Housing Project
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
WC	Western Cape
WCPG	Western Cape Provincial Government
WCPSDF	Western Cape Provincial Spatial Development Framework
WCSHSS	Western Cape Sustainable Human Settlement Strategy

1 RESEARCHING SETTLEMENT POLICY

“The future for which South Africans are yearning has to be built on the foundations of the past we have inherited. The past has its beauty. It also has many ugly parts. We have little choice but to embrace the reality of that past as a whole. But how does one embrace such a difficult past, and isn’t there a risk of being tainted by such an embrace? Or can one choose to embrace only that aspect of the past one can call one’s own? What about the ‘other’ that has now become part of one’s ‘self’? The leap of faith required to fully embrace our ugly past in order to transform it is often underestimated.”

Ramphela (2008: 15)

The last twenty years have brought about a focus on the sensitivity of the natural environment as well as related planning provisions which must be implemented in order to procure the continuity of the human race (Breheny, 1992a; Muttagi, 1998; Lee & George, 2000; Zoeteman, 2000; Sowman, 2002; Swilling 2004; Morse, 2008; Pacione, 2009). The literature promoting ‘sustainable cities’ or ‘sustainable urban development’ is vast. Many books, articles, and other publications exist on each of the various dimensions of sustainability or the tools for creating sustainable cities. This mode of thought has directly impacted governments by placing pronounced pressure on them to promote sustainability (Arthurson, 2002; Katz & Turner, 2003; Kidd & Fischer, 2007; UN-HABITAT, 2009). However, sustainable development can be an ambiguous topic and its implementation often does more harm than good (Breheny, 1992a; Campbell, 1999; Connelly & Richardson, 2005; Robinson, 2004).

In 2004, a policy document, entitled Breaking New Ground, was formulated by the National Department of Housing with the aim of creating liveable, sustainable settlements for the poor. To do so, it sets out principles based on the creation of integrated human settlements as well as the acceleration of housing delivery in South Africa (RSA, 2004). Breaking New Ground (BNG) is a result of higher-level policies such as the Constitution, the Development Facilitation Act, and national spatial development framework which seek integrated sustainable settlements as a balm to the wounds of the past.

The principle of sustainability is a key focus area of BNG – a whole chapter is allocated to the definition of principles for a South African city, loosely based on the notion of the compact city (Todes, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; Pieterse, 2007). There are tools and principles which planners must implement to promote the sustainable city. Most of these stem from the ongoing work of Jenks & Burgess (2000), yet some of the international requirements for a ‘sustainable city’ concept might not address the crucial issues faced in South Africa (Schoonraad, 2000). From this, it can be deduced that the ‘sustainable city’ might need to be altered slightly to fit the South Africa urban form. The integration of societies, places and policies is especially important in South Africa due to the past practices of apartheid. Urban integration is central to BNG; which seeks to change the previous singular focus on housing to one of holistic planning.

Urban integration is comprised of two components: physical and socio-economic. South African urban fabric remains segregated – largely as a result of socio-economic issues which policies have not been able to address. A prominent author in integration issues is Edgar Pieterse who has conducted extensive research (Pieterse, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2008, 2009) regarding this topic in South Africa. His work highlights the importance of socio-economic integration for poor areas as these are often stigmatised and further excluded from the rest of society. Thus, the poor are often excluded from areas of economic opportunity, healthy ecological environments (which have not been exposed to pollution and other hazardous waste) and from areas which promote social development (such as education). International authors on the subject (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Forrest & Johnston, 2001; Girard, 2003; Hoong Sin, 2003; Friedkin, 2004) agree with Pieterse's general conclusion that special attention needs to be placed on integrating the poor into the broader community – no matter where in the world.

An influential tool for the promotion of urban integration is inclusionary housing (IH); which already exists internationally (Calavita, Grimes & Mallach, 1997; Beer, 2004) but, is only in its first phases in South Africa (Smit & Purchase, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006). An informative paper which guides South Africa's version of inclusionary housing is that of Smit & Purchase (2006). Inclusionary housing is a means to enable the introduction of affordable or low-income housing in development that is aimed at higher-income groups (Smit & Purchase, 2006). However, the requirements of inclusionary housing have not yet been legalised, and no singular standard for this type of housing exists (WCPG, 2006).

The literature has affirmed that space influences the identity of a community and thus the manner in which individuals or groups act toward one another: simply put: by staying in a certain area, a community gains a certain identity (Relph, 1976; Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Hence, one can assume that the population of the reconstruction and development programme (RDP) housing is immediately classed as the poorest of the poor and the previously disadvantaged, which segregates them from the broader settlement fabric. A number of policies have succeeded the RDP which guide government officials in South Africa in their constitutional mandate of building integrated settlements. Certainly, the most prominent of these is Breaking New Ground (BNG).

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

BNG sets out seven principles to be implemented in the quest for integrated, sustainable development (RSA, 2004). However, after six years of BNG's existence, evidence of integrated settlements, whether in metropolis or town, is very rare in South Africa. The question is why? And if this prominent plan has not been successful, is BNG just another Achilles heel policy which will be to the further detriment of the poor, or is it the phoenix

of housing directives which will lead South Africa out of its current segregated state? An aim and corresponding objectives were devised to solve this problem.

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study was to investigate to what extent and why the principles (one to seven) of BNG have been implemented at the local level in five of the fifteen leader towns in the Western Cape. To get a better understanding of the failures and/or successes of BNG, eight research objectives were set:

- 1.1. How are municipal officials implementing the principles of BNG, specifically in the five chosen leader towns in the Western Cape?
- 1.2. What is the relevance of BNG to non-metropolitan towns?
- 1.3. What impact has BNG had on segregated space?
- 1.4. What is the status of urban integration within municipalities? Is there cause for concern or for change?
- 1.5. What are the municipal opinions of the relevance of inclusionary housing within their areas of jurisdiction?
- 1.6. What is the current housing situation in the identified municipal areas and what is the reason for this?
- 1.7. Is place-making for low-income areas desirable or even a possibility?
- 1.8. How can BNG be made to be more efficient?

The following methodology was used in the effort of reaching the above objectives.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

The sample for this study consisted of five of the fifteen leader towns, and their corresponding municipalities, identified in the Growth Potential of Towns report for the Western Cape (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). This stemmed from the National Spatial Development Perspective (RSA, 2003). One leader town was chosen for each of the five district municipalities within the Western Cape. These were selected randomly – except for the case of the Central Karoo District which only has one town among the fifteen (Van der Merwe et al, 2005).

This study is based on qualitative research methods to describe and interpret the housing situation in municipalities. Specifically, this thesis takes on the nature of a phenomenological study and was thus based on fairly lengthy interview sessions (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006) spanning approximately two hours each. An interview schedule was used as a guideline which made provision for the exploration of any additional issues raised by the municipalities. Dicta-phones were used to capture the full extent of the conversations. Questionnaires that needed to be filled in by officials were avoided in order to

sidestep any frustration to the interview subjects. Rather, a guideline structure was drafted which listed the topics and open-ended questions to be raised during the interview (Addendum A).

Purposeful samples (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006) were taken as the managers of housing municipal departments were deemed best able to give a detailed description of the sustainable housing development within the local authority. In some instances, technical officials also formed part of the interviews as per the discretion of their managers. Officials responsible for municipal town planning were also consulted as they deal with the broader implications of housing delivery, for example, that which are raised in principles 2 (integration and densification), 3 (spatial planning), 4 (enhancing location), 5 (urban renewal), and 6 (alignment of infrastructure to the housing process) of BNG. This forms a large part of the theory behind sustainable settlements and these role players imparted valuable information. The interviewees, in general, responded well to the questions. The extent of terms of employment with the officials' (interviewed) respective municipalities varied from six months to twelve years and all of the interviewees had considerable experience in their relevant fields. These interviewees were thus able to answer most of the questions posed to them with deep insight, resulting in a unique and in-depth representation of housing delivery in the five towns.

Baseline information was gathered through desktop studies. The main documents that guide development within a municipality (spatial development frameworks, integrated development plans and housing chapters) were analysed to determine specific definitions and focus points for individual municipal housing departments. This is crucial in gaining an understanding of how each municipality interprets the requirements of BNG. In addition, this information is central to BNGs development process. If development in practice occurs dissimilarly to BNG, the information will be critical in comprehending the shortfalls of the process, and how it can be revised in order to glean a more efficient process. The research design relating to the above methodology will now be considered in conjunction with Figure 1.

1.4 RESEARCH PROCESS

This design comprises five stages – each with its own sub-phases which lead to finally solving the research problem. In chapters two and three, the literature on sustainable settlements in international and national contexts is reviewed. Chapter 4 summarises the principles for sustainable development as seen by BNG for South Africa. Chapter 5 sets the scene for the field research by profiling each town and its corresponding municipality. The results of the field research and analysis are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 gives the context and challenges of sustainable human settlement delivery per municipal area, while Chapter 7 records the effects of BNG on municipalities and on current public housing implementation according to BNG principles. The final chapter interprets the study's main findings, draws conclusions from these interpretations, highlights opportunities for further research, and sets out recommendations for housing policy in South Africa.

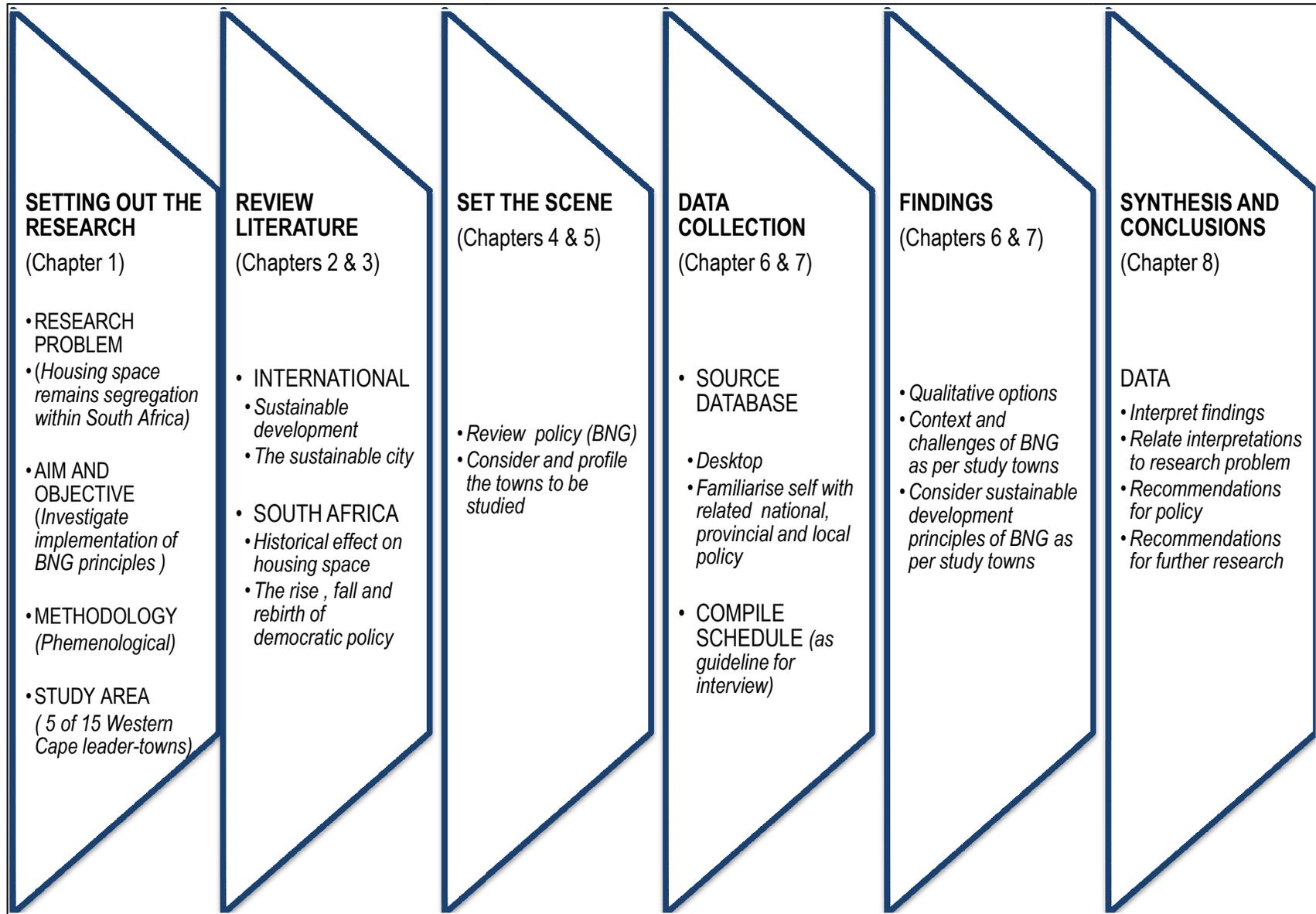


Figure 1: Research process

2 TOWARDS URBAN SUSTAINABILITY: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter seeks to uncover the meaning of integrated sustainable development and its implications for urban development by reviewing the international literature on the subject. To gain an understanding of the concept, the relevant literature has been separated into the reasoning behind sustainable development and the content concerning the paradigms that have led to the current thinking on the sustainable city. The chapter concludes with an exposition of the principles of creating a city that is in harmony with the natural world and the needs of humankind. It is important to note that each of these reviewed domains is extremely broad and it is beyond the scope of this section which is merely to give an overview of the concepts related to the research aim and objectives.

2.1 WHY SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

“We have not inherited the earth from our forefathers, but borrowed it from our children.”

Chief Seattle, in Laul (2003: 147)

During the last few decades, sustainability has become a prominent value underlying planning and development (Wheeler, 1998; Jenks & Burgess, 2000). In 1987, the so-called Brundtland Report¹ (which contains the most widely adopted definition of sustainable development) describes sustainable development as development which meets the demand of the current generation without inhibiting the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Breheny, 1992a; Muttagi, 1998; Lee & George, 2000; Zoeteman, 2000; Swilling 2004; Morse, 2008). The sustainability movement subsequently gained strength through a number of international undertakings². Notably, it was during the Rio de Janeiro³ "Earth Summit" (1992) that the city was brought into the sustainability paradigm (Sowman, 2002; Pacione, 2009). The two main reasons are first, a capitalistic economy which has been coupled with globalisation (Newman, 2007) where economic gain has often been at the expense of the natural environment (Muttagi, 1998; Laul, 2003; Portney, 2003; Runhaar, Dieperink & Driessen, 2006). Secondly, rapid urbanisation has taken place since the Industrial Revolution and cities have become synonymous with progress, thereby attracting individuals in search of greater opportunity (Johnson, 1986; Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995; Muttagi, 1998; Laul, 2003; Pacione, 2009). It has been projected that, by 2025,

¹Entitled “Our Common Future” (Swilling, 2004)

² Additional major undertakings include the Kyoto Protocol which constricted the greenhouse gas (carbon) emissions of Annex 1 (developed) countries, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002) and the United Nations Climate Change Conference (2009) – see <http://en.cop15.dk/> for more on this.

³ The Rio Declaration defines sustainability as “to equitably meet developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations.” as quoted in Lee & George (2000: 8).

65% of the world's population will be urbanised (Pacione, 2009). This urbanisation or rural-urban migration threatens sensitive urban ecosystems connected to urban areas, as well as the physical, social and economic viability of cities (Johnson, 1986; Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995; Muttagi, 1998; Laul, 2003).

2.2 SUSTAINABILITY BROKEN DOWN

Sustainable development relies on the nature of economic growth, the amount of natural resources and wastes consumed, the ability of the natural environment to absorb this waste and, the response of society toward the dynamics of the natural environment (Lee & George, 2000; Newman, 2007).

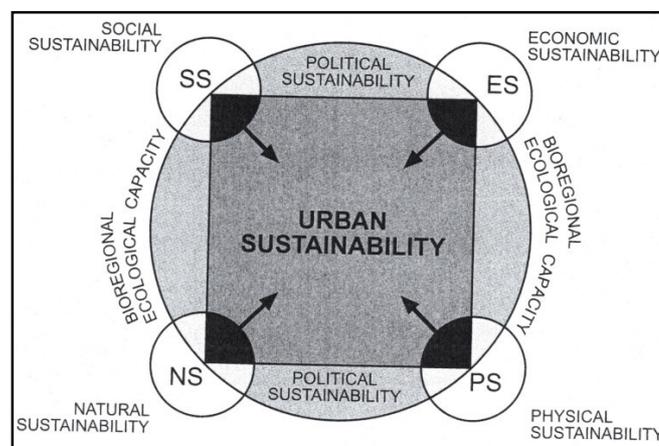


Figure 2: General dimensions of sustainability
Source: Pacione (2009: 608)

Accordingly, sustainability can be broken down into five dimensions (Figure 2) i.e. biological, social, economic, physical and good governance (Newman, 2007; Muller, 2008; Pacione, 2009). It is important to gain a clear understanding of these dimensions as the concept of sustainable cannot adequately be described without them.

2.2.1 The nurture of nature

Sustainable thinking is built on the basis that the earth's bio-system is limited in its ability to maintain life - when urban demands exceed the carrying capacity of nature, species expire (Portney, 2003; Low et al, 2007; Newman, 2007). One of the most renowned indicators of urban sustainability is Wackernagel and Rees' ecological footprint which considers the amount of land needed to absorb waste produced by human consumption (Lee & George, 2000; Gasson, 2002; Martinez-Alier, 2003; Portney, 2003; Swilling, 2004). Current climate patterns are a prime example; the earth's natural warming cycle seems to be accelerating

(known as global warming or climate change⁴). This accelerated warming might lead to the destruction of ecosystems which are not able to adapt to dramatic change – thereby endangering the survival of mankind (Satterthwaite, 1999; Low et al, 2007; Newman, 2007) which is dependent on natural resources for its survival (Swilling, 2004).

The ecological footprint can also be seen in an urban context, i.e. the urban footprint which is directly related to the city's consumption, waste production and the way in which this waste is disposed of i.e. the urban metabolism (Wheeler, 1998). Consumption that remains within the carrying capacity of nature is seen to be sustainable. However, Pacione (2009: 609) indicates that urban consumption is, in fact, not sustainable: "Cities occupy only 2 percent of the world's land surface, but use over 75 percent of the world's resources." Further, the current urban metabolism is linear (i.e. consume resources and produce waste); and does not relate to the circular (i.e. consume and be consumed) ecological metabolism (Satterthwaite, 1999). In addition, the last fifty years have seen a spike in consumption such that current needs far outweigh nature's capacity – especially in developed countries (Muttagi, 1998; Jenks, Williams & Burton, 2000; Pacione, 2009).

The sustainability concern is different for developed and developing countries. As the urban footprints of developed countries far exceed those of developing nations, the focus centres on the reduction of the footprint size of developed countries (Pacione, 2009). However, developing countries do not always have the correct technologies to cope with demands and wastes (Girardet, 1999). These nations also suffer from a lack of proper housing, public services, health care and they exhibit extreme poverty (Pacione, 2009). To address the issues faced by developing nations, collective and individual action (Portney, 2003), technological innovation (Girardet, 1999; Newman, 2007), the spreading of information regarding sustainable measures (Girardet, 1999) and good governance are critically important. Urban footprints (in both developed and developing countries) must be minimised through everyday practices, e.g. municipal recycling schemes which could encourage individuals to increase their daily recycling (Wheeler, 1998; Girardet, 1999; Portney, 2003), the stimulation of an awareness regarding everyday materials consumed such as plastic (harmful) versus glass (biodegradable), the development of brownfields as opposed to greenfields and pollution prevention schemes which arrest pollution before it occurs (Wheeler, 1998).

⁴ See Low et al (2007) for more on the climate change debate.

2.2.2 Good governance and political commitment

Political governance is the sustainability dimension responsible for the implementation of the other four dimensions (Pacione, 2009). Government directives⁵ are powerful tools for shaping the sustainable urban form (Arthurson, 2002; Katz & Turner, 2003; Kidd & Fischer, 2007; UN-HABITAT, 2009). They determine an urban region's commitment to sustainable practices (Muttagi, 1998; Portney, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2009), guide development practices and create an awareness that individual actions have an effect on the collective – the impacts of which could span many years or possibly be irreversible (Lee & George, 2000; Runhaar, Dieperink & Driessen, 2006). Good governance is especially important for developing countries. Research conducted in Brazil (Acioly, 2000; Lopes de Souza, 2003; Fernandes, 2003; Todes, 2003) and India (Acioly, 2000) have indicated that government policies can lead to vast improvements of public services, infrastructure and urban densification the extent that whole cities are metamorphosed into sustainable examples for the rest of the world. In all actions, governance must not be rigid, but should take on a more facilitative role (Newman, 1996) which involves those directly impacted by development through increased public participation (Laul, 2003; Porta & Renne, 2005).

Good governance also includes encouraging an awareness of resource consumption among individuals (Wheeler, 1998; Portney, 2003), ensures complete, integrated and affordable service delivery and protects residents from a hazardous environment (UN-HABITAT, 2009; Pieterse, 2008; Pacione, 2009). However, scholars warn that policy directives sometimes fade into the background in the face of political interests, resulting in the exploitation of land and funds, social inequality and biological decay (Breheny, 1992a; Bessis, 1995; Laul, 2003; Schonfelder & Axhausen, 2003; Pieterse, 2006).

2.2.3 Smart economic growth

Sustainability does not set economic growth against the preservation of the natural environment. Rather, it first seeks methods which promote “smart economic growth”, which is self-sustaining and does not deplete the resources of the natural environment (Satterthwaite, 1999; Portney, 2003; Low et al, 2007; Pacione, 2009). More specifically, smart growth restores ecological and social imbalances, while simultaneously preventing the practices which cause these imbalances (Wheeler, 1998; Newman, 2007). Second, it meets the needs of individuals and supplies employment opportunities coupled to decent compensation (Wheeler, 1998; Pacione, 2009). Third, it is local growth which employs local resources, produces for a local market and seeks local investment and ownership (Wheeler, 1998; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Pacione, 2009).

5 Note that the use of the term “directives” here and further on includes all programmes, policies, incentives, etc which governments employ to reach their mandates.

A current concern involves the transfer of the environmental costs produced by powerful cities to less powerful regions through exporting (food, raw materials and energy) and cross-border pollution (Satterthwaite, 1999; Jenks, Williams & Burton, 2000). This cannot be seen as sustainable economic practice and the growth of wealthy areas should never involve displacing wastes to poorer countries or cities (Pacione, 2009).

2.2.4 Integrated physical built form

Cities are the places where most economic and spatial growth will take place, where the most resources will be consumed and where the most pollution will occur (Campbell, 1999; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Masnavi, 2000; Portney, 2003). It is incumbent on city officials that sustainable practices should be concentrated on the physical built form (Breheny, 1992b; Masnavi, 2000; Low et al, 2007).

On a broader scale of the physical form, the development of a sustainable built environment requires i) a mindshift, ii) a change in development priorities, iii) the protection of local biospheres, and iv) the adoption of longer-term, more pro-active, integrated planning (Breheny, 1992b; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Sowman, 2002; Portney, 2003). On a more finite scale, buildings are points of major consumption and pollution (Breheny, 1992b), ecological destruction and social inequality (Laul, 2003). The employment of land use management and building regulations can be done to reduce the energy and water consumed as well as the wastes produced by buildings (process referred to as “smart buildings”) (Satterthwaite, 1999; Pieterse, 2008). These include, the use of insulation, natural ventilation, positioning of building relative to the sun, organic sewerage systems, solar panelling and district heating systems (Satterthwaite, 1999; Williams K, 2000; Portney, 2003; Low et al, 2007; Pieterse, 2008).

2.2.5 Social equality and cultural identity

It is important to note that the recent global changes (globalisation and capitalism specifically) have set an arena in which the decisions taken by groups are strongly influenced often leading to inequality; and the resultant phenomenon of “global winners and losers” (Kearns & Forrest, 2000: 995). Martinez-Alier (2003) sets out current examples of inequality which occurs when i) minority groups (such as non-Caucasians and the poor) are placed in areas of low or hazardous environmental quality and ii) natural resources such as water, land and housing are unfairly distributed.

Sustainability theory notes that, in order to close such socio-economic gaps, planners must advocate for the powerless and fight for equality within cities (Wheeler, 1998). However, planners are not the only role players in sustainable development which relies heavily on its acceptance by society and a concurrent willingness to accept new sustainable cultural patterns over previous unsustainable practices (Muttagi, 1998). Professed needs

stem from cultural and social practices (Wheeler, 1998; Girardet, 1999; Portney, 2003). Therefore, a stronger connection between human beings and the natural environment must be formed in order to sensitise people to the value and delicacy of ecology as well as to encourage sustainable consumption (Wheeler, 1998; Laul, 2003; Portney, 2003).

It is important to note that a critical part of sustainable development involves the embracing of nature (Pusic, 1998; Wheeler, 1998; Girardet, 1999; Hoong Sin, 2003; Laul, 2003; Pieterse, 2004b; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2009). Because the literature discusses culture in the context of the city, it will be covered in detail in section 2.6.7 below.

2.3 SUSTAINABLE? DEVELOPMENT?

Sustainable development has not escaped critique. The reasoning behind sustainable development indicates that urban development must not have a negative effect on the natural environment i.e. that development must occur within a closed system (Daly, 1990; Portney, 2003; Robinson, 2004). However, it is argued that the term “sustainable development” is an oxymoron as growth is imperative to the existence of mankind and development cannot take place without having some impact on the environment (Daly, 1990; Breheny, 1992b; Portney, 2003; Robinson, 2004). Thus, although development can never be fully sustainable, it must be considered in a responsible manner. In other words, it must i) have as little impact on nature as possible by reducing urban demand and consumption (Daly, 1990; Breheny, 1992b), ii) consider how much development would be feasible to both mankind as well as nature (Daly, 1990; Portney, 2003; Robinson, 2004) and iii) accept only certain kinds of development - which are not unduly harmful to the environment (Portney, 2003).

Although it is acknowledged that the sustainable development paradigm has brought greater awareness to the plight of the natural environment, it is considered to be ambiguous and vague (Breheny, 1992a; Campbell, 1999; Connelly & Richardson, 2005; Robinson, 2004). Further, sustainable development has a long history of inaction and minimal implementation which, coupled with much ambiguous “happy talk” (relating the vision of a utopian world), has led to a great sense of disillusion amongst supposed beneficiaries (Muller, 2006). The literature (Muttagi, 1998; Zoeteman, 2000; Swilling, 2004; Kidd & Fischer, 2007) also warns that developing nations must not follow the same route as that of developed nations where economic growth was believed to be more important than environmental or social issues which were often sacrificed in the name of economic strengthening.

Finally, sustainable development theory implies an integrated approach which includes all those affected by development (Campbell, 1999; Sowman, 2002; Portney, 2003). Instead, implementation has commenced in a piecemeal and rather technical fashion, focusing on precincts or individual sites, eventually leading to segregation and inequality (Jenks & Burgess, 2000).

2.4 PRE- SUSTAINABLE CITIES

Many of today's planning principles for the sustainable city⁶ stem from the works of Ebenezer Howard and Charles le Corbusier (Wheeler, 1998; Martinez-Alier, 2003). It is helpful to have a brief account of these paradigms to better grasp the principles underlying the sustainable city.

2.4.1 Howard's garden city (1898)

In response to the overcrowded cities of the 1800s, Ebenezer Howard formulated the concept of the garden or green city (Figure 3). Central to this model was the reasoning that cities must be developed in accordance with natural systems (Pacione, 2009). Therefore, this model was situated on the rural periphery; thereby incorporating the economic and social opportunities of the city with rural serenity. Simply, the Garden City comprised of a large central park (with public buildings), encircled by retail and residential activities, which in turn, were surrounded by large tracts of agricultural land. These cities were linked to one another - as well as to central social cities - by means of railway lines (Howard, 1898; Campbell, 1999; Martinez-Alier, 2003).

2.4.2 Modernism: Le Corbusier's contemporary city (1922)

The twentieth century and corresponding industrial age led to the rise of the modernist movement which preferred efficiency, order and mass production to Howard's urban-rural balance (Martinez-Alier, 2003; LeGates & Stout, 2007b). All urban space was seen to be alike and thus receptive to a single planning form which encouraged large motorways and the use of private transportation (Pieterse, 2004b; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006). The most famous modernist model is Le Corbusier's contemporary city⁷ (Figure 4) which set out a rigid gridiron street pattern and four main land uses, i.e. housing (often taking the form of high-rise mega structures built purely for efficiency), employment, recreation and transport – all of which were developed in distinctly separated zones (Le Corbusier, 1929; Gold, 1998; Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006).

⁶ Sustainable urban development can be defined as “development that improves the long-term social and ecological health of cities and towns” (Wheeler, 1998: 504) or “those cities, towns, villages and their communities, which enable us to live in a manner that supports the state of sustainability and the principles of sustainable development.” (Du Plessis, 2002: 3) or “a city that works so that all its citizens are able to meet their own needs without endangering the well-being of the natural world or the living conditions of other people, now or in the future” (Girardet, 1999: 419).

⁷ Also known as the functional city – see Gold (1998)

known as new urbanism which favours diversity, integration, mixed uses and conservation of ecology over the standardisation of Le Corbusier's model (Breheny, 1992b; Gordon & Richardson, 2007).

2.4.4 New urbanism and the regional city

“Forget the damned motor car and build the cities for lovers and friends”

Lewis Mumford

Howard's model was later reinvented in the regional city model which consists of contained, medium size, mixed use suburban-neighbourhoods (with a clear centre and edge) which act as nodes. These nodes are integrated on a regional scale with other nodes via transit corridors (usually light rail); both of which are surrounded by large belts of green space (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1993; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001; Talen, 2002; Gordon & Richardson, 2007). The regional city is supported by new urbanism theorists such as Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes (Martinez-Alier, 2003; Pacione, 2009) and is one of the most influential theories of current planning practice (Talen, 2002).

New urbanists argue that nodes lessen traffic jamming as walking is encouraged by dense, mixed-use neighbourhoods. Further, the need to travel long distances is reduced through residential and commercial interaction in nodal areas (Masnavi, 2000; Talen, 2002). Newman (1996) states that the creation of nodes - linked by light rail transit - in sprawling suburbs is a plausible means of densifying suburban areas (which cannot be rebuilt). The multi-nodal city is also conducive to the information age as transit corridors are able to support centres (known as “technoburbia”) of intensive human interaction (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1993; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Gordon & Richardson, 2007). The concepts of social equity, promotion of quality of life, creation of diverse communities, preservation of cultural identity, stimulation of socio-economic integration and equitable distribution of space and public services lie central to new urbanism (Duany & Plater-Zyberk, 1993; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001; Talen 2002). Although some of the principles of new urbanism are reflected in the literature⁹ on sustainable cities, a more compact city is favoured over the dispersed form of the regional model. The next section considers why this is so and sets out the concept of the sustainable city in detail.

⁹ See section 2.6.

2.5 SUSTAINABLE CITIES: ASSISTED BY THE COMPACT CITY MODEL

“...unless we learn the true meaning of planning which is the introduction of diversity and variety into a meaningful pattern, we will succeed in making our cities unliveable, unworkable places of infernal sameness, plagued by the discomforts arising from the shocking lack of the basic necessities of life – a fate which, in fantasy, is better known as hell!”

Laul (2003: 141)

The compact city model is attributed as being the most sustainable in the literature¹⁰ (Burton, 2000; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Jenks & Burgess, 2000; Masnavi, 2000). The compact model is based on an overall, strategic approach with a strong focus on humanity and the natural environment (Jenks & Burgess, 2000; Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001; Hoong Sin, 2003; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006). The compact city model is comprised of certain principles which promote sustainable urban development. These are considered next.

2.6 PRINCIPLES OF THE SUSTAINABLE CITY

In short, sustainable urban development should comprise a compact urban form, mixed land use, less automobile dependency, safeguarding and restoring the natural environment, proper housing, community participation, an understanding of local culture and identity, social equality and integration (Bessis, 1995; Satterthwaite, 1999; Wheeler, 1998; Jenks & Burgess, 2000; Newman, 2007).

2.6.1 Densify and condense

Modernistic planning, coupled with subsequent globalisation, led to the centrifugal processes known as suburbanisation/sprawl which are highly unsustainable as they eat away at natural ecosystems and scarce resources on the urban hinterland (Breheny, 1992b; Wheeler, 1998; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Martinez-Alier, 2003). Sprawl is prevalent in many global cities – both developed and undeveloped – and is targeted by implementing land use controls which increase urban density (Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Pieterse, 2004b; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006; Pacione, 2009). Such controls include implementing an urban edge¹¹, taxation policies and densification strategies (Wheeler, 1998; Jenks & Burgess, 2000). Densification encourages social interaction, public transport systems and other means of travel (walking, skating etc) which all encourage sustainability¹² (Masnavi, 2000). Densification is especially important in the inner city and adjacent areas in

¹⁰ It is noteworthy that the compact form occurs extensively in Europe (Breheny, 1992; Masnavi, 2000) while USA cities are mostly characterised by a decentralised model (Masnavi, 2000).

¹¹ An urban edge is an important organising feature which separates two entities (built and natural) or regions indicating relationship between the two, simultaneously containing urban development (Lynch, 1960).

¹² See Section 2.6.3.

order to protect the surrounding rural area (Burton, 2000) by developing brownfield sites (infill development) rather than peripheral greenfields (Williams K, 2000; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Gordon & Richardson, 2007). Further, inner cities have an existing infrastructural base which is conducive to mixed land use, which in turn encourages pedestrianism and allows for a public transport system. Inner cities are also prospective economic and cultural hubs (Porter, 1995; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000). Revitalising the inner city involves the gentrification of historic buildings and streets, the encouragement of street festivals and local art exhibitions, local investment and the provision of housing for a range of income groups (Burton, 2000; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000).

However, research has revealed that a dense form is equated with a lack of privacy (Masnavi, 2000), a higher prevalence of pollution, increased noise (De Roo & Miller, 2000), a lack of living space (Burton, 2000; De Roo & Miller, 2000), and general overcrowding (Breheny, 1992b; Williams K, 2000). Conversely, suburbs offer a stronger sense of community (Talen, 2002; Gordon & Richardson, 2007) and a higher quality of life¹³ which is sought after by professionals or the wealthy (Breheny, 1992b; Jenks, Williams & Burton, 2000; Williams K, 2000). Another motivation for suburbanisation is that greener suburbs are often chosen over inner cities if the latter are perceived to have lost touch with the natural environment. The revival of natural systems in inner cities may entice suburban dwellers back into the inner city (Wheeler, 1998). British inner city policies have realised the importance of this and they make provision for inner city housing units with access to their own gardens (Masnavi, 2000). Interestingly, urban quality of life is enhanced by a second sustainable city principle, namely intensification.

2.6.2 Intensify through mixed land use

Intensification promotes urban lifestyle through enhanced vibrancy, social equity, socio-economic integration, and effortless access to public services and employment opportunities (Burton, 2000; Masnavi, 2000). It also limits dependence on private vehicles, thereby decreasing pollution levels and contributing to a healthier social and ecological environment (Breheny, 1992b; Masnavi, 2000). Mixed land-use entails a diversity of land uses, for example placing commercial activities within residential areas (Masnavi, 2000; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006). This, in turn, leads to a balanced and stimulating city (Burton, 2000; Williams K, 2000; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006). Intensification also promotes security as it leads to an increased degree of human presence and observation (Masnavi, 2000). However, research results tell us that the public claim to feel safer in suburbs possessing a prevalent sense of community (Burton, 2000; Williams K, 2000; Talen, 2002).

¹³ *Quality of living is important as “cities have to be places where people want to live. Unless cities are perceived as high quality environments there is little chance that they will ever be sustainable” (Jenks, Williams & Burton, 2000: 18).*

2.6.3 Minimise car dependency, maximise public transport

Cities cannot be sustainable if they are car-dependent (Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Newman, 2007). Research has shown that to transport one person in a sprawling city consumes approximately ten times more energy than in a more compact urban form (Martinez-Alier, 2003; Newman, 2007). Moreover, a high prevalence of automobiles increases the urban footprint and aggravates urban concerns such as pollution, road congestion, sprawl, social fragmentation, ecological destruction (Breheny, 1992b; Newman, 1996; Wheeler, 1998; Burton, 2000; Martinez-Alier, 2003; Portney, 2003). The increased consumption of oil (a limited natural resource) is an additional negative effect (Newman, 2007). Table 1 provides an expanded list of such environmental concerns.

Table 1: Concerns of automobile dependant cities

ENVIRONMENTAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oil vulnerability • Photochemical smog • Toxic emissions such as lead and benzene • High greenhouse gas contributions • Urban sprawl • Greater storm-water problems from extra hard surfaces • Traffic problems such as noise and severance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External costs from accidents and pollution • Congestion costs, despite endless road building • High infrastructure costs in new sprawling suburbs • Loss of productive rural land • Loss of urban land to bitumen 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loss of street life • Loss of community • Loss of public safety • Isolation in remote suburbs • Access problems for carless and those with disabilities

Source: Newman & Kenworthy (2000: 109).

In order to resolve these problems, people must be brought closer to their destinations through mixed land use and a finer urban fabric (Wheeler, 1998; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Pieterse, 2004b; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006). The finer the density of a city, the cheaper it is to run public transit, thereby decreasing the number of private cars in a city (Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Burton, 2000). Improved public transit, planning for other forms of mobility (bicycles, walking, roller-skating etc) and incentives to reduce one-person-one-car trips (vehicle taxing, toll gates, higher parking fees) are other means of decreasing the number of vehicles within an urban structure (Wheeler, 1998; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000; Portney, 2003).

2.6.4 Stimulate housing affordability and opportunities

“One of the main purposes of cities and towns is to create decent places for people to live, and if these do not exist or are not affordable, the urban system is bound to suffer.”

Wheeler (1998: 505)

The human need for adequate shelter is considered a main urban dimension in the Agenda 21 (Pacione, 2009) and is an integral part of the function of cities (Wheeler, 1998; Satterthwaite, 1999; Pieterse, 2008). In the

developing and developed worlds, many residential areas are homogeneous, unsightly and automobile dependent (Wheeler, 1998; Laul, 2003), creating an unhealthy and deficient style of living. In many developing countries, the scale of housing demand far exceeds the supply; which inevitably ends in the homeless occupying peripheral green spaces. This places strain on the urban ecology and leads to further impoverishment of the poor through increased travel expenses and decreased access to economic opportunities (Johnson, 1986; Muttagi, 1998; Du Plessis, 2002; Katz & Turner, 2003; Laul, 2003; Newman, 2007).

A sustainable housing settlement must provide access to open space, be pedestrian friendly¹⁴, be located within easy reach of shops as well as other facilities, and have access to public transport (Wheeler, 1998; Burton, 2000; Katz & Turner, 2003; Kleinhans, 2004). Residential areas must also offer a range of different tenures, densities and options (Jenks & Burgess, 2000; Pieterse, 2004b; Pieterse, 2008). It is noteworthy that high-density housing encourages equity as it offers different tenures, affordability and close proximity to services (Masnavi, 2000; Burton, 2000). However, the compact city has been characterised by soaring property prices due to space limitation (Breheny, 1992b) and thus fails to offer enough affordable housing (Breheny, 1992b; Burton, 2000; Gordon & Richardson, 2007).

Solutions to the affordable housing shortage include using infill development for housing provision, government assistance (through construction and subsidies), non-profit development, land use regulations and redistribution formulae, for example requiring private developers to include a percentage of affordable units within higher and middle income residential developments (herefore referred to as inclusionary housing) (Wheeler, 1998; Kleinhans, 2004; Pieterse, 2008). Because inclusionary housing (IH) forms a vital part of this research (see objective 5), it is necessary to consider this topic in more detail by defining it, considering the nature of the programmes, directive and incentives which should be coupled to it, and dwelling on the IH percentages required from developers.

2.6.4.1 Inclusionary housing defined

IH obliges private developers to allocate a percentage of projects (over a certain value) for very low, low or middle income housing (Calavita, Grimes & Mallach, 1997; Beer, 2004; Smit & Purchase, 2006). The main justification for this tool is found in compact city principles, namely; placing the poor in areas with better facilities can improve their lifestyle and promote integration among income groups. In addition, IH has the potential to greatly increase the availability of affordable housing (Katz & Turner, 2003; Brunick, 2004). However, IH cannot be regarded as the answer to the housing needs of the poor (Calavita, Grimes & Mallach,

¹⁴ See Section 2.6.3

1997; Katz & Turner, 2003) because housing in itself cannot revitalise a deprived community (Katz & Turner, 2003). Therefore, IH must be coupled to a range of tools to break the poverty cycle (Calavita, Grimes & Mallach, 1997). A concern about IH development is that it decreases the value of surrounding properties (Brunick, 2004). Nonetheless, research has shown that countries (such as the USA) which allow for flexibility (different tenures, housing options, percentage requirements and locations) do not experience land devaluation (Smit & Purchase, 2006). Additional strengths and weaknesses of inclusionary housing as set out by the literature are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Positives and negatives of inclusionary housing

POSITIVES	NEGATIVES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The supply of proper housing is increased – and often located close to areas of economic opportunity and social facilities. • Travel costs are subsequently lessened. • Sprawl is inhibited through denser developments and density bonuses. • Open spaces are protected while higher densities allow for more efficient transport networks. • Mandatory IH allows for a predictable and stable environment as developers will always know what is required of them. • IH is a powerful tool used in the creation of integrated societies. • IH acts as a centrifugal force and densification tool in poverty zones – which often occupy inner city areas. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public burden of the provision of social housing is shifted onto the private sector which does not make a profit out of affordable housing. This could also lessen the production of private housing. • IH is opposed by difficult socio-economic issues such as racial and class prejudice, political power struggles and a need for a large amount of monitoring on a local level. • There is often a lack of fiscal and human capacity amongst local authorities to manage and ensure the provision of IH. • IH does not make provision for elements (lack of land, high land values, developer fees and tedious planning procedures) which lead to high housing costs. • The supply offered by IH is small relative to the demand. • IH can be seen as taxation by developers who are required to ‘donate’ large sums of money.

Sources: Calavita, Grimes & Mallach, 1997; Beer, 2004; Brunick, 2004; Smit & Purchase, 2006

As can be seen from Table 2, there are both strong motives for and against IH. It can also be deduced that developers are among the most influenced and influential role-players of this housing typology and thus, implementers of IH will have to take developers’ role into serious consideration.

2.6.4.2 Dealing with developers: Programmes, directives and incentives

In order to avoid confusion or conflict, the context of IH must be clearly defined and include i) the number of inclusionary units required from developers, ii) a range of tenure types (full ownership, rental stock etc.) and iii) who is responsible for which aspect of development (Smit & Purchase, 2006). Reasonable requirement percentages must be defined for each programme. A small requirement would range from ten to fifteen percent of the total number of units designed for a development project (Smit & Purchase, 2006). See Table 3 for the ranges instated by various countries.

Table 3: Inclusionary housing requirements for a variation of countries

COUNTRY/PROVINCE/CITY	% AFFORDABLE HOUSING REQUIRED BY DEVELOPERS
USA	4% to 35% (average of 13% for rental units) 10% to 20% (most common 10% for ownership)
Belgium	20%
United Kingdom	25% to 30%
Malaysia	30%
Vancouver, Canada	20%

Source: Smit & Purchase, 2006

Developers can construe IH as a type of taxation (recall Table 2). Thus, incentives (such as density bonuses and zoning allowances) must be made available to counterbalance the costs of IH (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997; Beer, 2004; Brunick, 2004; Smit & Purchase, 2006). Alternatives must also be available to developers; for example, in lieu fees¹⁵, land dedications¹⁶, credit transfers¹⁷, and off-site construction¹⁸ (Arthurson, 2002; Katz & Turner, 2003). Policies must provide for a consideration of the merits of each development separately, but within a national policy framework (WCPG, 2006; Smit & Purchase, 2006). However, Brunick (2004) warns that decisions made on a case-by-case merit might lessen the predictability of IH - which could thus confuse developers (recall Table 2). Policies must also protect low-income lessees from high market values, by keeping rental costs within range of low-income renters. This usually requires a period of 10 to 20 years and ownership units should be dealt with in a similar manner (Smit & Purchase, 2006). Inclusionary units must also be similar to the façade of the rest of the development (Smit & Purchase, 2006) and must not continue to create “miniature, and often isolated, low-income enclaves within suburbia” (Calavita, Grimes & Mallach, 1997: 110). On the opposite spectrum, Katz & Turner (2003) note that programmes must avoid placing affordable housing in very-low income areas as research has demonstrated that living in such a community can challenge the well-being of low or medium-income families.

2.6.5 Protect urban ecology

Green space (parks, gardens and rivers) is important for the promotion of a healthy urban microclimate as it acts as an asylum for fauna and flora, and absorbs harmful carbon dioxide (Breheny, 1992b; Jenks & Burgess,

15 The cost per affordable unit, contributed by a developer, which will be used by an external body to build social units elsewhere (Smit & Purchase, 2006).

16 Developers transfer a portion of land which is large enough to accommodate the number of units as required instead of the construction of housing units on-site (Smit & Purchase, 2006).

17 If a developer has more than one project under IH requirements, some of the projects may incorporate more IH units than the others as long as the total percentage is provided for (Smit & Purchase, 2006).

18 The developer can build new units off-site or restore existing structures (Smit & Purchase, 2006).

2000; Pieterse, 2004b). The restoration of green areas within a city also improves the lifestyle and health factor offered by a city and reminds city dwellers that they live within a larger natural environment¹⁹ (Wheeler, 1998; Laul, 2003).

The literature contains much criticism (Breheny, 1992b; Wheeler, 1998; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Masnavi, 2000; Burton, 2000) against the compact city in this respect as this model cannot properly accommodate green areas. The degradation of natural urban systems and a reduction of quality of life are direct results. Breheny (1992b), adds to this criticism by asserting that the compact city model i) ignores rural economic development as well as the values of this area; ii) has no regard for the right of choice to live in dispersed areas; and iii) hinders sustainable consumption practices such as wind turbines and solar panels which cannot be used in dense areas. An important aspect of sustainable environmental development is making humans aware of sustainability ideals and gaining their support for such development practices (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Laul, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 2009). The next section considers the importance of community involvement in more detail.

2.6.6 Get the community involved

According to sustainability theory, participation is imperative as it empowers communities by allowing them to make the decisions affecting their existence and also provides access to information regarding their future (Campbell, 1999; Marais & Krige, 1997; Jenks, Williams & Burton, 2000; Bishop & Davies, 2002; Pieterse, 2004b; Robinson, 2004). Further, participation limits the possibility that the poor will be ignored by the more powerful high income sector (Pieterse, 2008). Moreover, community involvement prevents political gain from being the guiding force behind development (Sowman, 2002). Therefore, urban management policies (whether at global, regional or local scale) must always be linked to in-depth public participation (Wheeler, 1998; Pieterse, 2004b). However, public participation has often been done with the purpose of complying with statutory regulations rather than with a mind to empower the public – thereby serving purely as a smokescreen that devalues the public’s influence (King, Feltey & Susel, 1998; Bishop & Davies, 2002). The next principle of sustainability is less tangible, but no less important.

2.6.7 Incorporate place, local culture and identity

“But a city is more than a place in space, it is a drama in time.”

Patrick Geddes

¹⁹ See Section 2.6.7 about the importance of this.

Geddes' mention of "a drama in time" can be tied to the cultures, identities, intellectual assets, creativity, and unique relationships²⁰ prevalent in a city. The "drama" of a city adds to sustainability (Wheeler, 1998; Girardet, 1999) as it promotes vitality, vibrancy and multiplicity within urban place – which in turn creates a sense of place and a common identity amongst residents (Pusic, 1998; Pieterse, 2004b; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006).

Human interaction is crucial to many cultural and economic practices as innovation often requires face-to-face contact (Breheny, 1992b; Newman & Kenworthy, 2000). Following on this, the compact inner city has been shown to be a hub of cultural diversity – especially in European cities (Williams K, 2000). Sustainable development has been criticised for threatening individuality as it (Muttagi, 1998; Pusic, 1998; Wheeler, 1998) imposes a western (capitalist) way of thinking on the global society. Ritzer (2003) refers to this as "McDonaldization" after the American fast food branch. In order to prevent McDonaldization, the preservation of local culture and urban identity (through place-making) (Pusic, 1998) must be the beneficiary of motivated government effort (Wheeler, 1998; Newman, 2007) coupled to a clear understanding of dynamics of the urban context (Hillier, 1996; Pieterse, 2004b).

Because one of the objectives of this study is to determine the relevance of place-making in low-income residential areas, it is necessary to delve deeper into the concept of place-making. Sense of place²¹ or place-making is the perceptions of individuals or groups of a certain place and the significance those places have for the group or individual (Relph, 1976; Massey, 1994; Shamaï & Ilatov, 2005). Place is not only shaped by the emotions and perceptions of groups and individuals, but also by the cultural, social and economic milieu in which these groups and individuals live (Massey, 1994). Relph (1976: 1) puts this aptly by saying: "To be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant place: to be human is to have to know your place." It is from these perceptions and meanings are tied to a place, that a certain identity can stem (Relph, 1976; Massey, 1994; Devine-Wright, 2009; Shamaï & Ilatov, 2005). The place in which one stays also influences how one acts toward other people (Relph, 1976; Shamaï & Ilatov, 2005). Therefore, sense of place promotes social equality and integration²² (Burton, 2000; UN-HABITAT, 2009). In other words, place influences identity. This is similar to postmodern thinking that man's identity shapes the space around him²³. Therefore it can be deduced that space and identity are circularly intertwined. This relationship has great potential for equality planning – especially in the destigmatisation and socio-economic integration of poor developments. However, the disregard of identity can also lead to the creation of 'places for the poor' which by its very definition is

²⁰ *Between individuals as well as between individuals and the built environment (Wheeler, 1998).*

²¹ *'Place' is a combination of the physical characteristics of associated meaning and emotions created by a specific area (Devine-Wright, 2009).*

²² *Sustainability principles. See sections 2.6.8 and 2.6.9 for more on this.*

²³ *See Section 2.4.3*

discriminative and out of line with sustainability principles. Place-making is seldom a clear-cut concept (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Nonetheless, certain practical considerations (as summarised in Figure 5) are available to assist planners in the creation of positive place.

2.6.8 Fight for social equality

One of the main principles underlying sustainability is equality (Muttagi, 1998; Burton, 2000; De Roo & Miller, 2000). A socially equitable city has three qualities: i) it is one in which all people are fairly subjected to opportunities which allow them to reach their full potential (Newman, 2007; Pacione, 2009), ii) it ensures access to affordable housing for all (Burton, 2000; Gordon & Richardson, 2007) and iii) it equally distributes basic resources and public services (Talen, 2002; Pacione, 2009). The compact city is especially conducive in assisting the poor in accessing public services as it brings the former away from the periphery through a compact form, offers access to economic opportunity through mixed use and housing tenures, and provides access to a public transport system (and limited trip distances) (Newman, 1996; Burton, 2000; De Roo & Miller, 2000; Jenks & Burgess, 2000; Louw & Bruinsma, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2009). Currently, there is much inequality and segregation in cities across the globe - even in the more advanced countries such as the USA, Sweden (Brama, 2008), and the United Kingdom (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). In both developed and developing countries, segregation has a long history in changing the form of cities (Wheeler, 1998; Martinez-Alier, 2003). Globalisation has worsened the effects of inequality in developing countries as the rich have greater access (than the poor) to the resources (education, information and financial opportunity) necessary to harness capitalism (Muttagi, 1998; Burton, 2000). A typical example of this is where the poor are regulated to environments of reduced ecological quality²⁴ (Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Timberlake, 2000; Girard, 2003). To close this socio-economic gap, the empowerment of individuals, increased urban opportunities integrating communities must be constant development aims (Wheeler, 1998; Martinez-Alier, 2003).

²⁴ See section 2.3.5.

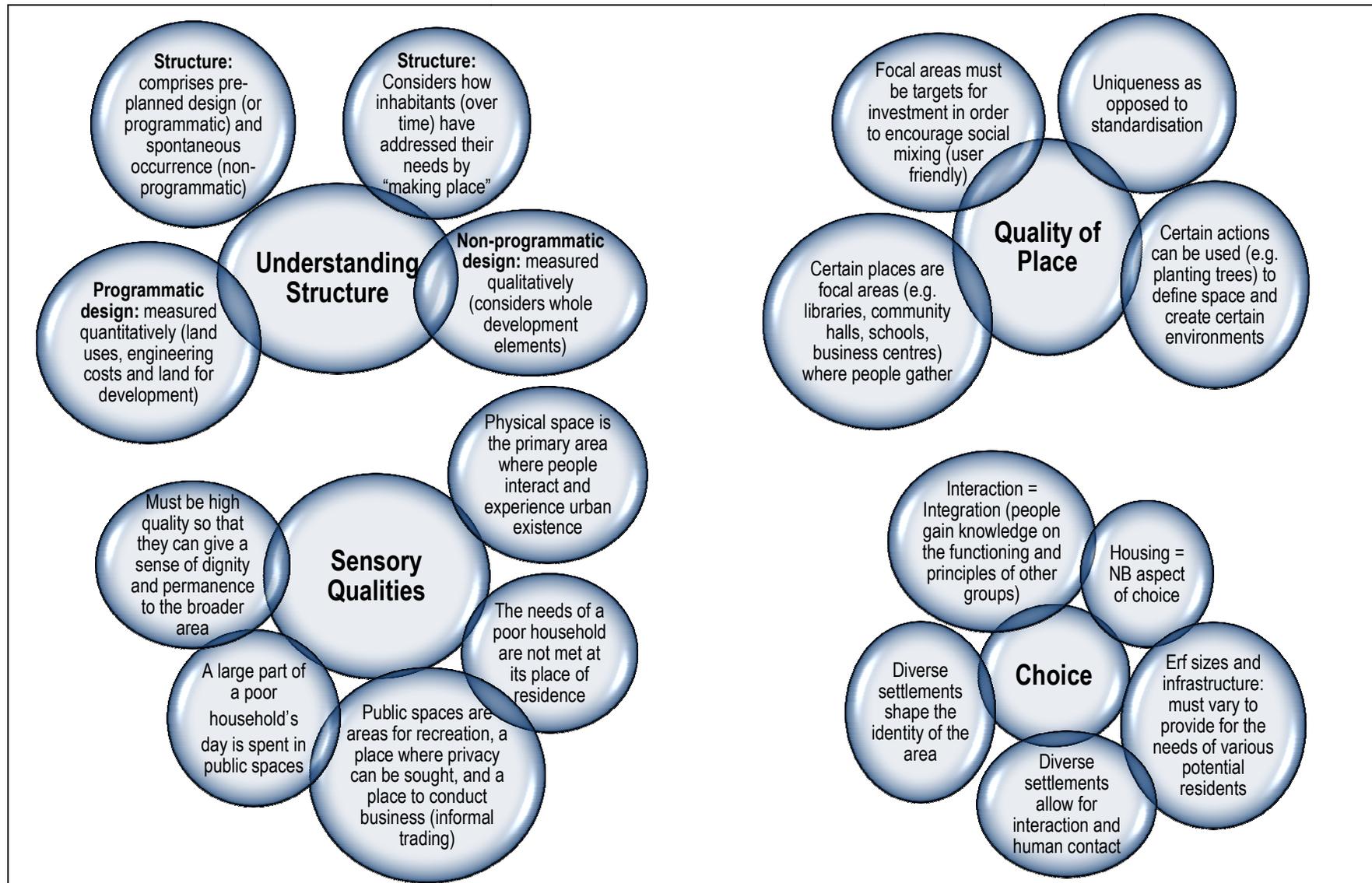


Figure 5: Practical considerations for place-making

Source: Adapted from Behrens & Watson, 1996; CSIR, 2000; CSIR, 2003

2.6.9 Integrate mankind

A sustainable community²⁵ will have a greater degree of socio-economic²⁶ integration (Muttagi, 1998; Burton, 2000). There are many definitions regarding social integration (Friedkin, 2004), but essentially, it is a society which functions in cohesion (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). In a socially cohesive group, the actions of individuals are heavily influenced by the greater group (Kearns & Forrest, 2000; Friedkin, 2004). This concept can be traced back to the 1870s, and it was a focus point of the development of New Towns in the post-war (World War II) effort – a time that was characterised by social disorder, increasing levels of crime, and the breakdown of the family structure (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Ownership tenure promotes a more sustainable and self-motivated community than rental tenure and owners provide stability into the community (Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Newman, 2008).

Poor areas (including housing estates for lower-income groups) are often stigmatised and, as a result, individuals are discriminated against in terms of employment, credit access and education - relating to social exclusion (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Brama, 2008). Poor settlements are often excluded from the external society (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Forrest, Poulsen & Johnston, 2009) mainly because these areas are related to economic disadvantage (Schwartz & Tajbakhsh, 1997; Forrest, Poulsen & Johnston, 2009) and are likely to experience urban decay, increased crime levels, drug abuse, disrepair and a number of other social problems (Timberlake, 2000).

Social capital occurs when individuals form relationships and identities through common principles and values. These relationships are then formulated into informal or formal networks through which, i) a sense of trust is built (Wallis, 1996), ii) opportunities are made available to members (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Arthurson, 2002), and iii) greater understanding between different groups is promoted through increased contact (Kleinhans, 2004). Social networks are important as they offer opportunities to their members (Wallis, 1996; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). They are stronger amongst higher income groups than lower income groups and single parent households (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). However, Arthurson (2002) warns that, although increased contact leads to social mixing, it does not necessarily lead to social integration. Policies which encourage contact between mixed income groups might only lead to increased awareness of income and enhance class differences among groups.

²⁵ In this case defined as a community which adheres to the principles of sustainability (see above).

²⁶ Note that physical integration has been discussed above under “intensification” which also known as mixed land-use.

2.6.10 Obstacles to socio-economic integration

Various obstacles to socio-economic²⁷ integration are recorded in the literature. For convenience sake, these have been grouped under four headings: lifestyle or need, ethnicity or race, poverty, and segregation. They are discussed in turn.

2.6.10.1 *Lifestyle and need*

Different individuals have different spatial needs which often dictate where an individual settles within a region or city. These needs are influenced by, i) land and housing prices (Mulder, 2007), ii) ease of access to facilities (such as hospitals) and ease of movement through the urban form (Pieterse, 2006; Mulder, 2007), iii) safer or more exclusive areas, and iv) place attachments, i.e. personal sentimentality regarding an area (Pieterse, 2006; Oh & Kim, 2009). Further, it has been found that less family-oriented households tend to live in central urban areas, while those with families seek the quieter lifestyle offered by the suburbs or rural areas (Mulder, 2007). New urbanism as a proud supporter of lifestyle, has been criticised for creating decentralised elitists who “care more for nostalgia and middle-class amenity than the needs of working people and depressed inner-city neighbourhoods” (Calthorpe & Fulton, 2001: 343), thus demoting the principles of socio-economic integration.

2.6.10.2 *Ethnicity or race*

These are important factors in the study of the integration of urban sectors (Mesch, 2002; Mulder, 2007). It has been reported that people will avoid integrating racially if they feel their prospective neighbours are disagreeable to their social context, for example being poor, uneducated, criminals or newcomers (Timberlake, 2000; Durrheim, 2005). When households move into a new city, they have a tendency to cluster with those of similar ethnicity (Mesch, 2002; Mulder, 2007; Brama, 2008). They do so in order to assist the process of settling into a new environment, attaining an opportunity of employment through existing ethnic networks, and to find shelter during times when attitudes towards migrants are not favourable (Mesch, 2002; Brama, 2008). This clustering can impede the process of integration of the newcomer into the wider society. The reason is that opportunities to learn the mannerisms of the larger society (which are crucial for the integration into society), like local language and cultural practices, are diminished by ethnic clustering (Forrest & Johnston, 2001). However, it has been argued that homogeneous societies are not necessarily bad if they proffer choice to their inhabitants, making their stay voluntary (Kleinhans, 2004).

²⁷ Note that this section excludes physical integration and concentrates on issues which influence socio-economic integration.

2.6.10.3 Poverty

Unemployment removes dignity and status within a community leading to the weakening of ties between that individual and his/her community, as well as a subsequent unravelling of the urban social fabric (Bessis, 1995; Castel, 2000; Forrest, Poulsen & Johnston, 2009). Put simply, this means that poverty leads to the breakdown of relationships and the inability to establish bonds within a community; hence pitching the individual or community into a limbo of sorts – or a “social no-man’s-land” (Castel, 2000: 520).

2.6.10.4 Segregation

Segregation had been defined as the confinement of certain societies to certain areas through separation methods (such as physical intimidation, policy goals or political ideals); also excluding them from certain spaces (Bessis, 1995; Hoong Sin, 2003; Pieterse, 2006). The restriction of the movements of certain groups – often as a result of income differences - can also be classified as segregation (Pieterse, 2006; Pieterse, 2008). Individuals who are most vulnerable to segregation include “paupers, the infirm, beggars, vagrants, aged or sick people with no means of support, orphaned children, unprotected mothers and widows, landless peasants, homeless city dwellers, jobless labourers, the rejects of economic growth and the casualties of civilization” (Castel, 2000: 519). Bessis (1995) agrees with this list, but adds any person who is deprived of access to assets such as property. From this one can deduce that segregation plays a large role in defining the gap between the rich and the poor; leading to what Calavita, Grimes & Mallach (1997: 109) refer to as “conditions of... hopelessness and despair”. As mentioned before, highways have also contributed to the fragmentation of communities. The urban form can also promote segregation, especially if the poor are continued to be located on the urban periphery²⁸.

2.7 SUMMARY: DRAWING THE SUSTAINABLE CITY

“Every increment of construction must be made in such a way as to heal the city”

Alexander (Wheeler, 1998: 508)

The principles of sustainable development are summarised in Table 4. The concept of sustainability can be separated into five dimensions. The first seeks to create a relationship of respect and balance between the earth’s biosystem and urban demands (Table 4) to ensure the continued existence of the world’s species (including human beings). The second is responsible for the management of the other four dimensions and seeks commitment by urban and world leaders to sustainable practices.

²⁸ See Section 2.6.8

Table 4: Constraints and benefits of sustainable theory and the compact city

Principle	DESCRIPTION	BENEFITS	CONSTRAINTS
Densify and Condense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Densifies urban uses through: Urban edge, taxation policies & densification strategies and Infill development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Protects natural systems on periphery from sprawl Stimulates social interaction Encourages public transit and other means of travel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Higher prevalence of pollution (intense activities) Lack of living space General overcrowding However, suburbs (less dense areas): Offer a higher quality of life Are sought after by professionals or the wealthy Are perceived to be safer Offer more space and ecology
Intensify Through Mixed Land Use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Diversifies land use (e.g. business, and public facilities within a residential area) Seeks a finer urban fabric 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Promotes urban lifestyle: vibrancy, social equity, socio-economic integration and access to public services and jobs Accessibility to public facilities and services Limits car dependence Less pollution (fewer private cars) Increased environmental quality Safer: more human observation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suburbs said to have a higher sense of community
Minimise Car Dependency, Maximise Public Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved public transit and planning for other forms of mobility (bicycles, walking, roller-skating) Reduces one-person one-car trips through incentives e.g. toll gates and parking fees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Decreases car dependency Reduces urban footprint Less pollution (less cars) Higher environmental quality Alleviates congestion Combats sprawl Social integration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Limits the choice to use a private car
Stimulate Low-Cost Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increases housing supply Offers range of housing tenures, densities and options Promotes high-density housing Provides access to open space, located within reach of shops Access to public transport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: Removes strain from urban ecology Decreases poverty Provides access to economic opportunity Offers solutions to the affordable housing shortage like inclusionary housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compact city: increases property prices due to space limitation Cannot offer enough affordable housing due to compact form

<p style="text-align: center;">Protect the Urban Micro Environment</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of a healthy urban microclimate • Restoration of green urban areas • Creates relationship between humans and natural environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact city: Improves lifestyle • Healthier city • Protects fauna and flora • Decreases CO2 through more green space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact city: not enough green space • Ignores development and values of rural areas • Hinders certain sustainable consumption practices
<p style="text-align: center;">Incorporate Place, Local Culture and Identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restores importance of cultures and local relationships • Realises that space and identity are inseparable • Supports equality planning and destigmatisation • Sets out practical tools for positive place-making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact city: Promotes vitality, vibrancy and multiplicity within urban areas • Creates common identity • Promotes social integration • Promotes creativity and innovation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable development: imposes a western capitalist way of thinking which threatens culture
<p style="text-align: center;">Get the Community Involved</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involves stakeholders in decision making • Makes information available to public • Includes public participation in development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact city: Empowers communities • Informs communities • Gains public buy-in • Ensures development benefits for wider society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can be done “just for show” and communities have no real influence
<p style="text-align: center;">Integrate Mankind</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourages socio-economic integration • Seeks understanding between different groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact city: Clinches the poor into wider society • Closes the socio-economic gap 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable development faces many obstacles like: • Lifestyle and need: individuals desire to maintain a certain lifestyle, which determines the place where they settle • Ethnicity or race: certain individuals will not integrate with others of different race or ethnicity • Poverty: leads to decreased status which destroys relationships within a community • Segregation: groups can be restricted through policy actions, highways and urban form

Further, governance should maintain a facilitative role and include community members in all development. The third dimension desires economic growth which is self-sustaining and does not deplete the resources of the natural environment. The fourth requires that urban development must be conducted strategically and should integrate all other development sectors to plan for a sustainable urban form (Table 4). The fifth dimension advocates that sustainability seeks to reduce the social inequalities resulting from past practices by infusing a drive for equity within all planning and development. It also encourages an awareness of the sensitivity of nature, which would reduce unsustainable consumption (Table 4). However, sustainable development has been criticised for its ambiguity which has led to much disappointment. Implementation has also been criticised for taking on a piecemeal nature which has amplified segregation and inequality.

The paradigms that led to sustainable development theory commenced with Howard's garden city construct which sought a rural-urban balance in its consideration that cities must be developed with natural systems in mind. However, the ecological focus was disrupted by the standardisation of the modernist era in which Le Corbusier's urban model made a pronounced impact on the urban form. The postmodern era placed the human element back into planning and focussed on the meaning of urban space through culture and identity (Table 4). New urbanism, a paradigm which is strongly linked to post-modernist principles as well as those of the garden city, led to the development of the regional city model. This model promotes urban nodes and corridors which are surrounded by large tracts of green space. Issues of inequality, identity and socio-economic integration are deemed crucial. New urbanism theory is strongly influencing the current urban sustainability paradigm. However, the compact city form is even more influential as many of the principles for a sustainable city are aligned to the principles of this form.

3 THE STRUGGLE FOR URBAN SPACE IN SOUTH AFRICA

“Our march to freedom is irreversible. We must not allow fear to stand in our way.”

Nelson Mandela

These words, spoken by former president Nelson Mandela, have significance for town planning in today’s South Africa. Chapter 3 will explore this significance to set the stage for the field research. The chapter commences with a glance at the country’s spatial history that led Mandela to speak of a “march to freedom”. As will be shown, the first development thrusts were based on the reconstruction and development programme (RDP) that had a strong focus on sustainability and the compact form. Section 3.2 will follow the maturity of South African democratic policy. However, a number of factors hindered restructuring processes and will be discussed in Section 3.3. The product of democratic policy is briefly explored in Section 3.3 as it is this product which has led to a renewed focus on sustainable development (Cross; 2006; Patel, 2006; SACN, 2006; Todes, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; Pieterse, 2007). This renewed focus saw the birth of the Department of Housing’s take on sustainable development in the form of Breaking New Ground (BNG). A number of debates on the nature of the South African sustainable city also stemmed from this sustainable development focus, which, together with BNG will be detailed in Section 3.4. This is accompanied by a consideration of the policies in Section 3.5 regarding integrated sustainable development in the Western Cape – the province in which the study area falls. In attempting to define whether BNG is an adequate reflection of the needs of South African sustainable settlements, various critiques of the policy will be expounded in Section 3.6.

3.1 SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY AND ITS EFFECT ON HOUSING

“A community’s story lies in its history.”

Khoza (2007: 3)

It is evident from this quote that before current housing policy can be understood, it is necessary to understand the South African historical context. This is especially true because the South African context is unique as pre-democracy planning imposed certain rights on white South Africans while simultaneously taking them away from black South Africans (Van Wyk, 1999; Todes, 2006). The following section briefly considers the country’s history ranging from the period of colonialisation to the present.

3.1.1 Colonial rationalisation

As early as 1799 the view that persons of colour were not to be treated similarly to whites was held by the Dutch settlers. One of the first cases of racial discrimination concerning land use was that black people were not allowed to own land in the colony. This restriction was enforced by means of deeds of sale and title deeds (Van Wyk, 1999). Later, with the advent of mining in South African cities (Ballard, 2004), these restrictions were legalised in the form of a variety of legislative pieces which were eventually merged into apartheid’s Group Areas Act 36 of 1950 (Van Wyk, 1999; Dewar, 2000). Cities were seen as the natural

property of whites due to the rationalisation that urban areas were built by white colonists on land that was transferred to them through peaceful negotiations with local black tribes (Ballard, 2004). Urban land was governed mainly by the Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923 (reviewed many times later during the apartheid era). This Act was enforced by the Native Affairs Department which was responsible for the creation of the black “locations” to accommodate cheap black labour (Simon, 1989; Parnell & Mabin, 1995; Van Wyk, 1999).

3.1.2 The apartheid era

The narrative of apartheid can be divided into its conception and a time where attempts were made to modernise its thinking (Cook, 1985; Simon, 1989; Christopher, 1994; Parnell & Mabin, 1995; Donaldson & Van der Merwe 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Lemanski, 2004; Newton, 2008).

3.1.2.1 *The conception of apartheid*

The apartheid model was officially established by Dr HF Verwoerd in 1952 (Christopher, 1994) during his parliamentary speech in May (Williams JJ, 2000) which set out the baseline for this model (Figure 6). The main component of apartheid was based on the marginalisation of non-Caucasians in areas based on their ethnicities (Simon, 1989; Lemanski, 2004; Todes, 2006) which was legalised by the Group Areas Act 36 of 1966 (Simon, 1989; Christopher, 1994; Maylam, 1995; Van Wyk, 1999; Newton, 2008). The aim of this Act was to enforce segregation of communities – and, indirectly, led to a fear of the “others” among whites (Maylam, 1995; Oelofse, 2003; Lemanski, 2004).

- Every town or city, especially industrial cities, must have a single corresponding black township.
- Townships must be large, and must be situated such that they allow for expansion without spilling over into another racial group area.
- Townships must be located an adequate distance away from white areas.
- Black townships should be separated from white areas by a buffer area of industrial sites where industries exist or are being planned.
- Townships should be within easy transport distance of the city, preferably by rail and not by road transport.
- All race group areas should be situated so as to allow access to the common industrial areas and the CBD without necessitating travel through the group area of another race.
- There should be suitable open buffer spaces around the black township, the breadth of which should depend on whether the border touches on densely or sparsely populated white areas.
- Townships should be a considerable distance from main and more particularly national roads, the use of which as local transportation routes should be discouraged.
- Communities which are not currently situated in desirable areas should be relocated.
- Servants and labourers must be available to the white community; however, native locations are not desirable and cannot be located near white suburbs.

Figure 6: *The underlying principles of the apartheid city*
Source: adapted from Williams JJ (2000: 167)

*We gave way
there was nothing we could do
although the bitterness stung in us
and in the earth around us.*

Housing policy also played a large role in the spatial disparities of the past (Maylam, 1995; Lee, 2005; Newton, 2008). Lee (2005: 612) describes the result of this policy in Gugulethu (Western Cape) as having roads that were “long and wide, treeless, with sand perpetually being whipped around by the Western Cape’s strong winds...lined with a starkly uniform series of government issued houses.” The houses (Figure 8) ranged from 25,5m² (Cook, 1985) to 40m² (Lee, 2005) in size, generally had four rooms and were built from concrete and brick, with ablution facilities located outside (Lee, 2005). The Group Areas Act was repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991 (Van Wyk, 1999; Dewar, 2000; Oldfield, 2004).

3.1.2.2 *The modernisation of apartheid*

*“Black Consciousness is an attitude of the mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from
the black world for a long time.”*

Steve Biko

The 1970s triggered changes which would eventually lead to the demise of apartheid rule (Simon, 1989; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Newton, 2008). These include the growth of “black consciousness” after the 1976 Soweto uprising which in turn precipitated greater support of the African National Congress (ANC) and the demand for more political freedom grew stronger (Simon, 1989). In the 1980’s, the South African economy was sliding into a recession leading to unemployment among whites and resultant socio-economic instability (Simon, 1989) manifested through many non-whites refusing to “pay rent, mortgage bonds and service bills” (Newton, 2008: 131). Further, apartheid urban planning had led to a major shortage in housing and influx control was no longer able to prevent migration towards the cities (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Newton, 2008). In response to this, the Apartheid government drafted the good hope plan in the 1980’s (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 2000; Newton, 2008) which was aimed at enforcing space economy – and led to the scrapping of influx control measures as homelands were incorporated into development regions.

Three Bills were also announced which resulted in open residential areas located in the CBD or on its periphery (Cook, 1985; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Simon, 1989) and blacks with no legal urban status were allowed to temporarily reside in cities (Huchzermeyer, 2003a). However, these open areas were severely limited in number and thus made little impact on the segregated form of the Apartheid model (Simon, 1989). In 1992, the National Housing Forum (NHF) was established to devise strategies to overcome the previous, racially based housing policies (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Marais & Wessels, 2005; Newton, 2008). Perhaps of great importance to this thesis is that the NHF conducted lengthy discussions on whether the

new housing approach should focus on providing as many households with “some sort of housing” (Mehломakulu & Marais, 1999; Tomlinson, 2007; Newton, 2008), or whether households should be provided with a standard four bed roomed unit. It was with the latter concept that the ANC entered into its political campaign for the 1994 elections (Marais & Krige, 1999; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Newton, 2008) and one which is still to be found in today’s housing policy.

3.2 THE RISE, FALL AND REBIRTH OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY

“Transformation of a society entails a complete change in both form and substance, a metamorphosis, as happens in the life cycles of insects such as butterflies.”

Ramphela (2008: 13)

April 1994 signified the end of an era of repression and embodied a future of hope for many South Africans (Currie & De Waal, 2005; Khoza, 2007) when non-white South Africans were allowed to vote in the first completely democratic election in the country’s history (Mayekiso, 2003). However, the apartheid era had left the country in a state of chaos (Dewar, 2000; Pieterse, 2004b; Pillay, 2008) entailing extremely warped physical and economic development as well as high levels of segregation (Schoonraad, 2000; Mayekiso, 2003). Further, South Africa did not have the benefit of a previous example or best practice scenario on which to base its transition from apartheid to a new set of democratic goals (Ramphela, 2008). A complete metamorphosis of political thinking was required (Dewar, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000; Pillay, 2008; Ramphela, 2008).

The most notable result of this metamorphosis is the national Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) which places great emphasis on human rights (Currie & De Waal, 2005). The Constitution was the first official document to state that spatial racial discrimination was no longer acceptable (section 9). It declared that all South Africans had a right to access “adequate housing” (Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Currie & De Waal, 2005; Marais & Wessels, 2005) as well as live in an environment which is not harmful - which must be protected for use by future generations (Currie & De Waal, 2005; Patel, 2006).

3.2.1 Young fledgling: The flight of a democratic South African city

This new era saw a major shift away from the modernism-based planning of apartheid and the developed world (Dewar, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2006). To do so, a segregation mandate turned into one of equality, restructuring, integration and compaction (May & Rogerson, 1995; Mabin & Smit, 1997; CSIR, 2000; Dewar, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000; Pillay, 2008). These principles were initially carried forth mainly in the reconstruction and development programme (RDP), the housing white paper, the Development Facilitation Act and the urban development strategy (Todes, 2006; Leon, 2007) which are discussed next.

3.2.1.1 *The Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994)*

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the ANC's post-apartheid blueprint for holistic and strategic²⁹ development (May & Rogerson, 1995; Whyte, 1995; Bond & Tait, 1997; Cheru, 2001; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006). It sought to meet the needs of the poor (Cheru, 2001; Pillay, 2008) as well as introduce sustainable development in urban policy (May & Rogerson, 1995). Consequently, it required a transformation process that involved holistic planning aimed at creating equal access to previously exclusive space (Williams JJ, 2000; Pillay, 2008). Poverty alleviation through secure tenure³⁰ and a publicly funded expansion in infrastructure were some of its main targets (Bond & Tait, 1997; Makgetla, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006).

The RDP placed great emphasis on the provision of housing (Whyte, 1995; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Bond, 2003; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006) and estimated the housing backlog at approximately three million. To meet this need, the RDP set an ambitious target of building one million houses within the first five years of the new government's reign (Goodlad, 1996; Marais & Krige, 1999; Schoonraad, 2000; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Marais, Van Rensburg & Botes, 2003). In its promotion of secure tenure, the RDP endorsed a variety of housing options (Goodlad, 1996; Bond & Tait, 1997; Miraftab, 2003). The local tier of government was mandated as the implementer (Bond & Tait, 1997; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Patel, 2006; Khoza, 2007; RSA, 2008), as a bottom-up approach was the preferred method of the RDP (Bond, 2003, Makgetla, 2004). Some of the more successful restructuring examples initiated by the RDP include, Cato Manor in Durban (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Jenkins, 1999; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Todes, 2003), District Six in Cape Town (Swilling, 2004) and Cosmo City in Johannesburg (Royston, 2006).

Unfortunately, the different provincial departments which managed the overarching directives of the RDP, often had contradictory development initiatives (Pieterse, 2004b). Accordingly, by the time national white papers and supporting legislation were imposed, municipalities were "trapped in a web of competing and contradictory demands" (Pieterse, 2004b: 4). To combat this, the integrated development plan (IDP) was introduced as a mandatory means of enabling municipalities to do their own planning and thus handle the competing burdens placed on them by provincial tiers (Pieterse, 2004a; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Pieterse, 2004b).

29 Strategic planning informs political decision making in shaping the city over a long period of time in such a way as to promote a holistic and sustainable form (Pieterse, 2004a; Swilling, 2004).

30 The notion of 'secure tenure' is related to De Soto's theory that a fixed asset, such as land or housing, can be used to break the poverty cycle through access to fiscal credit, increase economic development and bridge the socio-economic gap (Royston, 2006).

3.2.1.2 *Housing white paper (1994)*

The housing white paper (HWP) sought to guide housing delivery toward the creation of sustainable, integrated settlements that provided residents with access to economic opportunities, viable infrastructure and services (RSA, 1994; Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; SACN, 2006; Venter, 2007). Although it aimed to fast track the promise of one million houses within a period of five years (RSA, 1994; Jenkins, 1999; Huchzermeyer, 2001; Pieterse, 2007; Newton, 2008), it underestimated the housing demand at one and a half million as opposed to the RDP's 3 million (Bond & Tait, 1997; Bond, 2003).

The white paper placed emphasis on the importance of public participation (RSA, 1994; Jenkins, 1999; Miraftab, 2003; Goebel, 2007), but ignored civil organisations (e.g. NGOs) thereby undermining the call for public inclusion in development (Bond, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003). The paper indicated that low-income housing provision had to occur within a market-related context by attracting private investment (RSA, 1994; Bond & Tait, 1997; Bond, 2003). It aimed to involve financial institutions and developers in low-income housing provision by implementing guarantees against non-payment and subsidies (Cheru, 2001). The capital subsidy option fitted in well with market-related development and was thus endorsed by the HWP (Bond, 2003; Miraftab, 2003). In following a market-related strategy, the HWP blatantly ignored the RDP's call for highly subsidised low-income housing delivery (Bond & Tait, 1997).

3.2.1.3 *Development Facilitation Act (1995)*

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) was developed as an interim measure (Todes, 2006) to specify general principles and objectives relating to sustainable land development and it strongly promotes the compact city model (RSA, 1995a; Van Wyk, 1999; Dewar, 2000; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Todes, 2003). In doing so, it emphasises compaction (Dewar, 2000) and the integration of urban areas and activities, and stresses the importance of socio-economic issues within urban planning (Van Wyk, 1999; Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2007; RSA, 2008). Further, detailed principles are identified to assist fast-tracked development through land acquisition (Goodlad, 1996; Van Wyk, 1999; Donaldson & Kotze, 2006; Pieterse, 2007). However, the literature reveals that the DFA was not highly effective³¹ and has not had much impact on current urban form (Dewar, 2000; Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2007).

3.2.1.4 *Urban development strategy (1995)*

The urban development strategy (UDS) is a detailed description of how integrated sustainable urban development was to occur in the neo-apartheid era (Bond, 2003; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Pieterse, 2007; Turok & Parnell, 2009). Thus, it focussed strongly on economic reasoning (Bond & Tait, 1997; Pieterse,

³¹ See Pieterse's (2007) discussion on the drawbacks to the implementation of the DFA.

2007) and emphasised the revision of current public transport policy to inform a more dense urban form (RSA, 1995b; Bond, 2003; Pieterse, 2007).

It was also not aligned with the RDP in certain areas, but rather based on the “principle that people should pay for their own services” (UDS as quoted in Bond, 2003: 51). This meant that, where people could not pay for services, they received poorer standards of service delivery (Bond, 2003; Goebel, 2007). Conversely, the RDP called for heavily subsidised service delivery to those who could least afford it (Bond, 2003). In addition, the UDS did not cover issues relating to ecological sustainability even though it indicated that South Africa’s cities were to align with global processes (Bond, 2003). It also failed to cover issues pertaining to the development of women, youth and the disabled (Bond, 2003).

3.2.2 Alternate ends: The burning of the fledgling

Due to a reluctance of international investment, pressures of global capitalism and large national indebtedness (Turok & Parnell, 2009), the development focus took on a distinct market-related or neo-liberal approach (Bond, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Turok & Parnell, 2009). This new focus led to the closing of the RDP office in mid 1996 (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Cheru, 2001; Todes, 2006; Pieterse, 2007) as the policy was seen to be a culmination of poverty relief strategies that did not consider the importance of the capital economy (Cheru, 2001; Turok & Parnell, 2009). The responsibility relating to spatial restructuring and land use management was subsequently divided between the departments of Housing, Land Affairs and Department of Provincial and Local Government (Todes, 2006).

3.2.2.1 Growth, employment and redistribution (1996)

The growth, employment and redistribution (GEAR) programme, which replaced the RDP, was drafted in response to a new political focus i.e. the neo-liberal macroeconomic strengthening and exports (Cheru, 2001; Tomlinson, 2003; Goebel, 2007; Pieterse, 2007; 2009). The neo-liberal approach sought to establish South African cities that were able to compete on a global economic scale, indicating that the management of the urban form should be market-related (RSA, 1996; Schoonraad, 2000; McDonald & Smith, 2004; Bond, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2003b; Swilling, 2004). Simply put, economic growth formed the main focus for urban development (Cheru, 2001). The Blue IQ, a R1.7 billion initiative launched in Gauteng, was a direct result of GEAR. It aimed to attract foreign investors to create economic opportunities for South Africans – the much talked about Gautrain being one of the ten mega projects of Blue IQ (Tomlinson, 2003). Similarly to the RDP, GEAR saw housing as a key development tool for urban restructuring, but one based heavily on a market-related approach (RSA, 1996; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2003b; Pieterse, 2007).

Although GEAR did have some success³² in strengthening the country's global macroeconomic situation (Bond, 2003) it did not do the same for local economies³³ (Bond, 2003). Conversely, the RDP's outlook on microeconomic development would have made a vast improvement to the lives of the poor (Bond, 2003). Local economic development initiatives were later introduced to target areas where poverty was most prevalent (Bond, 2003; Swilling, 2004; RSA, 2005).

3.2.2.2 *Urban development framework (1997)*

After the demise of the RDP office, the UDS was relegated to the Department of Housing (RSA, 1997; Bond, 2003; Pieterse, 2003; 2007; Todes, 2006) who altered and renamed it the urban development framework (UDF). This was done in an attempt to align it to the sustainability principles set out by the Habitat Agenda (RSA, 1997; Todes, 2006). In doing so, it emphasised the concept of the compact city (Pieterse, 2004b) and sought to draw together the various existing policies of different spheres and NGOs into a long-term strategy (Pieterse, 2003; Leon, 2007). The UDF also introduced the need to link informal settlements to formal urban areas (Leon, 2007) by means of transport corridors and nodal development (RSA, 1997; Pieterse, 2004b; 2007). The result was a watered down version of the UDS located in a politically weak department that did not receive much national attention (Pieterse, 2003; 2007; Todes, 2006; Goebel, 2007).

A new version of the UDF, entitled the national urban development framework (NUDF), has been in draft phase since 2005 but has yet to be released to the public (Todes, 2006; Pieterse, 2007; Pillay, 2008; Turok & Parnell, 2009). This version of the UDF is concerned with the pressures placed on cities by sheer numbers of urban poor (Turok & Parnell, 2009) and the lack of co-ordination of the different spheres regarding spatial directives, with a specific focus on integrated development³⁴ (Pillay, 2008; Turok & Parnell, 2009).

3.3 RESULTANT ASHES AND DISPARITIES

“Too often transformation has come to be seen as a numbers game of replacing white people with black people, a way of compensating previously disadvantaged people rather than creating opportunities for all citizens to contribute.”

Ramphela (2008: 295)

32 However, almost all GEAR's targets were missed within the first three years (Cheru, 2001)

33 Although there have been reports of successful cases, i.e. stimulated local economic activity along nodes and corridors of major cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria (Tomlinson, 2003).

34 See Turok & Parnell (2009) for a full description of the NUDF.

Although it is conceded that apartheid urban form is responsible for many of the disparities in the current urban form (Marais & Krige, 1999; Williams JJ, 2000; Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006), there are other factors which are to blame. Some of these include:

- *Sprawl*: Demand³⁵ for cheaper land led to the location of low-income settlements on greenfield peripheral areas (Marais & Krige, 1997; Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002; Behrens & Wilkinson, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003; Oelofse, 2003; Pieterse, 2004a; Todes, 2003; Lemanski, 2004; Smit & Purchase, 2006; Todes, 2006; Leon, 2007; Mokoena & Marais, 2007) ironically on land formerly bought by the apartheid government for the very same purpose (Huchzermeyer, 2003b). Studies have indicated that peripheral areas offer fewer formal employment opportunities than central vicinities (Mayekiso, 2003; Todes, 2006), thereby increasing inequalities³⁶ (Williams JJ, 2000; Bond, 2003; Pieterse, 2009). Moreover, residents of these remote settlements are subjected to increased travel expenses in order to reach economic hubs (Marais & Krige, 1997; Williams JJ, 2000; Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Bond, 2003; Oldfield, 2004; Durrheim, 2005). Sprawl was further aggravated by the wealthy relocating to peripheral areas (mostly in the form of gated communities) in search of safety (CSIR, 2000; Dewar, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000; Pieterse, 2003; Todes, 2003) and a desire for shorter travel times (Dewar, 2000) as these areas are well connected to nodes (Schoonraad, 2000). The phenomenon of suburbanisation is expected to intensify (Lemanski, 2004).
- *The neo-liberal focus of previous policy* has received much criticism (Bond, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003; Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Patel, 2006). Neo-liberal policy placed most of its focus on economic growth and largely ignored other development aspects, leading to a vastly segregated society (Pieterse, 2009). The results of neo-liberal restructuring policy have also resulted in “socio-economic, environmental and political costs that are not sustainable in the longer term” (Huchzermeyer, 2003b: 224). In terms of housing delivery, macro-economic (or neo-liberal) policy focused on “affordability, cost recovery and replicability by means of a project-by-project approach” (Marias & Krige, 1999: 117) which led to a national shift of focus from quality to quantity (Dewar, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006).
- *Low quality settlements for the poor*: Many low income housing settlements offer a poor quality of life (Williams JJ, 2000; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; WCPG, 2006). This could be attributed to a concentrated implementation of the incremental³⁷, project-linked³⁸ capital subsidy scheme in an

35 Caused by a municipal reliance on the local tax base, as well as a preference of private developers for cheap peripheral land (Dewar, 2000).

36 The socio-economic gap is so large that the “richest 20% earn 65% of all income” (Bond, 2003: 40).

37 This refers to the provision of a basic or starter housing unit which government expects beneficiaries to improve at a later stage using private funding (Huchzermeyer, 2003a).

38 Project-linked refers to the subsidy where a developer works on behalf of a community to build a standardised housing settlement (Huchzermeyer, 2003a).

attempt to meet the target of one million houses in five years³⁹ (Bond & Tait, 1997; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006). The subsidy, which had to cover the purchasing of land as well as the construction of the housing unit, was initially too small to develop an adequate top structure (Bond & Tait, 1997; Behrens & Wilkinson, 2003; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Miraftab, 2003; Pieterse, 2003; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; Ntema, 2007). These units were small, poorly ventilated and often built with hazardous materials such as asbestos or radioactive sand from mine dumps (Whyte, 1995). In addition, units were poorly constructed making them susceptible to damp conditions and cracking (Whyte, 1995; Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Bond, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003). The concept of “adequate housing” was challenged when a community of informal dwellers (led by Irene Grootboom) confronted urban policy for its lack of provision for those living in informal circumstances (Bond, 2003; Marais & Wessels, 2005; Graham, 2006; Pillay, 2008). The Constitutional court found that “adequate housing” entails a permanent structure which allows for protection against the elements, secure tenure, and privacy, accompanied by access to free basic services (Currie & De Waal, 2005; Khoza, 2007; RSA, 2008; Pillay, 2008). Consequently, emphasis was placed on integrated settlement planning which included free basic services (Mayekiso, 2003; Pillay, 2008; Pieterse, 2009). The call for integrated development did not materialise, and development continued in a haphazard manner (Dewar, 2000; Bond, 2003; Pieterse, 2003; Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2006).

- *Segregated urban form:* Despite attempts at urban restructuring, South Africa’s cities remain largely segregated (Todes, 2006; Pieterse, 2009). However, Todes (2006) indicates that current spatial inequalities are likely based on class differences rather than race which might be attributed to previous neo-liberal policy measures (Pieterse, 2009). The importance of restructuring for integration is discussed in more detail in Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.
- *Poor service delivery:* Even though the white paper on local government warned that poorly delivered services would heighten segregation levels (Bond, 2003), poor service delivery continued in low-income settlements (Bond & Tait, 1997; Bond, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Turok & Parnell, 2009). Some authors (e.g. Cashdan, 2002; McDonald & Smith, 2004; Miraftab, 2004a) blame the neo-liberal focus for setting the scene for the privatisation of services, specifically in the form of public-private partnerships (PPPs). PPPs were established in an attempt to meet the rising demand for public services (Marais & Krige, 1997; Cashdan, 2002; McDonald & Smith, 2004; Miraftab, 2004a) based on the notion that municipalities are incompetent and that the private sector is better geared to handle this demand (Cashdan, 2002). However, the effects of the privatisation of services have been largely negative in the housing sector (Miraftab, 2004a) and protests against poor municipal service provision are commonplace (Cashdan, 2002; Pieterse, 2009). Municipalities cannot adequately monitor private companies and therefore cannot ensure that these companies

³⁹ *The promise of one million houses in five years never materialised (Cheru, 2001).*

develop sustainably (Chipkin, 2002). This is glaringly evident in the many badly constructed RDP houses which fill South Africa's media with reports of people being injured by these units see, for example, Ndaba (2009). The privatisation of services has maintained the warped apartheid form where the rich have access to high-quality services, while services for the poor are of lesser quality and only available to those who can pay for them (McDonald & Smith, 2004; Miraftab, 2004b). This contradicts the promise made for free basic services for all. Further, by mandating the private sector with service development, municipalities have allowed the private sector to profit from the needy (Miraftab, 2004a). Privatisation of services should not be considered as the only means for service delivery. Options such as co-production, contracts allocated to local small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) and the development of government capacity to such an extent that it is able to implement its own services (Chipkin, 2002).

- *Poor governance*: Local government officials were criticised for failing to grasp the principles of national policies (Bond & Tait, 1997; Dewar, 2000; Pieterse, 2004b; Royston, 2006; Todes, 2006; Pieterse, 2009; Turok & Parnell, 2009). But, it was realised that blame could not be laid solely at the feet of local officials as attitudes of top-down as well as silo planning were prevalent in all spheres; thereby undermining integrated development (Pieterse, 2007).

The unsuccessful restructuring process led to outbursts of violence enflamed by a sense of despair and hopelessness among the poor (Mayekiso, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Goebel, 2007; Pieterse, 2009). A new development perspective was needed that took on a more holistic approach to reach the original dream of the democratic sustainable city (Mayekiso, 2003; Todes, 2006). South African planners turned to the case study of Curitiba, Brazil, which has had a great impact on the development of the South African sustainable city (Todes, 2003). Curitiba effected a sustainable urban form through the development of a citywide public transport system (Bus Rapid Transport and later a light rail system) which was closely integrated with the city's social and land use policies. The transport system promotes a compact form by means of an urban corridor linking various nodes, thereby directing growth away from the congested inner city but simultaneously promoting accessibility to the CBD. Land use policies and incentives were concurrently enacted to stimulate growth along the transport corridors by encouraging mixed land use, densification and public investment in infrastructure and facilities (Newman, 1996; Acioly, 2000; UN-HABITAT, 2009). Political buy-in is essential for these initiatives to manifest (Turok, 2009); thus await the development focus of president Zuma's new government.

3.4 REBIRTH: BNG - TAILORING A SOUTH AFRICAN SUSTAINABLE CITY

Sustainable thinking manifested in 2004 in the form of, amongst others (summarised in Section 3.5), a five-year policy document entitled the comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements, more commonly known as 'Breaking New Ground' (BNG) (Huchzermeyer, 2006; Van Wyk, 2007; Venter, 2007). BNG has been called the cornerstone of all housing delivery in South Africa (Madlala,

2007; Van Wyk, 2007), but is not a new policy as it encompasses much of the sustainability thinking of the past.

In its quest to move from a service-delivery approach to the creation of integrated sustainable housing settlements, BNG clearly states that housing should not only be used as a means of meeting expected delivery targets, but it should also address poverty, heighten the quality of life and stimulate economic growth (Cross, 2006; Patel, 2006; SACN, 2006; Todes, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; Pieterse, 2007). BNG aims to do so through the implementation of four thrusts, namely fully serviced sites, security of tenure, the provision of socio-economic facilities and the addition of tenure options (Pillay, 2008; Venter, 2007). BNG moved away from the limited thinking of previous policies concerning densification which regarded medium density as the sole tool for densification. Instead, it initiated additional tools of densification, the introduction of inclusionary housing and the financial incentives coupled to it. To enhance densification on well-located land, BNG re-introduced an emphasis on land audits to identify the most suitable land near corridors and nodes (Todes, 2003; 2006). It also introduced funding mechanisms and strategies for the acquisition of well-situated land for low-income housing development (Todes, 2003; Pillay, 2008).

BNG places the responsibility of identifying future housing projects, as well as the implementation of the housing subsidy, in the hands of local municipalities who must undergo an accreditation process before they are allocated these multi-year subsidies (Graham, 2006; SACN, 2006). The reason is that urban integration is most likely dealt with by local officials – who are in direct contact with the community – at the helm of urban development (Pieterse, 2004a). With the drafting of BNG, the sustainability issues of compaction, increased densities, the implementation of activity nodes and corridors and mixed land use received renewed policy attention (Williams JJ, 2000; Oelofse, 2003; Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2004b; Todes, 2006). However, theory pertaining to the sustainable South African city was slightly different to international ideas (especially those of developed countries). Hence, although issues of efficiency in land consumption, energy use, service delivery and transport were important (Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2004b; Turok & Parnell, 2009), it was necessary to concentrate on elements that meet the specific needs of South African cities.

These elements are vital to the study and therefore, Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.6 are devoted to explaining them in detail. These elements include, firstly, (Section 3.4.1) the restructuring and integration of previous black townships (Dewar, 2000; Williams JJ, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Todes, 2003), coupled to a new approach to the frenzied increase in informal settlement growth observable in the country (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Bekker & Leildé, 2006; Cross, 2006; Graham, 2006; Adlard, 2008). The second element, as set out in Section 3.4.2, involves introducing equality and integration (both physical and socio-economic) within planning (Dewar, 2000; Williams JJ, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Mayekiso, 2003; Pieterse, 2004a; 2004b; Swilling, 2004; Venter, 2007). Thirdly (Section 3.4.3), a new direction in land use zoning, known as inclusionary housing, has been introduced as an integration tool (Lemanski, 2006; Smit & Purchase, 2006;

WCPG, 2009). Section 3.4.4 deals with the fourth element, i.e. infill development in inner cities (CSIR, 2000; Dewar, 2000; Swilling, 2004), and Section 3.4.5 considers the implementation of intensive public participation (Lee & George, 2000; Williams JJ, 2000; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Spinks, 2003). The last element (Section 3.4.6) calls for a greater variety of housing options and subsidies (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; WCPG, 2009).

3.4.1 Persistent need for urban integration

Urban integration has been identified as a vital component of sustainable cities in democratic South Africa since 1994 (Iruah & Boshoff, 2003; Oelofse, 2003; Pieterse, 2004b; WCPG, 2006; Lemanski, 2006; Todes, 2006; Pieterse, 2007) as it is the poor who suffer most from inequality and segregation (Dewar, 2000). Yet, clearly South Africa is still characterised by segregation – whether it be physical, socio-economic or regarding policy alignment. We have become “Nelson Mandela’s squabbling rainbow people” (Crwys-Williams, 2004: vii).

The literature alerts us to three further reasons for the lingering segregation patterns in South Africa. First is the failure of government and its policies to implement integrated planning and provide access to public services and social facilities (Dewar, 2000; Todes, 2006) or to secure the equality and integration of settlements (Pieterse, 2009). Second, insufficient vacant land is available in well-situated areas (Schoonraad, 2000; Williams JJ, 2000; Durand-Lasserve, 2006; Adlard, 2008). This land is scarce and expensive (Dewar, 2000; Williams JJ, 2000; Patel, 2006; Goebel, 2007, Adlard, 2008), making development of low-income areas difficult. The third reason is that of the intricacies of socio-economic integration. The process of change (Williams JJ, 2000; Oldfield, 2004) has been accompanied by various social tensions dominated by economic, social and political power struggles. One of these has its roots in the NIMBYistic attitude mentioned by many authors on socio-economic integration (Williams JJ, 2000; Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002; Lemanski, 2004; Durrheim, 2005; Adlard, 2008).

Policy directives have attempted to ‘integrate’ races by locating new low-income projects closer to former ‘white’ areas or on sites within these areas (Oelofse, 2003; Oldfield, 2004, Durrheim, 2005; Lemanski, 2006). However, it has been shown that the different classes do not always naturally “integrate formally or socially with the formal neighbourhood” (Oldfield, 2004: 190). Her research and that of others has shown that social mixing cannot be seen as complete integration because social mixing only considers the physical presence of racial mixing, but ignore the fact that daily contact might entail complete integration (Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006).

Complete integration involves changing attitudes (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006) stimulated through an “*overlapping of daily lives*” (Lemanski, 2006: 422) and everyday commonalities between residents (Oldfield, 2004; Lemanski, 2006). Oldfield (2004: 199) puts this simply that integration is best found in “shared slang, friendships with a new neighbour...” Further, segregation no longer occurs in the same way it

did in the past. Research has found that poverty is no longer directly related to race and that urban segregation occurs on income discrimination (Oelofse, 2003; Donaldson & Kotze, 2006; Todes, 2006). Oelofse's (2003) findings are a prime example indicating that integration policies would have to attract whites back into the inner city as the latter has experienced a segregation 'flip' with whites moving to suburban areas. New methods for integrated planning are therefore necessary. One of these (inclusionary housing) is set out by BNG⁴⁰ as an important tool for urban integration and it is considered next.

3.4.2 Inclusionary housing as a tool for urban integration

Inclusionary housing (IH) in South Africa aims to locate the poor in close proximity to public services and economic opportunities by compelling developers to allocate a certain percentage of private developments to lower-income housing. Lemanski (2006) confirms the notion that inclusionary housing supports both socio-economic and physical integration. Moreover, an increase in economic opportunity would tighten the income gap between communities, allowing for more exchange on a social and/or cultural basis (Lemanski, 2006). Based on this, IH might be a viable option for South Africa. However, when the concept of IH was first released to the South African public in 2004 (WCPG, 2009), it caused a veritable disturbance among land owners for fear of decreasing property prices. Nonetheless, a public-private collaboration was entered into by government and the property industry in 2005 (WCPG, 2009), but no official legislation makes IH compulsory yet. Municipalities are, however, expected to introduce their own IH policies by following the Knysna example whose policy has assisted in negotiations with developers regarding the introduction of IH into new private projects (WCPG, 2009). It is envisaged that IH be enforced on a local level (guided by national regulations) so that each project is treated on a relatively unique basis as required at the time (Smit & Purchase, 2006; WCPG, 2009).

During negotiations with developers, authorities must apply a concurrent approach of what Smit & Purchase (2006: 23) refer to as the "stick of legislation" and the "carrot of incentives". Although the flexibility afforded to developers through off-site solutions is viewed favourably in the international situation⁴¹, it is recommended that this not be the case for South Africa as the promotion of integrated settlements is essential. However, off-site solutions (such as in lieu fees, land donations, and off-site construction) should not be ignored completely, but should rather act as last resort tools allowed to developers (Smit & Purchase, 2006; WCPG, 2009). "A steep income cliff" (WCPG, 2009: 36), i.e. where housing for the very poor is placed next to expensive houses, must be avoided (WCPG, 2006; WCPG, 2009) as the social, economic and cultural differences between these groups are too vast (WCPG, 2009). Rather, the gap should be diminished by placing low-cost housing next to housing ranging in price between R400 000 and R900 000 (WCPG, 2009). The reasons the poor and the rich cannot always be placed next to

⁴⁰ Interestingly, Curitiba also implemented a form of inclusionary housing (Acioly, 2000).

⁴¹ See Chapter 2 in this regard.

one another involve possible decreased property values and potential animosities between economic groups that would undermine socio-economic integration (WCPG, 2006). However, the placement of buffers (such as high walls) between the poor and the wealthy must be avoided because they lead to segregation and stigmatisation (WCPG, 2009).

There is a need for policy integration as seen in environmental impact assessment (EIA) requirements set out by the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) (107 of 1998). These requirements result in higher development costs, which when coupled to a simultaneous hike in inflation rates and unmatched by government subsidies, can make IH development a non-feasible endeavour for many private-sector developers (Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006). Due to South Africa's history of segregation, the enormous backlog⁴² demand and the large gap between the high and low-income sectors, the impact of IH in the country on social mixing is difficult to estimate and IH will most likely only have a nominal effect (Smit & Purchase, 2006; WCPG, 2009). Following this, Lemanski (2006) submits that IH is not likely to be fully implemented.

A second aspect of a tailored integrated sustainable South African city is the debate about compaction and the inner city. This is outlined next.

3.4.3 Densification and the inner city

Densification and the revitalisation of the inner city are important restructuring targets for BNG (CSIR, 2000; Oelofse, 2003; Todes, 2006; Pillay, 2008). Renewed accent on sustainability has led to a revision of the energy consumption levels in South African cities which were shown to be very high (Dewar, 2000; Swilling, 2004; Todes, 2006). Gasson's (2002) study on the extent of Cape Town's ecological footprint alerts us to an urgent need for the restructuring of South African cities. His findings indicate that the city consumes around one million tons of raw materials a day – the bulk of which (96%) is fresh water – and discharges approximately 600 000 tons of waste into the natural environment each day. These alarming rates continue unabated⁴³. It is also essential to preserve a strict urban edge, coupled with densification to help promote a sustainable transport system in South Africa. A public transport system is required to reduce car dependence in urban areas and to assist the poor in breaking out of the poverty cycle as efficient and affordable public transport decreases their need to spend large proportions of income on travel (Dewar, 2000; Behrens & Wilkinson, 2003; Swilling, 2004; Todes, 2006; Leon, 2007).

Inner city revitalisation advocated by BNG has taken the form of providing social (rental stock mainly) housing, and upgrading infrastructure, such as the Blue IQ in Gauteng (Oelofse, 2003). Donaldson & Kotze

42 Resulting from apartheid practices and extreme urban-rural migration caused by a lack of attention to rural development within restructuring policies (Bond, 2003).

43 See Gasson (2002) for the full findings on his research.

(2006) have shown that most integration occurs within inner cities (). The inner city is an economic refuge for the homeless (Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003). Moreover, in these urban areas women experience more freedom to develop economically⁴⁴, gay's are less discriminated against (Oelofse, 2003) and foreigners⁴⁵ are regarded with less contempt (Oelofse, 2003; Turok & Parnell, 2009). Consequently, there will always be a demand for low-cost housing in the inner-city (Todes, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003).

However, high-density housing is expensive to construct, thus rentals are high (Schoonraad, 2000; Oelofse, 2003; Adlard, 2008). Land in the inner city is very expensive, limited and not easily procurable so that rentals would be beyond the means of the poor (Oelofse, 2003; Todes, 2006; Adlard, 2008). Further, maintenance of older social housing is almost non-existent as tenants cannot afford the rent increases necessary for maintenance (Schoonraad, 2000; Oelofse, 2003). In order to resolve this dilemma, government must provide subsidies aimed at assisting social housing institutions with maintenance costs necessary for the revitalisation of the inner city (Oelofse, 2003). In addition, concerned authors (e.g. Cross; 2006; Du Plessis, 2006; Durand-Lasserve, 2006; Huchzermeyer, 2006; Goebel, 2007) have voiced their apprehension that forced removals (endorsed by regeneration projects such as inner city revitalisation projects) are still occurring despite the historically-sensitive nature of forced removals. Moreover, informal residents are loath to be moved as their current location affords close proximity to facilities such as schools and public transport and the existence of social networks of friends and family (Goebel, 2007; Adlard, 2008). Even if these occupants expressed a desire to be moved, it is not always feasible as "land is too scarce, too expensive, and too contested over by other people in the 'housing backlog' who would claim a prior right to housing" (Adlard, 2008: 3).

3.4.4 The peripheral situation: An argument for in situ upgrading

In addition to refocusing on the integrated compact city, BNG also proposed – for the first time – the upgrading of informal settlements⁴⁶ (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Graham, 2006; Huchzermeyer & Karam, 2006; SACN, 2006; Goebel, 2007; Venter, 2007). A number of authors have challenged the current policy direction favouring the compact city (Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2003; Cross, 2006; Adlard, 2008; Pieterse, 2009). Research has shown that medium-density peripheral areas are important to the poor who earn an income from urban and rural activities (Todes, 2003; 2006). Further, hinterland dwellers were found not to be subjected the comparatively costly public services and land in formalised townships (Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2004a), and inner cities do not afford many job opportunities for the unskilled, whereas the suburbs do (Goebel, 2007).

44 As former black townships are prone to traditional patriarchal practices (Oelofse, 2003).

45 The xenophobic attacks of May 2008 are a disturbing example of the extent to which foreigners are not accepted in South African residential areas.

46 Informal settlements are said to be the result of slow service delivery (Huchzermeyer, 2006)

People dwell where they can afford to (Tomlinson, 2003) and Schoonraad (2000: 222) points out that “the poor cannot afford to live in a compact city.” The latter’s research has indicated that the larger erven available on the periphery are more flexible and allow residents access to opportunities like urban agriculture, rent income from backyard dwellers and stronger social networks. Evidence exists for transport costs actually being lower for households which sent one member to work in central areas (Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2003; Pieterse, 2003). This is supported by findings indicating that local knowledge might be more suitable to creating sustainable settlements than are state incentives (Campbell, 2007; Khoza, 2007; Ndlovu, 2007; Ntema, 2007). More people can live on bigger sites, thus, lower-density areas might not necessarily house fewer people (Schoonraad, 2000; Todes, 2003; 2006). In addition, formalised townships might not be able to accommodate the same densities that informal areas can (Adlard, 2008) and Pillay (2008) has reported that there is less dependency on urban areas due to the availability of social grants. Turok (2009) argues that previous measures of urban density, for example, dwellings per hectare, are inadequate to determine the real situation and that the resident population per hectare should rather be applied. Larger peripheral sites should thus be added to the diversity list of the housing demand (Todes, 2003). However, Huchzermeyer (2006) reports that municipalities seem reluctant to alter their current policies (of capital subsidy RDP unit) to include in situ upgrading (upgrading of informal peripheral settlements) and still prefer the capital subsidy method as “relocation is more practical” (Huchzermeyer, 2006: 49). The next element for a sustainable South African city involves a certain amount of communication with the beneficiaries of a project.

3.4.5 The value of participation

“Those who are ready to join hands can overcome the greatest challenges”

Nelson Mandela in Crwys-Williams (2004: 39)

BNG promotes intensive communication within government (Pieterse, 2004a), as well as public-private partnerships (SACN, 2006; Venter, 2007) which crucial to integrated planning. Civic organisations such as NGOs and CBOs can play a vital role in involving communities in a development’s decision-making process. These organisations often play the roles providing technical support, and management, implementing certain aspects of the housing process (Williams JJ, 2000; Cashdan, 2002; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Pieterse, 2003; Oldfield, 2004), and data collection regarding impoverished communities. Such data are often used to inform government policies and help NGOs and CBOs develop their own initiatives for poverty alleviation (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Additionally, NGOs have been known to capacitate communities and to provide them with ongoing advice to help communities take part in decision making (Smit, 2008), thereby promoting sustainable development (Irirah & Boshoff, 2003). These organisations are also more responsive in embracing alternative energy sources and building materials.

Irirah & Boshoff (2003) cite the examples of Midrand Eco-City and the energy-efficient houses project built in Soweto. However, they claim that these projects have not been maintained by owners; who have not

been adequately educated about the virtues of sustainability. Organisations are involved in driving and implementing the housing process, giving assistance with socio-economic integration (Williams JJ, 2000; Oldfield, 2004), and providing technical support such as implementing savings groups and managing other financial details (Bond & Tait, 1997; Williams JJ, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a). Two civic organisations which have received much positive attention are the Peoples' Dialogue (NGO) and the Homeless Peoples' Federation (CBO) (Williams JJ, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a).

Unfortunately, the wealth of funds and expertise available from NGOs and CBOs is not fully tapped by government and consultants, with the result that development is often dislocated from the general public's needs (Jenkins, 1999; Irurah & Boshoff, 2003; Makgetla, 2004; Cross, 2006; Graham, 2006; Todes, 2006). Also, the manner in which public communication has occurred has raised criticism. Planners have been censured for occasionally placing too much emphasis on involving the community, consequently failing to implement an integrated planning approach (CSIR, 2000; Schoonraad, 2000). Conversely, little or no public participation has occurred in many projects – especially those of informal settlement upgrading and large national projects - which have been approached in a top-down manner (Miraftab, 2003; Cross, 2006; Graham, 2006; Pieterse, 2009). The main reason for this lack of consultation is that consultation causes delays in the implementation process (Cross, 2006). Further, participation is often not carried through to the implementation phase (Graham, 2006). This results in a breakdown in the relationship between government and the public as promises are made but not kept or these promises have resulted in inadequate final products (Graham, 2006). Important to a good final product is the availability of a variety of housing subsidies and options which will be discussed in the next section.

3.4.6 A diversity of housing subsidies and options

A variety of alternative housing options and subsidies are needed to meet the diverse needs of the housing demand and to stimulate integrated sustainable cities (CSIR, 2000; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Todes, 2003). They were later dovetailed into BNG (Todes, 2006; Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; WCPG, 2009). For easy comparison, these diverse items are summarised in Table 5.

BNG widens the definition of “poor” to include households with a gross monthly income of up to R7 500: such households qualify to benefit from housing subsidies (Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006; Venter, 2007). The capital subsidy is the largest implemented thus far⁴⁷. Additional subsidies include the social subsidy which allows beneficiaries to obtain medium-density rental housing and a subsidy which allows for the upgrading of hostels aimed at accommodating migrant labourers (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Royston, 2006; Goebel, 2007).

⁴⁷ See Section 3.4.5

Table 5: A variety of housing options and subsidies currently available in South Africa

OPTION AND RELATED SUBSIDY	INCOME/MONTH	PRICE AND TENURE	DESCRIPTION
GAP (or affordable housing) Subsidy: Capital and/or PHP	R3500 to R10 000	R230 000 to R250 000 Ownership	Available to households who earn too much to qualify for the housing subsidy (R3500 maximum), but earn too little to qualify for a loan from a private bank. Banks have released mortgage products targeted at this group of income earners. However, the requirements differ between institutions, e.g. ABSA places a size restriction (40m ² to 79m ²) on the unit, while Standard Bank does not.
NOTE	In his latest State of the Nation Address, President Zuma indicated that R1 billion has been allocated to the subsidisation of Gap housing as part of an effort to reinforce the process of integrated sustainable settlement planning (Creamer, 2010).		
SOCIAL Subsidy: Social and/or maintenance	R2500 to R7500	R500 to R1800 Rental or co-operative ownership	Governed by rental or co-operative institutions which can either be “housing associations” (registered through Companies Act) or “housing co-operatives” (registered through Co-operatives Act) Advantages: Allows for higher density housing and allocation can be controlled on an ongoing basis by housing institutions. Disadvantages: Limited to areas where institutions exist. Process of registration for institutions is tedious. Further, monthly cost is higher than it is for ownership tenure.
SUBSIDY (RDP/BNG unit) Subsidy: Capital	Less than R3500	R50 000 Maximum Owner-ship	Low-cost housing for the “hardcore poor” (R0-R1500/month including the aged, disabled, and sick) are eligible for R45 907 maximum, while those earning R1501-R3500 are eligible for R43 428 maximum. Tied to the project-linked subsidy
and/or PHP Subsidy: Capital and loan	N/A	N/A	Supplemented by a micro loan of up to R10 000
INFORMAL RENTAL (Backyard dwelling) Subsidy: none	Less than R2500	About R600 Rental	Subletting

Source: compiled from Huchzermeyer (2003a); Todes (2003); Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit (2006); WCPG (2009)

The People’s Housing Process (PHP) subsidy was introduced in 2002 (Irurah & Boshoff, 2003) to enable beneficiaries who could not access private loans, to build their own units on a pre-serviced site (Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Miraftab, 2003; Campbell, 2007; Ntema, 2007). PHP (Table 5) allows a community to combine its resources with the capital subsidy to build their own homes (Campbell, 2007) and is often linked to NGO or CBO assistance (Miraftab, 2003). Research indicates that PHP beneficiaries are more satisfied in their settlements and they experience a more positive sense of place, cohesion and identity (Mehlomakulu & Marais, 1999; Marais, Van Rensburg & Botes, 2003; Goebel, 2007). However, even though PHP has proved to be a better product than standardised housing, its implementation has not been widespread (Marais, Van Rensburg & Botes, 2003; Miraftab, 2003; Campbell, 2007; Ntema, 2007).

Huchzermeyer (2003a), points out that the South African conception of PHP is incomplete as it is based on the last step only of the original Sri Lankan million houses programme which entails three steps, namely i) land regularisation, ii) building of infrastructure and iii) construction of a top unit or house. Municipalities in South Africa are unable to effectively implement a people-driven, self-help construction tool – which is what PHP is sold as in the country - as PHP has been designed to be preceded steps i) and ii) (Huchzermeyer, 2003a). PHP has also been criticised for being so slow as to render it ineffective (Cross, 2006).

With relation to gap or privately funded housing (Table 5), social capital must be enhanced through bolstering the community's savings and loans capacity (WCPG, 2007). In order to assist low-income earners in attaining secure tenure, government approached private banking institutions with the intent of making housing finance available to the poor (Goodlad, 1996; Tomlinson, 2007). However, this method has proved inefficient due to the banks' reluctance to lend to the poor – even those with formal tenure (Royston, 2006; Tomlinson, 2007) – which is a legacy left of the payment boycotts during the struggle (Goodlad, 1996). Interest rates and qualification requirements were strict and very few individuals managed to access loans to top up their subsidy (Cheru, 2001). As a result, a housing finance gap ensued, with households earning between R3500 and R6000 per month not qualifying for private finance (Cheru, 2001; Bond, 2003). Upon the failure of this initiative, government approached private developers to assist in the provision of low-income housing (Bond & Tait, 1997).

Attention to alternative construction methods and tools (such as insulation, orientation with regard to the sun for natural heating) and alternative energies should be given in the building of low-income houses (CSIR, 2000; Swilling, 2004; Cross, 2006; Goebel, 2007). Considering the more flexible nature of the PHP, it would seem that this would be a good place to start, provided an awareness exists among the beneficiaries of the importance of sustainable energies. The next section considers how South Africa as well as the province in which the study areas fall (Western Cape) has applied the six above principles for sustainable development in their legislation.

3.5 A CULMINATION OF NEW SUSTAINABILITY POLICY: SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WESTERN CAPE

As mentioned in Section 3.4, sustainability theory was emerged in BNG and other legislative pieces. The pieces, other than BNG, which are relevant to this study will now be revised shortly. The study area falls within the Western Cape (WC), and it is thus worthwhile to dwell on the provision made by this province for sustainable development which includes its interpretation of inclusionary housing. As much of the WC urban sustainability policy has stemmed from the NSDP, and is to be implemented in the IDP, these have been briefly considered as well. The NUDF has also been included, but as it has been discussed in section 3.3.2.2, it is not necessary to do so again. The five main policies for the Western Cape which will be considered in this section include i) Western Cape concept paper on sustainable development, ii) growth

potential of towns, iii) manual on the Western Cape spatial development framework, iv) isidima, the Western Cape sustainable human settlement strategy, and v) Western Cape inclusionary housing discussion paper. Municipal integrated development plans (IDP) play an important role in municipal implementation and are required to encompass the directives of higher tier policy (Pillay, 2008). Thus, it is necessary to also include a summary of these documents.

3.5.1 National spatial development perspective (2003, revised 2006)

The NSDP is South Africa's first overarching framework for urban development (Leon, 2007) and aims to ensure policy integration on all levels of government (Todes, 2006; Pillay, 2008; Turok & Parnell, 2009). It is a radical step towards integrated planning (Pieterse, 2009; Turok & Parnell, 2009) which identifies areas of economic growth potential (mainly cities and towns) to which government spending should be directed to encourage private investment and the stimulation of socio-economic facilities (Mokoena & Marais, 2007; Pieterse, 2007; Pillay, 2008; Pieterse, 2009; Turok & Parnell, 2009). Critically, the NSDP fails to address issues of environmental sustainability (Turok & Parnell, 2009). The NSDP (2003) led to the drafting of the NUDF (Pieterse, 2009) and BNG (Pieterse, 2007). However, the election of President Jacob Zuma might lead to its nullification (Pieterse, 2009) as his focus seems to be tending more towards rural development. Further, Todaro & Smith (2006) have cautioned against the effects sought by the NSDP which might lead to an urban bias caused by large spending in a country's most prominent cities. This can lead to a "disproportionately, and inefficiently, large share of population and economic activity" (Todaro & Smith, 2006: 325) which can lead to socio-economic concerns which could far outweigh the benefits of concentrated spending. However, Turok & Parnell (2009) indicate that urban bias is an outdated term as urban policies generally do not attempt to marginalise the rural area. However, these policies must consider a very real rural-urban migration (Turok & Parnell, 2009). The next five sub-sections are dedicated to the Western Cape provincial sustainable policies.

3.5.2 Western Cape concept paper on sustainable development (2005)

This paper aims to create a consolidated framework on which to build an understanding of sustainable development in the Western Cape (WCPG, 2005). It sets out strategies aimed at promoting sustainable settlements of which the N2 Gateway project is one. It also identifies key issues and challenges regarding sustainable settlements which include the formidable task of facilitating social mixing in a society characterised by a diversity of languages, cultures, incomes and lifestyles (WCPG, 2005).

3.5.3 Growth potential of towns study (2005)

The growth potential of towns study is a response to the directives set out by the NSDP and the provincial spatial development framework (SDF) and considers the role of non-metropolitan towns within the larger regional context. It identifies towns with "a real potential for growth" (Van der Merwe et al, 2005: 2) to

promote the development of sustainable cities within a provincial and national policy framework. It also sets out the issues associated with small towns in the Western Cape and ways to address these. It has identified fifteen towns with the highest development potential, five of which form the target areas for this thesis.

3.5.4 Manual on the Western Cape spatial development framework (2006)

This manual assists municipalities with the implementation of the urban restructuring and integration policies and plans set out in the provincial spatial development framework (SDF). It contains a wealth of information on how the province views the concept of sustainable development – including BNG and inclusionary housing. This document covers the four main development sections contained in the WCSDF: vacant land audit, densification, delineation of the urban edge and integration.

3.5.5 Western Cape sustainable human settlement strategy (2007)

The Western Cape human sustainable settlement strategy (WCSHSS) takes a practical view of and also builds on BNG. It identifies a need for an incremental process that considers a variety of interventions to cater for a variety of areas. The main objective is to create sustainable settlements which are able to accommodate every individual that desires to live in the Western Cape – including lower income groups. It states that three shifts must be accomplished before settlement building can become sustainable i) “the shift from housing construction to ‘sustainable human settlements’” (WCPG, 2007: 3) where the focus must move from a projects-based approach to the housing system of the Western Cape as a whole, ii) “The shift to sustainable settlement use” (WCPG, 2007: 3): which considers that the country’s natural resources are being depleted – and that the poor will carry the bulk of the costs thereof. Finally, iii) “‘The shift to real empowerment’” indicating that communities must have ample opportunity to be involved in the decision making process. Lastly, the summary (RSA, 2008) stresses the importance of incorporating the WCSHSS into all municipal IDPs.

3.5.6 Western Cape inclusionary housing discussion paper (2009)

This document assists the introduction of inclusionary housing in the Western Cape. It explains the national inclusionary housing policy and links it the province’s SDF, as well as the roles of the different spheres of government. It explores the possibilities of inclusionary housing applying to state land and private development. (WCPG, 2009). The main aim of inclusionary housing in the Western Cape is to provide housing for mixed-income use in newly created townships of more than three units on one site, with an average value of up to R900 000 per unit (WCPG, 2006). The Western Cape provincial government (WCPG) differs from the National Department of Housing (NDOH) in their target market for inclusionary Housing (WCPG, 2009). The NDOH proposes that of the units built, between 10% and 30% be allocated to gap (monthly income of between R3500 and R10 000 per month – see Table 5) and/or social housing.

However, the WCPG reserves 10% for subsidy and 10% of the total development for rental or subsidy housing (WCPG, 2006; Madlala, 2007), but does not include gap housing (WCPG, 2009).

3.5.7 Municipal integrated development plan (IDP)

The IDP of a municipality is a rich source of development plans; both current and future (Pieterse, 2004a). It must reflect strategic planning based on the needs of local people (Pieterse, 2007). The housing chapter of IDPs must include housing needs, and must identify i) informal settlements, ii) well-located land for housing, and iii) areas for densification. It must link housing and urban renewal as well as integrate housing, planning and transportation frameworks. (Smit & Purchase, 2006; RSA, 2008).

3.6 BNG: THE ANSWER TO A SUSTAINABLE SOUTH AFRICAN CITY?

“The so-called matchbox typology replicated over tens or hundreds of hectares...with minimal regard to sense of identity...”

Irurah & Boshoff (2003: 254)

In the above quote, Irurah & Boshoff (2003) set out the most fundamental mistake of RDP housing unit. BNG, with its theoretical aim of strategic planning and a diversity of tenures, seeks to correct the RDP's mistake. However, much criticism exists regarding the design and implementation of BNG. This section is a compilation of literature of those criticisms. Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit (2006) argue that BNG was not properly researched and is “confusing and disappointing”. Nor is BNG informative in its take on environmental aspects (Venter, 2007), although its principle of densification is linked to environmental protection. Swilling (2009) notes that South African poverty-eradication policies (including BNG), ignore the limitations of our natural resources. In doing so, they also fail to curb urban consumption and wastage.

Van Wyk (2007: 2) asserts that the “slowdown in the delivery rate, the questionable quality of houses, the growing backlog, and the under spending of some housing budgets...” indicate restricted success in BNG’s development of integrated sustainable human settlements. Turok & Parnell (2009) contend that no restructuring has been brought about by the government’s development policies – only the introduction of more grants, as well as the provision of free housing and services for the poor. The resultant settlements are not sustainable and reiterate the fragmented nature of previous spatial planning (Pieterse, 2009). The situation does not seem rosy and it seems that, after five years, BNG has been largely unsuccessful.

Municipalities continue to struggle with housing backlogs resulting from i) rural-urban migration (Marais & Krige, 1997; Cross, 2006; Goebel, 2007; Adlard, 2008), ii) decreasing household size (Pillay, 2008; Turok, 2009), and iii) an increasing population (Pillay, 2008). In addition, the 2009 economic recession has led to the loss of approximately one million jobs thereby increasing the number of homeless - and municipal housing backlogs (Pieterse, 2009). Todes (2006) questions whether the funding for the new requirements of BNG will be made available by government. The weight of this is evident from Pieterse’s

(2009) observation that private investment singles out wealthy areas only while public spending is earmarked for the poor.

While South Africa is a signatory to many international sustainability protocols it has not carried the principles of sustainability further than some pieces of national legislation with limited understanding of environmental and socio-economic justice (Patel, 2006). Also, there is no national framework to serve as an overarching directive for the implementation of sustainable development (Irurah & Boshoff, 2003) or integration and transformation (Turok & Parnell, 2009). Swilling (2004), has reported that the international literature on sustainable development has had limited impact on South African urban development literature. Currently, policy implementers, leaders and decision makers are collapsing under the sheer amount of policy available in South Africa (Pieterse, 2009). This has been on the increase under President Zuma's new government, and has heightened the inertia prevalent among policy implementers. In addition, a lack of enthusiasm exists needed to make radical decisions needed to change the current unsustainable urban form (Pieterse, 2009). With the fall of the last radical policy instrument (the NSDP); this might be a dire situation. To deal with this, a simpler policy structure is needed (Pieterse, 2009) which is coupled to stronger state intervention as the national sphere is better able to see and plan the macro picture, protect minority groups such as immigrants, and promote lifestyles which are more conducive to sustainable living (Turok & Parnell, 2009). One contradiction to this stands out; Human Settlements minister, Tokyo Sexwale, has acknowledged the problem of unsustainability. Newspapers have reported the minister's claim that low-income settlements are comparable to Haiti's plight in their unsustainability (Times Live, 2010); that 10% of the new increased housing budget has been allocated to rebuilding badly constructed RDP units (Engineering News, 2009); and that the issues experienced by the N2 Gateway project will be addressed (www.sagoodnews.co.za, 2010).

A further criticism regarding BNG is that it fails to consider the importance of identity and place-making (recall Section 2.6.7). Martin (2009:38) sets this out eloquently "*some will claim that the government's housing programme has been a success. These are the number crunchers, and those to whom a unit is what matters – not what it consists of, nor who is in it.*" The discounting of the importance of place-making by BNG is grave for a number of reasons. Firstly, international and South African authors indicate that the inclusion of identity and culture is a significant principle for sustainable urban development. In a press release, the new Minister of Housing indicates his support of this principle: "These must be places where people can play, stay and pray. They should be green, landscaped communities, pleasant places, where people live, learn and have leisure... the department requires a new approach, a paradigm shift beyond housing" (Sexwale as quoted in Ndawonde, 2009). Could it be that this principle will find its place in low-income development in South Africa's future?

The second reason is that, in former black locations today, identity is formed by places remembered (Bekker & Leildé, 2006). Identity is also linked to the immediate area of residence rather than the larger

city or region (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006). Therefore, a feeling of establishedness often springs from the identity and sense of power gained from a specific place (Ballard, 2004). Lemanski (2006) posits that in South Africa integration (sense of community) or segregation (aversion to outsiders) can be linked to a sense of identity arising from a sense of belonging. Therefore, the point that BNG and other urban restructuring policies are so little involved in creating places for people to form positive identities is a major flaw: the vision of a sustainable city cannot materialise without such provision. To answer the question posed by the title; BNG in its current form does not seem to be an answer to a sustainable South African city. However, it has created awareness of sustainability through its consideration thereof: which is a start.

3.7 SUMMARY

The apartheid era left the new democratic government with many a legacy of difficulties. Perhaps the most substantial was a highly segregated urban form accompanied by social scarring. The ANC came to power with big dreams and even bigger promises which they drafted in the RDP. The RDP placed great emphasis on providing housing which is not merely a physical need for South Africans, but a step toward healing the scars of forced removals caused by the Group Areas Act. Such restoration lends a sense of permanence and security – which creates more sustainable and integrated communities. The RDP was succeeded by other documents aimed at the creation of sustainable and equitable settlements based on the principle of integration. However, global pressures proved too strong and the initial integrated approach was abandoned for a singular economic focus, namely the growth employment and redistribution (GEAR) policy which had limited success. Apartheid coupled with sprawl, continued segregation, neo-liberal policy, poor service delivery, low quality settlements and poor governance have inhibited attempts at urban restructuring.

People started to question a development situation that failed to improve – even with the introduction of free basic services - and violent protests over poor service delivery spiralled. An alternative was sought, and found, in the planning implemented by Brazilian cities, specifically Curitiba. This sparked a renewed desire for the incorporation of sustainability principles back into planning which manifested in the mid 2000s in NSDP and later in a series of documents, drafted at all tiers, aiming for integrated planning.

Included in this series is BNG which seeks to include holistic planning in the housing delivery process. It placed renewed emphasis on the compact urban form. However, a number of debates on the relevance of some of the principles of the compact form suggest the need for alterations before implementation. Two main arguments stand out. First, i) inner city infill development with social housing is constrained because most of the poor cannot afford to live in central areas due to high living costs. Government subsidies are thus required to assist with rentals and maintenance of the social housing components. The inner city is seen as a sanctuary for the repressed, such as women who experience more freedom there than in the paternalistically flavoured former black townships. Second, peripheral development should not be completely discarded from policy considerations as these areas are often more conducive to the well-being of the poor than the more centrally located areas.

To assist its integrated sustainable city mandate, BNG introduced various financial and strategic mechanisms. It also introduced a tool for the integration of the poor into areas with easy access to good public services and facilities, namely inclusionary housing. Regrettably, inclusionary housing is still in its beginning phase and has not yet been legally endorsed. IH may prove to be a valuable tool for integration in South Africa, but its impact must not be overestimated due to the country's small middle and high income groups. However, the product of BNG's thinking is not very evident and its compatibility with the housing need has been questioned. The thinking is reminiscent of what this study will delve into. Consequently, brief accounts of the principles of sustainable settlements set out in BNG are given in the next chapter.

4 SUMMARISING THE SUSTAINABLE SETTLEMENT PRINCIPLES OF BNG

The aim of this research is to investigate the measures which local government officials have taken to implement the principles set out by Breaking New Ground (BNG) and concurrently to examine how BNG has been implemented in five of the fifteen leader towns of the Western Cape. Chapter Three of BNG deals specifically with housing and sustainable settlements (RSA, 2004). BNG policy deviates from existing housing policy by considering housing as a means of leverage in the creation of sustainable developments (Tomlinson, Pillay & Du Toit, 2006). Seven principles are set out in Chapter 3 of BNG to attain this. Each of the seven principles is examined in brief in the following subsections.

4.1 PRINCIPLE 1: PROGRESSIVE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT ERADICATION

There is a need to integrate informal settlements with formal settlements as the former are currently victims of exclusion (RSA, 2004). BNG recommends a tool for doing this called the human settlement plan that takes an in situ upgrading approach (i.e. the formalisation of informal settlements in their current locations) coupled with the relocation of households to more desirable locations where necessary (RSA, 2004). BNG is not prescriptive about the way informal settlement upgrading should take place, but emphasises a range of tenure (recall Table 5) and housing types. BNG advises that where informal settlements are located ideally (Principle 4) the housing typology preference will be for social housing. BNG has initiated nine pilot projects across the country, the first of which, entitled the N2 Gateway, is in the Western Cape (RSA, 2004). It is a pilot project based on the notion that a large scale housing project will be an effective way of ensuring integrated sustainable development (Huchzermeyer, 2003b; Cross; 2006) by encouraging densification through medium-density housing (Todes, 2006). The project area stretches from Cape Town International Airport to the 'city bowl' and includes four informal townships (RSA, 2004).

The pilot project involves either the in situ upgrading of an informal settlement or the relocation of inhabitants of informal settlements to better quality developments (RSA, 2004). More than 20 000 newly built houses are envisioned by 2010 (Cross, 2006; Smit, 2008) and although the project has encountered some bottlenecks (Cross, 2006; Smit, 2008) it has played a substantial role in the national department of housing's future approach, i.e. housing projects on a large scale (Smit, 2008). Cross (2006) warns that large-scale housing projects tend to limit public consultation and choice in a quest to avoid delays and increased operational costs. Foreigners cannot qualify for housing subsidies or social grants and thus they do not benefit from social justice promised by the N2 Gateway project (Oelofse, 2003). The question arises whether such large-scale projects will really assist in reaching the restructuring aim.

4.2 PRINCIPLE 2: PROMOTING DENSIFICATION AND INTEGRATION

The key concern of this principle is to ensure that previously marginalized groups are included in cities so that they benefit from the opportunities (established infrastructure, economic and social opportunities) cities offer (RSA, 2004). This principle also aims at creating settlements which are better integrated (physically and socially), environmentally viable and more functional. To do so, three tools are recommended (RSA, 2004). The first is a densification policy that sets out property taxation and zoning regulations, and considers issues like land consolidation and the exchange of land among government tiers. Densification must be based on the notions of curbing urban sprawl and placing new projects on open tracts of land in urban areas (RSA, 2004). The second tool is residential permits which stipulate that a certain percentage of private developments exceeding a certain size must make provision for lower-income housing (RSA, 2004). The third tool is that the Department of Housing⁴⁸, in conjunction with the South African Revenue Service (SARS) and other sectors, will devise fiscal incentives to promote the densification of settlements (RSA, 2004).

4.3 PRINCIPLE 3: ENHANCING SPATIAL PLANNING

The principles of the national spatial development framework (NSDP) and the national urban strategy (NUDS) must be incorporated into the spatial development planning of settlements (RSA, 2004). Further planning instruments must be aligned with economic policies as these form the basis of sustainable settlement creation. This entails greater departmental co-ordination and the creation of an over-arching planning authority or instrument which will govern on a collective level (RSA, 2004).

4.4 PRINCIPLE 4: ENHANCING THE LOCATION OF NEW HOUSING PROJECTS

The locations of previous housing projects have tended to be spatially removed from areas of economic opportunity. Four interventions have been set up to prevent this:

1. “Accessing well-located state-owned and para-statal land” (RSA, 2004: 8): Municipalities must have access to well located state-owned land which must be transferred to them by higher tiers at no cost, for the construction of housing developments. A strategy to promote this transfer has been suggested by BNG, and the responsibility for drafting this strategy has been allocated to the departments of Land Affairs and Public Works.
2. “Acquisition of well-located private land for housing development” (RSA, 2004: 8): A strategy must be devised (by the Department of Land Affairs) that will assist municipalities in attaining privately-owned land for housing. BNG indicates that this strategy was to be finalised by December 2004 (RSA, 2004),

⁴⁸ Note that this department has undergone a name change and is now referred to as the “Department of Sustainable Settlements”.

but no evidence is available to confirm this. All acquisitions must be done in accordance with municipal IDPs, SDFs and housing chapters. Private land shall be obtained only when no acceptable state-owned land is available. Payment, at market value, for privately-owned land is preferable, but expropriation may be initiated.

3. “Funding for Land Acquisition” (RSA, 2004: 8): This cost must be treated as a broader social cost and should no longer be carried by the poor. Thus the burden of land acquisition has been removed from the housing subsidy and is henceforth funded separately.
4. “Fiscal Incentives” (RSA, 2004: 8): Will be made available in conjunction with Treasury and SARS in order to promote the development of housing settlements in well-located areas. These incentives should be devised in accordance with the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) and municipalities.

4.5 PRINCIPLE 5: SUPPORTING URBAN RENEWAL AND INNER CITY REGENERATION

Housing plays an important role in the revitalisation of inner cities and former black townships (RSA, 2004). The current accent for CBD revitalisation is on higher-income housing – which often leads to the displacement of existing residents as they can no longer afford the cost of new houses (RSA, 2004). BNG sets out two thrusts which will support municipalities in their endeavours to provide affordable housing in CBDs (RSA, 2004). First, the encouragement of providing medium-density housing, i.e. social housing, in inner cities must be included in a broader strategy. This allows for the renewal of abandoned buildings such as office blocks. Second, increasing the effective demand by increasing access to loans to the middle-income group (above R3500 per month) will be encouraged and the re-instatement of the individual subsidy will be considered.

4.6 PRINCIPLE 6: DEVELOPING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

Municipalities must move away from the housing-only approach for low-income residential developments which are required to include socio-economic facilities such as schools and commercial zones (RSA, 2004). BNG makes three proposals to guide municipalities on this aspect: First, municipalities must compile a community profile as well as a supporting facilities audit to determine the demand for facilities. Thereafter, a multi-purpose cluster system must be devised which will “incorporate the provision of primary municipal facilities such as parks, playgrounds, sport fields, crèches, community halls, taxi ranks, satellite police stations, municipal clinics and informal trading facilities” (RSA, 2004: 9). Second, a funding mechanism must be devised to assist municipalities (100% funding to local municipalities and 50% funding to districts) in providing socio-economic infrastructure for new and completed low-income housing developments (RSA, 2004). Third, municipalities will be the implementing agents for such facilities and must submit business plans to the provincial sector for approval. Municipalities are also accountable for maintenance, but facilities can be managed by CBOs or NGOs (RSA, 2004).

4.7 PRINCIPLE 7: ENHANCING THE HOUSING PRODUCT

Housing products must be more flexible and suited to the households that will occupy them. This will be done through three areas of attention (RSA, 2004). First, the design of housing settlements must be enhanced through the assistance of urban designers who must compile guidelines for developers to create sustainable settlements. More specifically, the size of a low-income unit must be considered to promote a dignified household (RSA, 2004). Second, the design of housing units must be enhanced (RSA, 2004). This section of BNG is divided into urban and rural projects. In urban areas, the façade of the housing product must be such that it aligns with the broader social fabric, i.e. the look of the RDP unit must be altered. Alternative technologies and materials must be considered to create a higher degree of sustainability (RSA, 2004). In a rural context, the use of indigenous materials must be incorporated into the building of housing units in order to improve the quality of housing products. There is also a need to improve services and tenure in rural areas (RSA, 2004). Third, the level of housing quality needs to be addressed. Increased compliance with building norms and controls must be implemented by municipalities (RSA, 2004). An audit is proposed which will take cognizance of the housing units built before national norms were implemented so as to remedy the poor quality of these units (RSA, 2004).

4.8 SUMMARY

The principles for sustainable development as envisioned by BNG spell out a more diverse settlement. Principle 1 introduces the eradication of informal settlements either by formalising existing informal areas whose location aligns with Principle 4 or by relocating informal settlements to areas which are more conducive to a sustainable livelihood. The N2 Gateway has been implemented as a pilot project for mass informal settlement upgrading which is based on Principle 2, i.e. densification and integration. Principle 3 indicates that the broader planning of the NSDP and the NUDS must be incorporated in local projects. Principle 4 considers that low-income housing can no longer be located far away from urban hubs, and that state land must be transferred to municipalities for the realisation of this. Another means of locating the poor close to urban amenities is to place them in central areas through infill development (Principle 5). Principle 6 calls for a diverse settlement that provides economic and social infrastructure for housing beneficiaries. The last principle states that the housing unit can no longer be singular, but rather flexible to cater to the needs of households, and the quality of units must also be improved. The next chapter profiles the five towns researched to provide an introduction to the findings of the study.

5 PROFILING THE TOWNS STUDIED

In 2005, the Western Cape provincial government commissioned a report to identify, as per the NSDP's directive, the development potential of the province's non-metropolitan areas. Fifteen towns were identified in the Growth potential of towns study as having the most growth potential according to a number of indicators aligned to the NSDP (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). As mentioned in Section 1.3, the research for this study was based on five of these fifteen leader towns (Figure 9). Information for this map was obtained using Google Earth (earth.google.com) and survey data from the growth potential of towns study (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). The purpose of this chapter is to outline the history and geography of these five towns, and their respective municipalities, in preparation for the findings as a setting for presenting the findings of this study. This has been done using information from the growth potential of towns study (Van der Merwe et al, 2005), Statssa (2001; 2007), and municipal documents. Data on the housing typologies in the selected areas has also been included as the aim of this study reflects how housing policy (BNG) has influenced the urban area. In addition, an understanding of the main economic activities of the five municipal areas is important as these activities play a large part in determining their growth and thus development potential.

Four of the five towns (George, Hermanus, Paarl, Malmesbury) have been classified as having high growth potential. The fifth town, Beaufort West, is only seen to be of medium development value, but is the town within the Central Karoo District municipality with the highest growth potential (Van der Merwe et al, 2005) and was thus included in the study area. The growth potential study applied five indicators to rank the composite growth potential, calculated as per index values, of 131 towns in the Western Cape (WC) (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). These are: resource potential, infrastructure, economic activities, development potential and human needs. Note that no general ranking has occurred, as "towns are...ranked and classified according to their multi-dimensional growth potential as well as the nature of their current development record status" (Van der Merwe et al, 2005: 6). George and Paarl were ranked highly in all categories except human needs where Malmesbury and Hermanus fared better. Paarl's human (social) need is very high as the town is 109th on the ranking. The growth potential study ascribes this to a high level of in-migration with immigrants seeking to tap into the high economic potential of the town. The holiday towns along the WC coast generally have the highest resource potential; however Hermanus only falls in the middle potential group. Larger towns rank higher than smaller towns with regard to their economic and infrastructural base as these towns have self-sustaining economies and can therefore invest more in infrastructure. All five selected towns rank in the top 11 best equipped with a sound infrastructural base. Also, due to the population densities of these towns, many institutional offices are located in them (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). The towns are ranked in the order following order regarding their development potential: i) George (2nd overall), ii) Paarl, iii) Hermanus, iv) Malmesbury, and v) Beaufort West.

Note that the tables for each of the five municipal areas below contain data from 2001 (RSA, 2001), while the figures are based on 2007 projections (RSA, 2007). No comparison will be made between the 2001 and

2007 data as the former pertains to the population size of the town with regard to the greater municipal area. As this data was gathered during the latest census data, it is deemed a more accurate reflection of population size than the 2007 projections which were derived from a sample (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). However, the 2007 projections are more sufficient for determining the latest housing typology and economic activity figures (used per municipality).

5.1 GEORGE

The town of George is located in the administrative jurisdiction of the George local municipality and Eden district municipality. The town is regionally well connected by the N2 which links the town with Cape Town and Gauteng (Figure 9) (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). The town houses the district municipality's administration offices which have contributed to recent development of the town (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; George Municipality, 2009a). This rapid population growth has earned George the title of the largest town in the WC (Van der Merwe et al, 2005), and consequently development has increased property prices in the municipal area with concomitant negative implications for housing delivery (George Municipality, 2008; 2009a). The municipality boasts a diverse transport network (roads) which promote high levels of physical integration between the different towns (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; George Municipality, 2009a) as well as low crime levels and a large skilled workforce (George Municipality, 2009a). Unfortunately, the municipality is currently a disaster area due to the severe drought (worst in 132 years in the southern Cape) (George Municipality, 2009).

Table 6: Outline of George town and municipality

GEORGE MUNICIPALITY	
Population size (2001): municipal area	135407
Population size (2001): town	118178
Place identity	Situated on the Garden Route

Source: Statssa (2001); Van der Merwe et al (2005)

The town of George has relatively big population size (Table 6) compared to the other four towns (see respective tables) and comprises roughly 90% of the total population for the George municipal area. The town is situated in beautiful natural surroundings and is a prime tourist destination – which further enhances its development potential (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; George Municipality, 2009a).

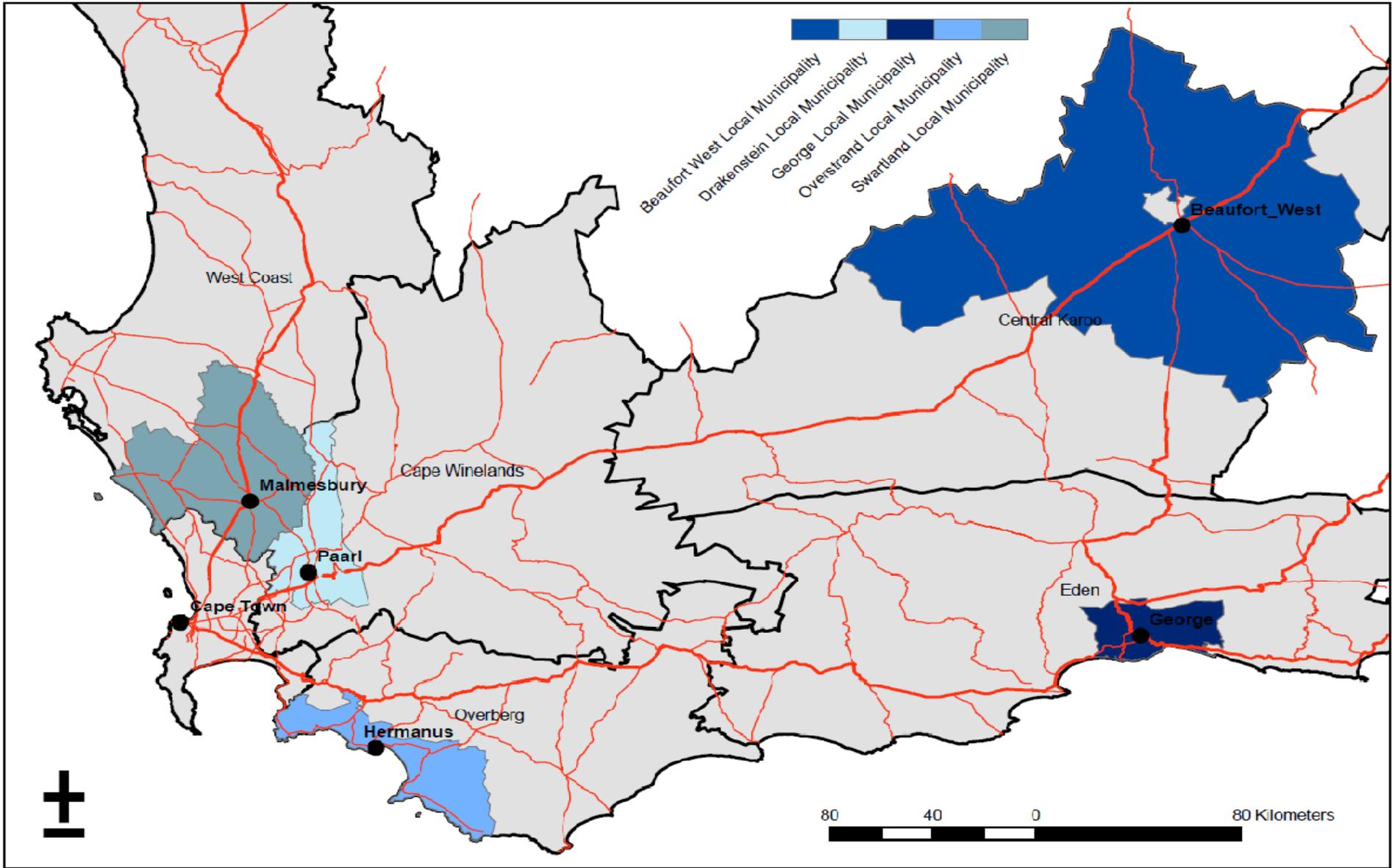


Figure 9: The study areas within the Western Cape province

Figure 10 indicates that most of the housing typologies in George municipality are free standing units, while roughly a third of the dwellings in the municipality are informal (backyard and dwellings located in non-formalised townships).

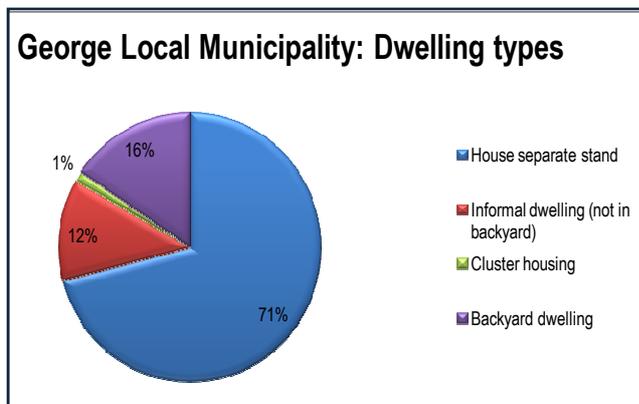


Figure 10: Dwelling types in George
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

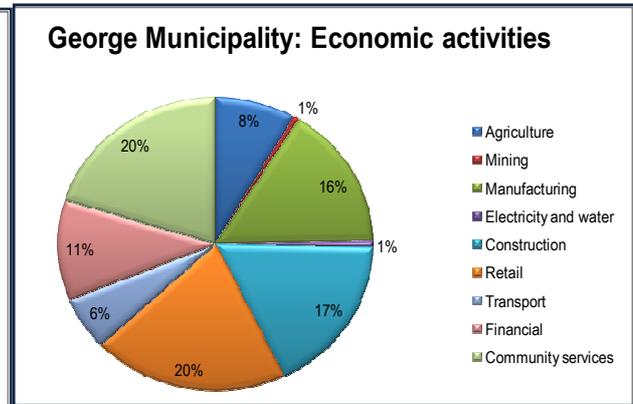


Figure 11: Economic activities in George
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

Main economic activities (Figure 11) include manufacturing, community services, retail, and construction. Van der Merwe et al (2005) indicates that the area also offers extensive public facilities such as hospitals, educational institutions, and an airport

5.2 PAARL

The town of Paarl is located approximately 80km from Cape Town (Figure 9) at the foot of the second biggest outcrop of granite globally, and falls under the jurisdiction of the Drakenstein local municipality and the Cape Winelands district municipality. Paarl also houses the offices of the Drakenstein local municipality.

Table 7: Outline of Paarl and Drakenstein municipality

DRAKENSTEIN MUNICIPALITY	
Population size (2001): municipal area	194 415
Population size (2001): town	105 306
Place identity	Culture and heritage

Source: Statssa (2001); Van der Merwe et al (2005)

Paarl has the second largest population size of the five selected municipalities and houses approximately fifty percent of the municipal population (Table 7). The town is the third oldest in the country and has a diverse historical and cultural nature, including the natural wonder of the colossal arboreal trees planted by Simon van der Stel. Other historical values include the Drakenstein prison where Nelson Mandela was detained for a few years before his release and the Afrikaans Language Monument (*Paarl* tourism, 2009).

The municipal area is mostly characterised by single stand dwellings, but has quite a strong presence of informal housing (Figure 12).

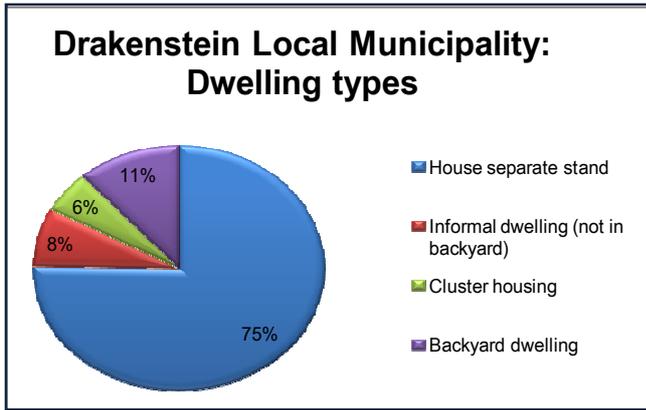


Figure 12: Dwelling types in Drakenstein
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

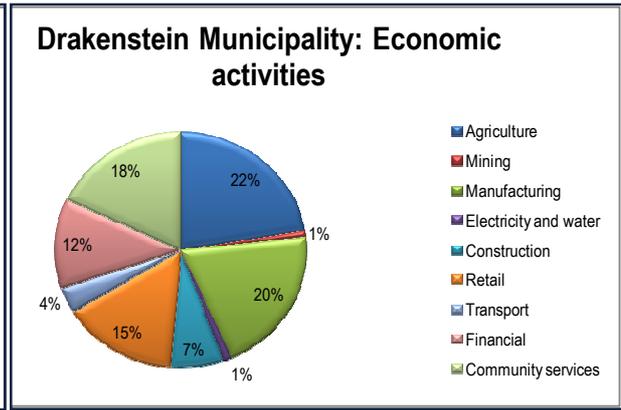


Figure 13: Economic activities in Drakenstein
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

The municipality has a strong economic base (Van der Merwe et al, 2005) including mainly agriculture, manufacturing, community services and retail (Figure 13). The municipality adds tourism as an additional economic activity which not included in Figure 13 (Drakenstein Municipality, 2006; 2009). Van der Merwe et al (2005) warn that developable land is limited in Paarl and propose the integration of Paarl and adjacent Wellington to overcome this.

5.3 HERMANUS

Hermanus is located under the Overstrand local municipality and the Overberg district municipality (Figure 9). The Overstrand municipal offices are located in Hermanus which is the service hub to the rest of the municipal area (Overstrand Municipality, 2009).

Table 8: Outline of Hermanus and Overstrand municipality

OVERSTRAND MUNICIPALITY	
Population size (2001): municipal area	55 449
Population size (2001): town	17 350
Place identity	Whale watching

Source: Statssa (2001); Van der Merwe et al (2005)

Overstrand has a relatively small population group if compared to the other four towns in this study (Table 8). Hermanus houses approximately one third of this population which is mostly retired (Overstrand Municipality, 2009). The town is a popular holiday destination (Table 8) prominent for its whale watching (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). Thus tourism is one of its main economic activities (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; Overstrand Municipality, 2009).

82 percent of the dwellings in Overstrand municipality are freestanding units (Figure 14). Main economic activities of the municipality include construction, retail, community and financial services (Figure 15).

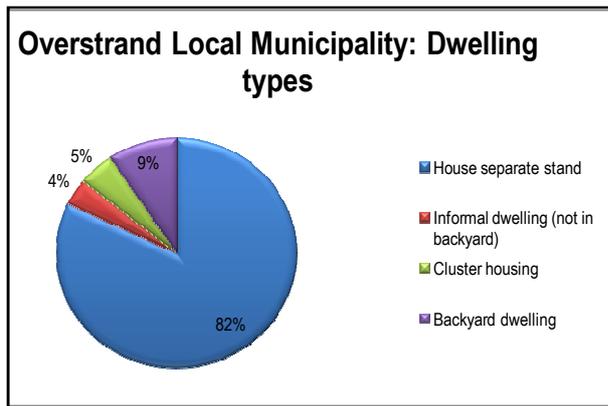


Figure 14: Dwelling types in Overstrand
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

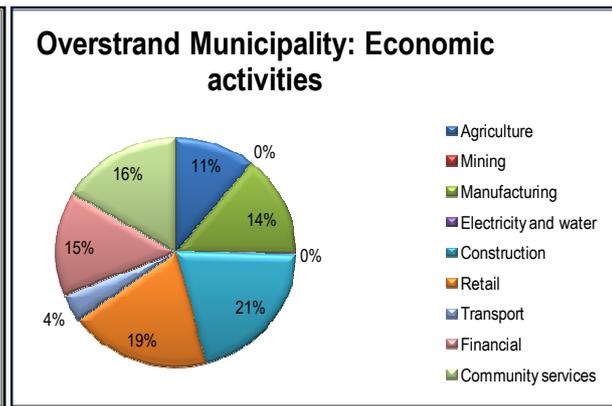


Figure 15: Economic activities in Overstrand
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

Unfortunately, this municipality suffers from water shortages and lacks suitable land for development, both of which could hinder future growth (Van der Merwe et al, 2005).

5.4 MALMESBURY

Malmesbury houses both the municipal (Swartland local municipality) and district (West Coast district municipality) offices (Swartland Municipality, 2007). The town is located approximately 60km north of Cape Town along the N2 (Figure 9). Malmesbury has attracted a growing entrepreneurial base (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; Swartland Municipality, 2007) which could account for its low human needs indication (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). Remarkably, the town is a residential base for people who prefer the town's tranquillity to the bustle of Cape (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). The town has also attracted migrants from Cape Town and this has largely inflated the infrastructure backlogs (Van der Merwe et al, 2005; Swartland Municipality, 2007).

Table 9: Outline of Malmesbury and Swartland municipality

SWARTLAND MUNICIPALITY	
Population size (2001): municipal area	72 113
Population size (2001): town	25 706
Place identity	Food production

Source: Statssa (2001); Van der Merwe et al (2005)

Malmesbury houses about one third of the municipal population (Table 9) and is known as the "bread basket of the Western Cape" (Van der Merwe et al, 2005: 77). Most of the dwellings in Swartland municipality are single units on separate stands (Figure 16).

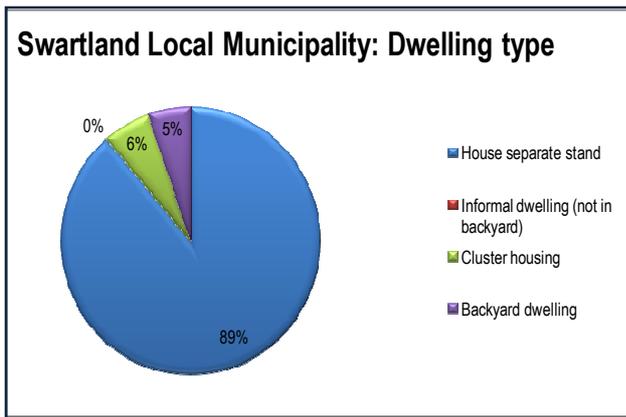


Figure 16: Dwelling types in Swartland
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

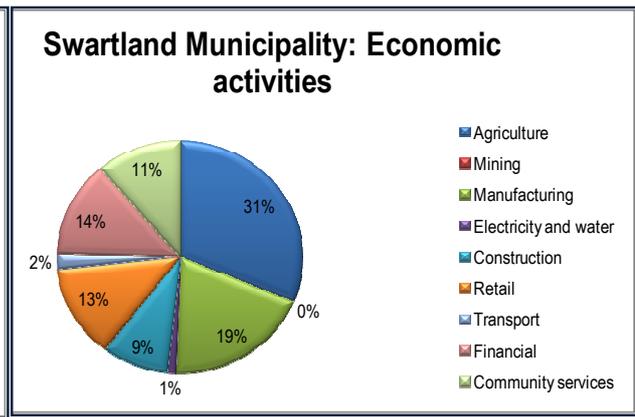


Figure 17: Economic activities in Swartland
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

Surprisingly, the municipality experiences an almost non-existent phenomenon of dwellings on non-formalised land, with cluster housing and backyard dwelling comprising the remainder (Figure 16). Agriculture is the municipality’s main economic activity (Figure 17) with agriculture, manufacturing, financial services and retail as subsequent major activities.

5.5 BEAUFORT WEST

In 1837, Beaufort West municipality was established by Lord Charles Somerset and is the oldest municipality in the country (*Beaufort West tourism, 2009*). Currently, the town of Beaufort West houses the district (Central Karoo municipality) and local (Beaufort West municipality) administrative offices (Beaufort West Municipality, 2008).

Table 10: Outline of Beaufort West town and municipality

BEAUFORT WEST MUNICIPALITY	
Population size (2001): municipal area	37 103
Population size (2001): town	30 676
Place identity	Historical and entry town to the Western Cape (along N2)

Source: Statssa (2001); Van der Merwe et al (2005)

Of the five selected towns, Beaufort West has the smallest population size and houses eighty percent of the municipal population (Table 10). Initially founded for rail and administration purposes, the town is an important node on the N2 between Gauteng and Cape Town (Figure 9) and is also seen as an important entry point to the Western Cape (Van der Merwe et al, 2005). The town has a rich history involving a wealth of fossil extractions, bushmen paintings and graves of Anglo-Boer war casualties. It is also the birthplace of the late Dr Chris Barnard, the world-famous heart surgeon (*Beaufort West tourism, 2009*).

Most of the municipality’s dwellings are on separate stands (Figure 18). Interestingly, the municipality houses the most cluster dwellings of all five selected areas and, from Figure 18, informal housing seems to be a minority dwelling type.

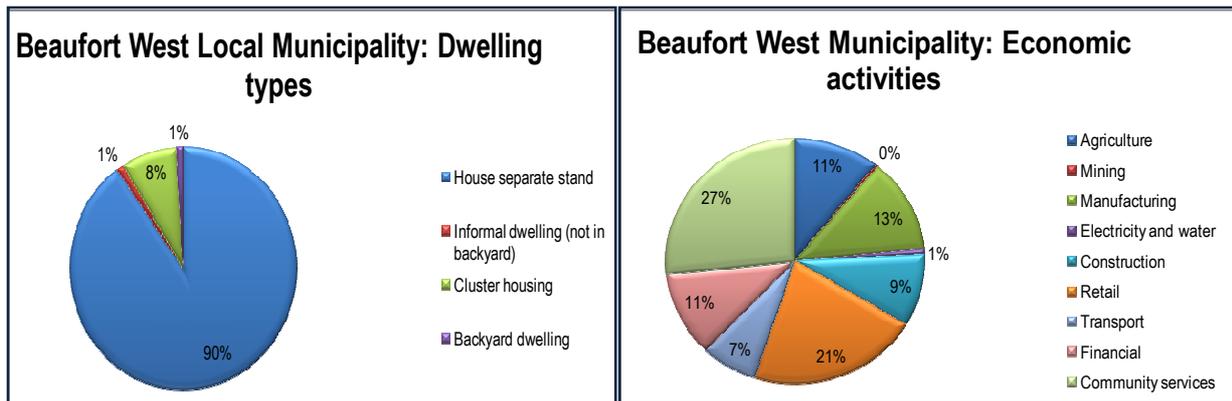


Figure 18: Dwelling types in Beaufort West
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

Figure 19: Economic activities in Beaufort West
Source: Adapted from Statssa (2007)

The municipality's main economic activities are community services, retail, financial services and agriculture (Figure 19). Some tourism is generated by the Karoo National Park located near to the town (Beaufort West Municipality, 2008).

5.6 SUMMARY

The brief profiles of the five towns to be studied show that they all house the administrative offices of their local and/or district municipalities. Infrastructure and social services are comparatively well supplied in the towns. Housing typology consists mainly of free standing units and economic activities vary among the respective municipalities. Please note that the concept of integration (as per the research aim) demands a broader regional perspective and thus, many of the questions directed to and answered by the municipal officials related to the municipal area under their jurisdiction in which the leader towns are located. Thus, the findings contained in Chapters 6 and 7 will refer to the municipal names, only specifying the town if the context so requires.

The next two chapters aim to answer the research objectives of this study by setting out the interviewees' opinions. For purposes of clarity, the findings have been divided into separate chapters. The first, Chapter 6, considers certain factors having a direct impact on municipal housing delivery, while Chapter 7 deals with BNG's sustainability principles one through seven.

6 BNG AS APPLIED TO FIVE WESTERN CAPE LEADER TOWNS: CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES

In addition to the principles of BNG, municipalities were influenced by other factors in their implementation of housing directives. This chapter reports on the influences of these factors based on municipal opinions recorded in the interviews. This chapter also is an attempt at answering objective 7 (the current housing situation in the targeted municipalities and the factors which have led to this situation). Objective 8 (how BNG can be made more efficient) is also partly answered in this chapter. The text in this chapter is as a result of the answers given to questions 1.1 to 1.15 (Addendum) as well as additional questions posed during the individual interviews (please note, as in Chapter 1, the schedule was used as a guideline during interviews).

These factors influencing housing delivery have been categorised in five groups. First, migration and housing backlogs involves the impact of population flows (migration) on housing backlogs which have led to housing shortages of crisis proportions in municipalities. Municipalities have opinions on the solutions to the housing crises of their respective municipalities. These are also set out under this grouping. Second is housing technicalities comprising i) the evolution of the housing unit (specific to the respective municipalities) since 1994, ii) the nature of houses built as a result of BNG, and iii) the impacts of the indigent grant as well as the spirit of non-payment of services on municipalities. The third category: communication; considers the co-ordination between municipal departments as well as the relationship between municipalities, higher spheres, the populace and civic organisations. The fourth category capacity and gearing, considers how municipalities have geared themselves to implement BNG. It also considers the relevance of BNG to real-life issues. The final categorisation, politics and housing, looks at the effect of politics on the housing process. These categorisations are presented in the form of a table (of each respective grouping) which is preceded by a discussion thereof.

6.1 MIGRATION AND HOUSING BACKLOGS: WORKING IN TANDEM?

Most⁴⁹ municipalities were plagued by large housing backlogs. From the literature, it is evident that a major contributor to these municipal backlogs is the migration and immigration of individuals. Cross (2006) concurs that housing delivery has not been very effective up until now, and the eradication of informal settlements cannot be possible until the demand caused by in-migration can be met. The opinions of the interviewees also suggest that migration and housing backlogs operate in tandem. The reasons given are set out in this section. Migration is a common phenomenon in South African urban areas. Cross (2006) notes that the country's major metropolitan areas experience, on average, a migration-related growth of 4% per annum. Turok & Parnell

⁴⁹ Four out of five.

(2009) contend that this rapid urban growth is beyond municipal capacity. It is clear that the five non-metropolitan, leader towns are facing a similar, if not more extensive, situation. This rapid growth is evident in Table 11 which tabulates the population growth in the five municipalities over a six year period. All the municipalities, except Beaufort West, have experienced a positive population growth as these municipalities are relatively prosperous and thus attract people. A migrant once told Overstrand officials that “it is better to be a poor man in a rich town than a poor man in a poor town.” Overstrand municipality is the most striking case as it has experienced an extensive population growth of 25.6% from 2001 to 2007 (Table 11).

Table 11: Issues concerning migration

BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • -0.1% growth⁵⁰ • Backlog 2009: 4000+ • Housing crisis: Yes, length of waiting list is growing, not diminishing. The increase of the adult age of 18 to 21 has also placed a burden on this municipality • <u>Solution</u>: Large scale project like N2 Gateway 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 10.4% growth • Backlog (2009): approx 23000⁵¹ • Housing crisis: Yes, daily increase in numbers on waiting list. Housing is always a top priority for communities during contact sessions (such as IDP and housing policy review). • <u>Solution</u>: More funding, inter-governmental planning and community participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 11.3% growth • Backlog (2009): 11 303⁵² • Housing crisis: Yes, great in-migration • <u>Solution</u>: Look at big picture during planning – where will the jobs be in 10 years time? Place projects there. Also, can't give people a single stand with a house on it – stronger focus on walk-ups or give just a serviced site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 25.6% growth • Backlog (2007): 4051⁵³. • Housing crisis: Yes, extreme influx • <u>Solution</u>: Include municipalities in sketching of policies, large-scale project, CRU housing, give serviced land only (safe environment): no house to people who can't pay services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6.9% growth • Backlog (2009): 8620⁵⁴ or 7000⁵⁵ • Housing crisis: Not on municipal level. National tier failing to curb migration; which places great pressure on municipalities • <u>Solution</u>: Greater attention to national problems

There are ten informal settlements within Overstrand's area of jurisdiction, housing approximately 3064 squatters, with a verified housing waiting list of 4051 (in 2007) which was set to be revised in September 2009.

⁵⁰ Figures on population growth percentages for the five municipalities were obtained from the Municipal Demarcation Board Capacity Reports (RSA, 2008/2009). Percentages calculated from 2001 Census figures and 2007 Community Survey figures.

⁵¹ Drakenstein Municipality (2009).

⁵² George Municipality (2009).

⁵³ Overstrand Municipality (2009).

⁵⁴ Statistics provided by housing official interviewed (2009).

⁵⁵ Swartland Municipality (2007).

Further, the municipality projects that its population will increase to almost 93 000 by 2010 (Overstrand Municipality, 2009). In light of the capacity report of the municipality, this growth heralds an imminent problem for housing service provision. Interestingly, the officials observed that high in-migration cannot always be attributed to the presence of a housing project(s) in an area. They cited the example of the eastern part of the Western Cape where people are not inclined to move to Riversdale (which is a smaller and less economically active area), but rather settle in Mossel Bay, an area characterised by economic stability with a good infrastructural base. The reason given is that poor people are more attracted by a diversity of services (e.g. health care, schools, and entertainment facilities) and employment opportunities than by housing availability. Should a town offer both the above and announce a large housing project (as in Hermanus), the area will experience an explosion of in-migration. Another contribution to Overstrand's high level of in-migration is the area's safety factor which is which is superior to that of, for example, Khayalitsha in Cape Town (Table 11).

Beaufort West is experiencing a "brain drain" of sorts where many of their skilled labourers are leaving the area (Beaufort West Municipality, 2008). To counter this, they have prioritised gap housing to attract skilled labour. Beaufort West respondents clearly set out the seriousness of the current housing provision and the effect it has on municipal backlogs (Table 11). The annual increase in names on the waiting list is 250-350. During the 2006-2008 period, they were allocated three housing projects of 156, 512, 598 units each and the projects last for two years. Hypothetically, this means that 1266 units were built from 2006 to 2008 – a two-year financial period. If the average increase in the waiting list is 300, this would imply an increase of 600 units over two years, which means that just the increase in the backlog would overtake the number of units built in a two-year period over approximately three years. This has almost no effect on the 4000 individuals already on the waiting list. All municipalities are suffering from this and have called for 100-1500 units to be built to meet their waiting list needs (Beaufort West interviewee).

In its housing plan, George Municipality (2004) has allocated a spike in the growth of their built-environment to tourism (a spin-off from the Garden Route project). George municipality also claims to have the largest economic hub in the district. The latter two features have led to elevated in-migration from out-lying areas. Malmesbury⁵⁶ expects a further in-migration of low-income individuals which could pressurise the housing demand. However, Swartland interviewees indicated that rural areas (or smaller towns) are expected to gain more skilled individuals due to higher employment opportunities offered on farms. Beaufort West is a remarkable case as it had a negative population growth of -0.1 percent (Table 11). Yet, it is experiencing a vast increase in housing demand stemming from people currently residing within the municipal borders. The municipality has experienced an increase in applications for housing allocations of about 600 more people per

⁵⁶ A leader town in Swartland Municipality.

annum in the last few years. This has been attributed to the lowering in the national adult age from 21 to 18 which occurred in 2005⁵⁷. As one must be an adult to apply for a state subsidised house, the reduction of this age has placed quite a burden on this municipality. This situation is reflected in the literature which indicates that household sizes are getting smaller, while the number of households is increasing, thus placing an increased burden on the supply of housing (Pillay, 2008).

6.1.1 Housing backlog sizes

Table 11 indicates that the housing backlogs in the five municipalities range from 4000 to 23 000 applicants. There are however, some discrepancies regarding backlog numbers. For example, the Swartland Municipality (2007) gives their backlog as 7000, whereas the numbers given by the housing officials was 8620. Similarly, the Drakenstein Municipality (2009) states an approximate backlog of 23 000, while the Drakenstein urban edge policy (Drakenstein Municipality, 2007) – which is only two years older than their IDP - estimates it at a mere 13 000. When the Drakenstein housing manager was queried about this, she explained that waiting lists are quite dynamic because many people apply who do not qualify for subsidy housing. Further, some applicants move out of the area in search of employment opportunities elsewhere (often on a seasonal basis). As the lists are updated, the names of these people are removed causing the totals to vary considerably⁵⁸.

The question remains whether the municipalities regard these numbers as indicative of a crisis in their housing scenario (Table 11). When asked if their municipality was experiencing a housing crisis, all the respondents, except Swartland, answered that – due to uncontrolled in-migration – they were. But other issues are responsible too. Drakenstein municipality is approached daily by people seeking a house or assistance with repairs to their own house. Natural disasters such as flooding are common in areas (most often the informal settlements) which do not have adequate water reticulation. Drakenstein's greatest housing need lies in its low-income wards. George, Swartland and Beaufort West are waging losing battles to supply houses. For example, George's recently (2009) updated waiting list stands at 11 303 while growing by 840 applications per annum (George Municipality, 2009) but only receives an allocation of 300-400 units a year. Beaufort West had a demand of over 4000 units in 2009. Given an increase of 250-350 applicants a year as opposed to an allocation of 2575 units for 2006 to 2008, the situation is on crisis proportions. No houses were built in Beaufort West

57 Note that this change was effected by the Children's Act (38 of 2005) which brought clarity regarding the age between 18 and 21. Individuals of this age group were seen as "neither a child nor an adult" (Govender & Masango, 2007: 1) by the previous Age of Majority Act (1972). It was felt that this was no longer applicable due to the socio-economic and political changes that have since taken place in South Africa – and that 18 years is a more appropriate age for an adult status.

58 This housing manager advised that the numbers given in the IDP (2009: 18) should be used for this research.

between 1999 and 2006⁵⁹. Effectively, all progress made in reducing waiting list numbers over two years was cancelled by the growth of applications so that municipalities are clearly fighting losing battles.

George Municipality (2009) projects that it will take 57 years at the current rate of supply to eradicate their backlog. Overstrand officials estimate that it will take 15 years to meet their backlog demand (which, at 4051, is the lowest of all the municipalities), provided that no names are added to the waiting list. Swartland municipality has built 5545 housing units in the period 1997 to 2007 (their backlog was 7728 in 1997). The 2007 waiting list number stands at 8620, clearly indicating that the municipality is unable to meet the rising demand. A plea by one of the officials interviewed voices the predicament: “Die tempo [that of the demand relative to supply] is nie doeselfde nie. Daarom, moet meer huise gebou word in ‘n korter tydperk. En dit is onmoontlik omdat daar is te min geld en die grond is nie beskikbaar nie. Dit is nie in munisipaliteite se vermoë om in sulke groot hoeveelhede te belê nie – dit is die groot kopseer. Ons werk stelselmatig aan die waglyst, maar ons kan net ‘n baie klein verskil maak – nie ‘n drastiese ene nie. Dit sal verminder, maar die groei en ‘influx’ van die mense is ververskriklik.”⁶⁰

Further, Beaufort West municipality had no housing allocations for 2009, but it is installing bulk infrastructure as part of the first phases of the aforementioned projects. When the interview was conducted (in July 2009), the construction of the top structures were to be initiated in the next few months. The fact that Beaufort West does not get allocations every year a cause of great concern to the housing officials because, given the housing demand, they cannot afford not to build new houses every year. The interviewees from the Swartland municipality (where the backlog was the third greatest at 8620 – see Table 11) expressed that the crisis lay on a higher level, i.e. with provincial or national government as these had not done enough “om die invloed of ‘influx’ van mense te beheer nie en dit veroorsaak ekstra druk op munisipaliteite”⁶¹. This comment was made in light of waiting lists swollen with the names of non-residents, thereby reducing the municipality’s ability to provide for their “eie mense”⁶².

⁵⁹ The interviewee was not an employee of the Beaufort West municipality at that time and is not certain why there was a lull in housing provision.

⁶⁰ The pace (that of the demand relative to supply) is not the same. Therefore, more houses need to be built in a shorter period. And that is impossible because there is not enough money and the ground is not available. Municipalities are in no position to be able to invest such great amounts - that is the great headache. We are systematically working on the waiting list, but we can only make a very small difference – we can’t make a drastic one. It will decrease, but the growth and influx of the population is terrible.

⁶¹ Curb the influx of people which places greater pressure on municipalities.

⁶² Own people.

6.1.2 Perceived solutions to the housing crises

When asked what solutions the municipal officials believed would alleviate their housing crises, a large-scale project, more funding, more communication, high-density housing, giving only a serviced site, and more planning on national scale issues were mentioned (Table 11). George and Overstrand municipalities, contended by Swartland Municipality (2006) saw the solution from a regional planning and project-specific viewpoints, i.e. amplified proactive planning, implementing and monitoring of housing settlements. They are keen to consider alternative approaches to housing delivery in accordance with BNG. One of these alternatives is the scrapping of the capital subsidy (RDP) concept of a single erf for a single residential unit, and rather implementing higher-density options such as walk-ups (medium density housing with a maximum of four storeys). Beaufort West municipality also favoured higher-density housing expansion, and it identified the north-western quadrant of the main town of Beaufort West as an ideal location for this, as it “will ensure a more balanced development around the Town Centre, allowing all residents improved access to employment opportunities” (Beaufort West Municipality, 2004: 37).

However, none of the current housing projects are located in the core of Beaufort West (recall Table 11) due to a lack of space as all buildings in the CBD are currently in use. This could indicate a misalignment of housing policy and the practical aspects of planning in a non-metropolitan town⁶³. The Beaufort West respondent believes that a large-scale project – like the N2 Gateway – would be a good solution to meeting the housing demand in their area. Drakenstein’s interviewees listed three ways to relieve its crisis, namely i) increased funding allocation ii) the enhancement of the quality and number of housing projects, and iii) more inter-governmental planning coupled with intensive public participation. Beaufort West’s respondents agreed that more funding was needed⁶⁴. The Swartland Municipality (2006: 5) supports the other municipalities in saying: “To effectively address this alarming situation, current funds will not suffice to do so. Therefore, a concerted effort needs to be made, in ensuring adequate funding to effectively address this situation.”

Much has been said regarding the housing demand experienced by the relevant municipalities. It is appropriate to consider the definitions provided by the various municipalities of the housing service delivery tools. The next section sets out the various municipal views on what constitutes a subsidised unit, what this unit is like to work with and what technical options within the current framework the municipalities have endorsed so far.

⁶³ See Principle 5 in Section 4.5.

⁶⁴ The Beaufort West official stated that they need an allocation increase of 1000-1500 units per annum in order to whittle down their waiting list.

6.2 HOUSING TECHNICALITIES

The fieldwork revealed that the first attempts at providing low-income housing were not generally accepted as “adequate” by the beneficiaries who dwelled in them. The first subsection follows the evolution of the low-income housing unit from 1994 to the present. It will show that much public discontent was coupled to the first attempts at low-income housing, but that this has lessened somewhat. Subsection 6.2.2 considers the extent which the units, as set out by BNG, have been implemented by municipalities and whether officials believe that this unit is a more sustainable option. The impact of the indigent grant - combined with a culture of non-payment of municipal services - on housing delivery is set out in the third subsection.

6.2.1 Evolution of the low-income housing unit

As shown in Chapter 4, BNG attempts to shift the development agenda away from the production of uniform houses-only townships to a more holistic settlement. New housing typologies have been introduced and changes in the quality of low-income units have been effected. Municipal officials were questioned about how these changes have manifested in their areas (Figure 20).

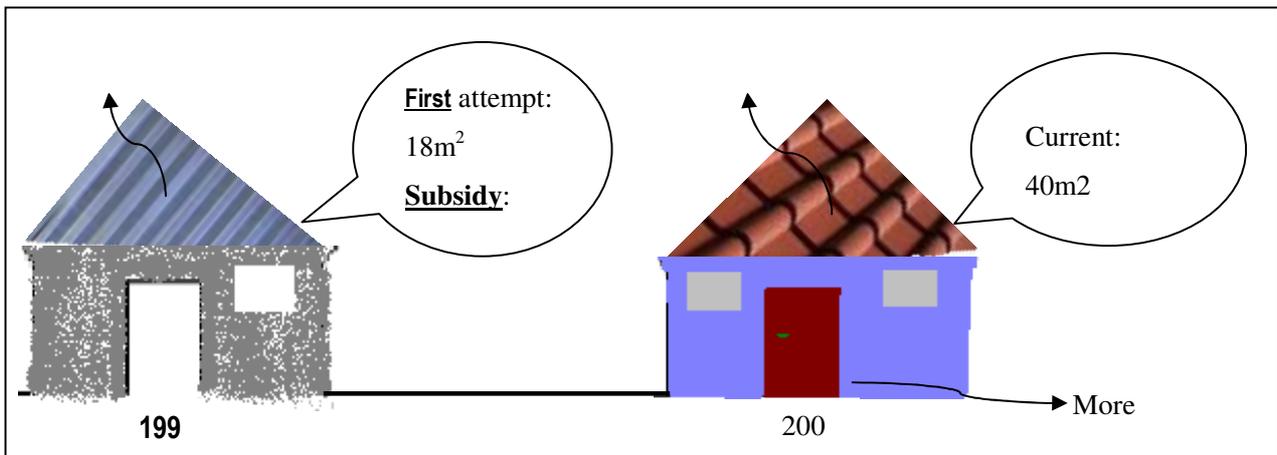


Figure 20: The development of the capital subsidy unit

The answers indicated that the first units to be implemented were very small, one-roomed houses of about 18m² in size (Figure 20). Because of these units’ open plan design (one room with an inside toilet facility), they afforded little privacy to household members⁶⁵. Overstrand’s officials maintained that the subsidy allocations at the time were inadequate as most of the areas used for low-cost housing had no access to existing infrastructural services. It was reported that the subsidy structure was singular and not split into separate allocations for bulk infrastructure (e.g. sanitation and water) and a top structure as in its current form.

⁶⁵ This was reported specifically by the Beaufort West and Overstrand municipalities.

Consequently, services had to be provided before any houses could be built and most of the subsidy was spent on expensive bulk services, leaving insufficient amounts of the subsidy for constructing houses, leading to their small and insufficient nature. There is consensus that the previous units afforded no flexibility regarding alterations to the structure. Residents were prevented from creating their own distinctive personal spaces and this hampered their taking of possession of units, which in turn, inhibited the integration of households into the greater community.

From about 1999 certain changes (Table 12) were initiated including various increases in the subsidy amounts (starting at approximately R17 000 per unit and increasing to R24 000, R28 000, R36 000 and eventually to the current amount of R40 000 per unit). The subsidy was also split to cover bulk services and the top structure separately. These changes (Figure 20) enabled municipalities to build larger units (which started at 18m² and grew to the current 40m²) with compartmentalised bedrooms, an open-plan kitchen, a sitting room and an inside toilet (Table 12).

Table 12: Technical aspects of municipal housing provision

Notes	BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
Change in housing unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1999 to 2005: one open plan-room with inside toilet (36m²) • 2005 +: Two bedroom with sitting room and inside toilet (42m²) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1994+: 20m² with one room was accepted • Latest: minimum 40m² depending on housing option – Peoples’ Housing Projects can be bigger 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Size increased as the subsidy was augmented. • The specifications changed, i.e. more doors, ceilings and windows were included in the design, the roof changed from being built out of zinc to a tiled roof, a mother board was included to manage electricity, and the units are now plastered and painted. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dramatic change, national government has learned from their mistakes. • Beginning: 18m² all developments were new and bulk services had to be provided. Thus the whole subsidy was used for services and none was left for the top structure. • Subsidy increased R17 000 to R24 000-R28 000 to R36 000 to current R40 000. • Families in old unit had no privacy. New unit (40m²) with two separate bedrooms and bathroom; more privacy 	<p>Started with a minimum of 18m², now minimum size is 40m². Reason is the growth in the housing subsidy.</p>

Units built	Approx 1200	Approx 1200	Approx 450 (trouble with EIA process)	88 (court case regarding tender)	335 units
Opinions on the RDP	Second unit is much more sustainable than the first unit – the community finds this more acceptable.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New unit (post 2004) is known as BNG. • Current unit is much better as beneficiaries have more privacy and extensions can be done on it (on owners account). • A single plot of land is not sustainable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not sustainable to give each person a single plot of land. Thus, the subsidy for the top structure must rather be used to service the site. There should be more focus on walk-ups. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not easy to implement: too much red tape. • Non-payment of services: beneficiaries see payment of rates and taxes as “rent”. Puts a strain on municipality’s capacity to maintain service delivery. • Single plot of land is not sustainable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Easy to build as use unique patent which is very strong and certain alterations can be made to the unit • Single plot of land is not sustainable • Rather give a serviced site.

These improvements provided structures which all municipalities agreed were more acceptable to the various communities. George municipality placed specific emphasis on the new specifications (Table 12) they were allowed as by the increased subsidy. These specifications sanctioned more doors and windows, fitted ceilings, plastered and painted outside walls, a motherboard per unit to provide prepaid electricity, and the changing of roofing materials from zinc to tiles (Figure 20). More housing options⁶⁶ were subsequently introduced such as the peoples’ housing project (PHP). Officials at all five municipalities agreed that these changes have been for the better.

6.2.2 BNG housing: A more sustainable option?

The numbers of housing units built from 2007 to 2009⁶⁷ (Table 12) range from 88 (Overstrand) to 1200 (Beaufort West and Drakenstein). Overstrand and George experienced technical difficulties in the application (for new housing settlements) process which hindered their output. Overstrand municipality could have built around 3000 units (Table 12) had it not been for a court case⁶⁸ regarding their tender process. This court case has run for a few years and is ongoing. All related low-cost development has been halted until the matter has

⁶⁶ See Table 5 for a description of these options.

⁶⁷ Note that these figures exclude the rebuilding and repair of housing units damaged in a natural disaster such as a fire.

⁶⁸ An anomaly occurred during a tender process (for a building contract). The tender process was questioned by the public and the matter went to court. The project was halted for 18 months as a result.

been finalised in court. George officials mentioned that they have experienced trouble⁶⁹ with the environmental impact assessment (EIA) process which aims to protect the natural environment and thus forms part of the bid for sustainability. Consequently, they have only built 450 units – a figure well below their means (Table 12). Overstrand officials felt that the implementation of the current subsidy unit was difficult due to a lack of communication from the departments of environmental affairs and housing as well as the imposition of excessive red tape which has delayed their housing delivery.

The capital subsidy approach (which still forms part of the variety of tenures proposed by BNG) was dubbed unsustainable by four municipalities. Three elaborated on this: George’s respondents felt that “it’s not sustainable giving everybody a single unit dwelling... The land is getting scarce, land is getting expensive and it is getting expensive to service the land... If it [the housing need] is security through access to land then we need to give a person a serviced site.” Overstrand’s officials agreed with this and added that individuals need to be given a safe and healthy environment allowing more to benefit from the subsidy. The municipality defines a safe and healthy environment as a site provided with basic services such as ablution facilities and running water. This plot of land must be coupled with the opportunity that should this person become economically stronger by receiving an income, then (s)he would to qualify for a sole-ownership unit or form part of the rental pool. Their main reasoning is not to “start him off with something that he can’t afford and that you know he can’t afford.” However, this municipality is concerned that the management of this endeavour would be tedious and further burden municipalities. Swartland municipality has already implemented a form of this concept. They divert funding other than the housing subsidy to provide a full set of bulk services (concentrating on informal settlements). Beneficiaries are allowed to stay on the serviced land until funding is available for a top structure.

Although the capital subsidy is not seen to be particularly sustainable, the standards for housing unit set out by the principles of BNG is considered to be more sustainable than the RDP unit. The Beaufort West informant thought units build post-BNG were better mainly because they are bigger. Drakenstein’s respondents also pronounced these units to be of higher quality and said: “If I were to get this house for free, I wouldn’t expect anything more.” Drakenstein municipality⁷⁰ is building 33 units as part of an international competition seeking alternative building measures and materials which are more energy efficient. This endeavour involves a sponsorship topped up by government. Cement is being considered as an alternative to brick and mortar.

69 Failure to comply with certain aspects of the EIA process, said to be mostly brought about by a miscommunication between municipalities and provincial government.

70 In conjunction with the national Department of Human Settlements⁷⁰, ABSA and the Western Cape Provincial Department of Housing

Ready-made cement panels are used for the external walls to decrease construction time, thereby decreasing the cost of construction. Insulation is a key factor in the construction of these units and new, internationally supplied insulation materials are being used. Swartland municipality implemented a product they believe is sustainable as it is strong and simple to build. The structure has a simple design that has been patented by engineers. Four moulds (into which concrete is poured to form supporting pillars) one at each corner and a roof form a basic framework. Side walls, doors and windows are then built into this framework (Photo 1).



Photo 1: Swartland's concrete mould for RDP units
Source: Swartland Municipality (2007: 8)

These new units allow for renovations and it is common in their municipality to see improvements made to RDP units to suit the specific needs of the occupying household. This municipality advises people to regard the RDP unit as a beginning, thus encouraging them to create their own personal space (see Section 7.3.1 for more on place-making for low-income settlements). The media offers an illustration of this (Photo 2).

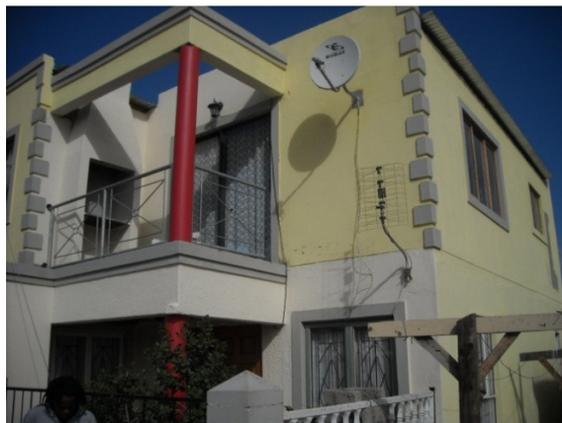


Photo 2: Extreme renovation of an RDP unit
Source: Luhanga (2009)

RDP units have been converted into multi-storey structures (Photo 2), some of which are used as guesthouses or rented out as flats (Luhanga, 2009).

6.2.3 Municipalities, the indigent and a culture of non-payment: A battle lost at its source

The example as told above has also occurred in Overstrand municipality. The promise of free basic services for all has placed great pressure on municipalities. Pieterse (2009) argues that it is unreasonable for the national sphere to assume that municipalities are able to carry the operating costs involved with the current housing programme as they simply do not have the tax base to cover these expenses. This was echoed by Mokoena & Marais (2007) and Swartland officials: “*gelde moet begroot word om vir daai mense se dienste te kan betaal. Dit is 'n ekstra las op die Raad.*”⁷¹. Overstrand expanded on this by saying that the capital input for a low-cost housing project is actually only a small obstacle when considered alongside the maintenance and running costs involved. This municipality indicated that, “*it's nice to say that everybody's got a right*” but is worried about the long term effects on the capacity of the municipality. The literature warns of two effects stemming from decreased municipal capacity. First, municipalities sometimes forego the urban edge in favour of high-income developments (which provide strong tax bases) in order to subsidise the service demands of low-income areas (Dewar, 2000). Second, municipalities cannot always maintain their infrastructure which deteriorates and becomes unusable (Turok & Parnell, 2009).

The officials were also worried about the indigent grant⁷² which they say does not cover the actual costs involved. Overstrand municipality writes off approx. R10 million per annum as a result of the subsidisation of low-cost housing settlements. They attribute the bankruptcy of many municipalities to this phenomenon. The literature asserts this assumption (Goebel, 2007) and indicates that the non-payment of services dates back to the struggle, but has been carried into the democratic era (Pillay, 2008). Overstrand respondents indicate that many beneficiaries of the indigent grant take advantage of the system as the owners of low-income units can make up to R1500 per month from backyard rentals –which disqualifies them from indigent requirements. The officials know of many cases where indigent beneficiaries continue to claim the grant, thereby not paying for services even though they are able to do so. Municipalities do try to manage their situations of non-payment of services. Overstrand Municipality (2009) states that individuals who use more than a certain limit (of municipal services) cannot qualify as an indigent. However, they may qualify as being “poor” and will still receive discounted tariffs. Further, all erven valued at less than R50 000 are not liable to property taxation (Overstrand Municipality, 2009 and interviewees). George municipality works according to a similar system where consumption levels are limited to 450 units of electricity a month and 18kl of water per month (George Municipality, 2009). To support its financial viability, the Swartland municipality fits pre-paid meters to low-income housing units (Swartland Municipality, 2007).

⁷¹ Money must be budgeted for to pay for those people's services. This places an extra burden on the council.

⁷² Which assists municipalities in providing the extreme poor with free basic services.

6.3 COMMUNICATION

Communication is a vital aspect of a sustainable endeavour (Marais & Krige, 1997; Porta & Renne, 2005). Municipal officials were questioned about their inter-departmental communication, the interaction between them and the higher tiers of governance, community members and outside organisations. The responses are set out in the following subsections and summarised in Table 13.

6.3.1 Municipal communications with higher tiers of governance

It is common knowledge that provincial departments are allocated sections of the national budget to promote service delivery. Municipalities must apply to the provincial departments for funding with which to implement their projects. Thus communication between provincial and local tiers is very important to ensure integrated settlements with a range of facilities (e.g. schools) to make them sustainable. Further, as municipalities work directly with the populace, they are in a good position to inform policy-making. This section explores the interaction between municipalities and higher tiers.

Table 13: Communication between municipalities and key stakeholders in the housing process

Notes	BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
Higher tiers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is average • A few unfinished projects exist with promises to complete them not materialising • Incomplete projects are restraining service delivery. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is average • Can express needs to higher tiers during formal workshops. 	Commun-ication can be better in all instances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commun-ication is lacking • However, poor during drafting phase, municipalitie s often excluded. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicatio n is excellent • Regular meetings held • Higher tiers are willing to assist, but restricted by funding.
Public	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is good • Municipality makes a conscious effort to connect with the public (council meetings in community halls) • Minutes also made available to public. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is strong • Mostly project-based. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold housing imbizo’s annually • Results are inputted are put in an annual report. 	Difficult to explain the principles of BNG to the public.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hold regular community meetings • Also informal methods • Municipality emphasises community involvement.

Outside (NGO's CBO's etc)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is strong • “the voice of the people”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication is strong • NGOs keenly involved in PHP • Inform communities of different options. 	Involved more earnestly in some issues than others.	Differs from area to area.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much NGO representation at public meetings • Act as consultants to community (technical issues) • Also a voice for communities.
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Swartland officials rated the communication between themselves and the provincial sector departments as excellent (Table 13), saying: “sonder rolspeelers, kan jy nie vër kom nie”⁷³ and saw it as a strong point that these role players remained informed about progress, from the beginning of the project to its completion. Drakenstein and Overstrand respondents also deemed their relationship with higher tiers as healthy (Table 13), but differed in their individual assessment as to the level of involvement of municipalities in the drafting of higher level policy. Drakenstein municipality said they were included in the discussions on new policies in their draft phases, saying that municipalities had ample opportunity to indicate whether or not the policy discussed would be efficient. Overstrand’s officials took the opposite view that municipalities were generally not included while policy was being scribed. They saw this as a flaw in the housing system: “as the implementing agents, we know where the bottlenecks, problems and difficulties are and, in that sense, we can assist them [higher tiers] to overcome the problems.”

Beaufort West and Overstrand municipalities agreed with each other that relations between provincial and national departments must be strong to ensure that facilities, such as schools, are actually provided during the construction of housing developments. However, Overstrand’s spokespersons felt that the communication was sorely lacking in this area as provincial departments do not communicate effectively with one another (Table 13). To illustrate this, Overstrand officials mentioned a project of 1200 units that had taken place within their boundary eight years ago for which schools had been allocated, but “children are still walking in the streets during the day with no schools to attend”. Overstrand municipality attributed this to a breakdown in communication between the responsible provincial sectors and deemed this phenomenon as unaligned to the notion of a sustainable settlement.

⁷³ Without role players, you can’t go very far.

Beaufort West and George were also unsatisfied with the communication from provincial and national government (Table 13). Those in George felt that although communication existed, it “*could be better in all instances*”, while those in Beaufort West claimed that the breakdown in communication had limited the expansion of their town as there were a few projects which remained uncompleted for a number of years. Beaufort West’s officials said that, although provincial departments had promised the completion of some of their unfinished projects, nothing had materialised.

6.3.2 Municipal linkages with the general public

Municipal interaction with the general public is important as community members are often unaware of the tedium involved in the housing process (Cross, 2006). Therefore, officials must communicate the issues they face in order to prevent unrest and despondency. Municipalities were questioned about their means of assessing the public feeling towards BNG. This is not formally done in any of the municipalities. Generally, municipalities meet with beneficiaries during planning and construction as well as on transfer of the completed unit phases. Regarding this, Overstrand officials stated that it is difficult to explain the principles of BNG to the general public (Table 13) who is usually only interested in when the houses are going to be complete, where they are located and when the first soil will be broken.

There are other ways to communicate BNG principles. One of these is through consumer education which is implemented by all municipalities. Drakenstein municipality is developing a plan for post-consumer education where beneficiaries will be taught about economic issues relating to housing, such as properties values. Then, if, after the eight year buffer period⁷⁴, beneficiaries desire to sell their units, they will be acquainted with the correct value (R300 000 and above) of these units and will not sell them for less than they are worth. In George, the main assessment tools were annual housing imbizos (meetings) run by housing managers. The inputs collected from the communities are published in an annual report available to the general public (Table 13). The Beaufort West council makes an effort to hold its meetings in community halls to increase the ease of access to its discussions and decisions (Table 13). The minutes of these meetings are also made available to the general public through the municipal manager’s office. Swartland municipality holds regular meetings through their housing committees as well as through informal methods such as casual conversations with community members (Table 13). Throughout the investigation of this municipality, it was apparent that it was passionate

74 The no-sale condition was implemented in 2001 as a means of ensuring that low-income housing remains available to the poor. It prohibits the beneficiary of an RDP unit from selling within the first eight years of acquisition and states that any profit made from the sale of the house reverts to the state. If beneficiaries desire to sell their units after eight years, they are to contact the Department of Housing (Sustainable settlements) which will then ensure that the units be transferred to other persons on the waiting list (Huchzermeyer, 2003b).

about its people. They used the example of one of their projects where people living informally did not want to move from the land that they were occupying. To overcome this problem, the municipality held meetings with the communities and reviewed the benefits (such as tarred streets, water and electricity for each unit and ownership of a plot) available to the community in the new settlement. As a result of this communication, the community agreed to relocate.

Drakenstein and Swartland officials mentioned that the beneficiaries of BNG are usually very happy to have received a house and with the quality of service provision received from these municipalities. Overstrand respondents indicated their communities were not always happy with the architectural style and quality of the RDP houses as most are “impossible to extend. If you start breaking some of those walls, the whole thing goes. The type of thing that they do erect is not beneficial for the owner. Even if he [the owner] betters his income, he can't do anything with that house. The RDP doesn't need to look like an RDP.”⁷⁵ Although Beaufort West officials saw it as a problem that they did not receive a housing allocation for 2009, they did attempt to explain to their communities that i) the processes involved take a long time, ii) they had applied to provincial government for a project for the next financial year, and iii) they were hoping that it would be approved so that the first ground could be broken in the middle of 2010. According to an interviewee, the community seemed to understand this stating that the communities were not selfish because “they understand that there is a need for housing in other places and they allow for projects to be placed there as well.” It appears that Beaufort West municipality maintains a personal relationship with its community (Table 13) – and that they make an effort to relieve some of the anxiety that might be caused for the community during the housing process.

6.3.3 Municipal communications with non-governmental bodies

Government and communities are not the only role players that municipalities must communicate with during housing delivery. According to the literature, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) play important roles in the creation of sustainable settlements⁷⁶. There is a strong NGO presence in the Drakenstein and Swartland municipalities (Table 13); and so their officials were questioned about the role these organisations play in housing delivery within their areas. Drakenstein officials mentioned that NGOs are especially involved in peoples' housing projects (PHP). The NGOs assist communities with the initiation of a project and also take the lead in the subsequent public participation. They are involved in

⁷⁵ See more on how these municipalities approach this subject in Section 7.7.1.

⁷⁶ See section 3.4 for more on this.

designing the units and their finishes, and they aid with information transferral (indicate what options are available). Some NGOs also fund projects or part thereof. In Drakenstein municipality, a certain NGO sponsored solar panels to such a project to promote energy saving.

Swartland municipality has an NGO in each of its towns where they cover a range of interests (Table 13), while the roles played by NGOs differ from area to area in the Overstrand. Respondents in George mentioned that certain issues, which they referred to as “hot potatoes”; drew special attention from NGOs. Housing was said to be one such hot potato. The “demise of the CBD” and “backyard dwelling” were others. Environmental issues, surprisingly, receive little interest from NGOs in the George municipal area. The Beaufort West SDF (2004) also registers this scant raising of environmental issues during public meetings.

6.4 THE CAPACITY OF MUNICIPALITIES AND BNG

This section considers the opinions of the respondents on how suited BNG is to dealing with housing delivery issues. It also sets out how municipalities have capacitated themselves to implement BNG. This is done with the aid of Table 14. Municipal capacity to implement BNG (as discussed in Subsection 6.4.1) is considered by means of three categories, i) interdepartmental alignment, ii) the availability of bodies that assist in the housing process by supporting officials, and iii) degree of employee turnover in municipal housing departments.

Table 14: The capacity of municipalities and BNG to meet the demands of housing delivery

Notes	BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
Is BNG suited to municipal housing delivery?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not ready to implement the full BNG in rural areas • BNG is for metropolises • All settlements within 3 km of CBD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNG is clear and gives good direction • Funding is a problem • Number of projects received don't match backlog 	BNG principles are feasible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNG has never been completed • Many policies and tools have not materialised. • There is nothing to implement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bottlenecks to BNG: Funding and land availability • Non-payment of services (strains municipality capacity)
i) alignment amongst departments	Departments responsible: Housing, Engineering	Departments responsible: Town Planning, Engineering, Housing, IDP, LED	Departments responsible: All departments with strategic functions	Departments responsible: Town Planning, housing and engineering mostly	Departments responsible: Development Services, Protective Services,

ii) Bodies that support the housing delivery effort	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly implements itself • But internal housing and project-based sub-committees assist. 	Housing delivery is supported by ward committees and project-based beneficiary committees	Sub-directorate for Housing and project-based committee	Portfolio committee and project-bound committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project-based housing committee • Ward committee (watch dog and handles complaints)
iii) Employee turnover (municipal housing department)	Minimum (personnel have been with the municipality for a minimum of 5 years).	Minimal (does not affect municipal ability to develop sustainable housing).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very low turnover – has minimal impact on service delivery • Lack of housing specialists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Has increased (doesn't have a significant impact on housing delivery) • Difficult to get the right people 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very small (employees many years experience) • Ground level knowledge is important in the functioning of the department

All five municipalities considered themselves able to implement BNG and most deemed that BNG was fairly relevant to the issues faced by them. Drakenstein officials noted that it fits their needs perfectly, and that the policy is clear, has good direction and is implementable, but a lack of funding makes it insufficient to meet the municipality's backlog. The Swartland interviewees agreed with Drakenstein that the current level of funding allocated to housing is a major restraint (see also Swartland Municipality, 2006) but adds the unavailability of land for housing is an additional limitation. In relation to town planning principles, George representatives feel that BNG is a feasible policy as it covers issues such as the curbing of sprawl by means of an urban edge. When asked how well their departments worked together, only George municipality reported in the negative. Overstrand officials mentioned that it was easy for their departments to work together because a municipality works under one budget therefore *"we are forced together and need to align."* They feel that it is harder for provincial departments to align because they use separate budgets. Ward and beneficiary committees (Table 14) are the main bodies used to support the delivery process. These committees are put in place to ensure that the project is run smoothly and give feedback to the municipalities. Table 14 shows a breakdown of which specific departments and bodies are responsible for housing delivery per municipality. Meetings are held on a regular basis (generally monthly) from the beginning of the project through to the handing over of the units. These committees act as mediators and forward any complaints regarding the project to the municipality.

The question regarding employee turnover showed that all the municipalities, except Overstrand, experience a low rate (Table 14). Swartland officials emphasised the importance of this by agreeing that *"die belangrikste goed is nie die boekkennis nie – dit is hoe jy die mense se regtige denke ken. Dit is 'n ander ding wat die mense op die grond dink, so as jy dit goed verstaan, dan maak jy dit vir jou as amptenaar net makliker."*

*Jy kan dit net makliker verduidelik... Jy moet op grondvlak 'n baie breë kennis hê.*⁷⁷ Overstrand officials reported that it is difficult to find the skills they need as housing delivery is a specialised field (Table 14). Their housing department's employee turnover (Table 14) is high at approximately six months, but does not have a significant impact on their housing delivery. Interestingly, an official in the George municipality mentioned that the housing department suffered from a lack of specialists in the housing profession – which was seen to have a negative impact on their housing delivery.

6.5 POLITICS AND HOUSING

“In the South African context, housing was used as a political tool to implement and entrench apartheid.

Therefore housing has great political and emotional significance.”

Swartland Municipality (2006: 4)

Another housing aspect that the municipalities have in common is the political nature infused in the housing process. Cross (2006) has reported on the answers given by an informal settlement community whether housing developments are influenced by political agendas. Politicians were blamed by community members for failure to make good on promises made, corruption, failure to provide a sufficient supply of housing and the decline of policy. Respondent officials in this study were asked a similar question to Cross's study and indicated that councillors have substantial power over housing projects and the allocation thereof (Table 15). Free basic services and housing are extremely strong political tools which can guarantee political survival (Pieterse, 2009). Swartland officials maintain that politics often makes low-income housing a 'sticky situation' (Table 15). However they add that, as long as the municipality works within a clear framework and meets the criteria set by provincial and national departments, they have a strong basis (against political interference) for the decisions they make. Drakenstein declared that it is unfortunate that *“housing will always be linked to politics”*. This becomes problematic when prospective beneficiaries are promised (by politicians) that a project has been allocated to their community before the application has been approved or even drafted (Table 15). This creation of unfulfilled expectation is a common worry among the five municipalities.

⁷⁷ *Theoretical knowledge is not the most important aspect - it is how well you know peoples' attributes. The manner in which people on the ground think is very different to the norm, so if you understand it well, then you make your life as an official easier. You can explain it better ... You must have a very broad ground level knowledge.*

Table 15: Political nature of housing

BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
Housing is influenced by politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing will always be linked to politics • Beneficiaries are often promised that a project is coming to their area, without any funding or project officially being allocated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The plight of the poor is always on the political agenda and is often abused for leverage. • The people with the greatest need and the least voice are abused. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very strong political influence. • Politicians are misusing housing to fight political wars and make promises which are impossible to keep • However, local councillors work together with municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political influence is the “tameletjie”[*] in housing development • Officials must work within a policy framework to avoid this.

^{*}Tameletjie means pain in the neck or a sticky situation

Swartland Municipality (2006: 4) states the political nature of housing stemmed from the past where it was used as a tool to “implement and entrench apartheid.” The result is a great emotional significance attached to low-cost housing often tapped into for political gain. George officials (Table 15) asserted that “it’s the plight of the poor, and the plight of the poor will always be on the political agenda which will always be used and abused for leverage. Unfortunately, it’s always the people with the greatest need and the least voice which will be abused for other peoples’ means.” Overstrand respondents cited a specific example which occurred in their municipality in March 2009 just before the 2006 municipal elections. Two strategic wards for the district⁷⁸ were approached by a strong political figurehead who promised that in April that year, 400 units would be built. Because no application had been handed in at that time and as the application process spans a number of months, the realisation of this promise was impossible.

Politics can have a good effect on housing delivery. In the Overstrand case, respondents acknowledged that the different political parties of their council work well together (Table 15) and have taken a specific collective interest in housing delivery. This council supports the housing initiatives the officials propose – such as the alignment of some of the MIG funds (which are allocated to infrastructure needs across municipal departments) to housing delivery. This will free more of the housing subsidy to be used on the top structure, thereby increasing its quality.

⁷⁸ It was stated that if the support of these wards was won, that specific party would “take the whole district”.

6.6 SUMMARY

Municipalities are concerned about the size of the housing backlogs they have to deal with. In-migration is a major contributor to these backlogs. Migrants will seek employment, availability of services and safety over the availability of a house, but those towns (like the five study areas) which offer both are prone to population explosions. The change of the national adult age from 21 to 18 has also increased the housing demand. Housing backlog lists were shown to be extremely volatile making planning difficult. Further, the results of rapid urban migration exceed municipal capacity. Solutions given to resolve this crisis include: large-scale projects, extra funding, more communication, higher-density housing, giving only a serviced site, and additional planning on national issues. That the early RDP unit was not classifiable as an adequate shelter is clearly reflected in the field research and the literature. The low-income housing unit as well as the various housing options have changed in the last 14 years and the changes include; size and subsidy increases, different housing options being introduced, changes in specifications, and more privacy offered to beneficiaries by introduction of more rooms.

Houses built since the implementation of BNG are not seen to be sustainable, but they are considered a better product. Regrettably, implementation remains fettered by a large amount of red tape. The strain of implementing free basic services is great on municipalities which continue to fight a losing battle. Municipal officials call for a policy which provides for different accommodation types linked the different socio-economic characteristic of individuals. They have suggested that individuals be given a serviced site – no matter what the household's income dictates - but only households able to afford (maintenance and payment of services) a house should be given one. Social housing should receive more attention by municipalities.

Communication with municipalities from provincial and national spheres was generally rated average as there are areas which must be strengthened. Project-based committees are prevalent and they communicate with beneficiaries as well as monitor the implementation process. Civic organisations play a relatively significant role in the housing process' mainly in co-ordination and information spreading. However, communities are not particularly interested in broader planning issues; their main concern is rather when they will be allocated a house. Concerning the capacity to implement BNG, most of the municipalities reported that the principles of BNG are feasible and fairly relevant to the issues faced by municipal housing delivery. Opinions regarding BNG ranged from being "perfect" to "hardly applicable". Hindrances to the implementation of BNG include insufficient land owned by municipalities for projects and no fiscal tool available to acquire privately owned land (proposed by BNG). However, BNG is seen to be implementable. Finally, that housing delivery is influenced by politics is unanimously perceived by all five municipalities. However, this influence is generally not seen to be positive as many promises are made by politicians which officials are not, for various reasons, always able to keep. The next chapter is also dedicated to presenting the findings of this study. However,

Chapter 7 focuses, not on the issues faced by municipalities regarding housing delivery as in this chapter, but on the specific principles set out by BNG with regard to sustainable settlement implementation.

7 BNG's SUSTAINABLE SETTLEMENT PRINCIPLES APPLIED

In 2004 the then Department of Housing formulated Breaking New Ground (BNG) with a similar aim to the existing housing policy “*to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and quality housing*” (RSA, 2004: 1), but had a different set of objectives aimed at creating a more responsive service delivery. To attain these, the plan stipulates seven principles in its third chapter as discussed above in Chapter 4. Chapter 7 gives an account of local government responses to each of BNG principles and how these have impacted the five municipalities. In addition, this chapter aims to reach objectives 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and (part of) 8⁷⁹ as discussed in Chapter 1.

As a starting point, the municipalities were asked to state their vision of a sustainable human settlement as well as how far they have progressed in reaching this ideal. Beaufort West respondents indicated that the basic elements for a sustainable human settlement include schools and other basic facilities such as business areas (like supermarkets to meet food security needs). All the municipalities reported that planning is crucial in the attainment of sustainable human settlements. Only George municipality criticised the lack of large-scale planning which is prevalent in some of its decisions. One official contended that their housing provision “*is more a delivery thing than anything else*” and expressed concern about squatters on open pieces of land which are often cut into erven and upgraded in situ without any consideration of the broader urban context. This official mentioned that the municipality does not always have the necessary information to make informed decisions regarding, for example community facilities like open space, and business areas. George interviewees acknowledged this as a weakness and reported that they are undertaking a facilities audit to indicate the need in existing communities. Drakenstein municipality also promotes large-scale planning as a long term vision for sustainable settlements in their area. To reach this vision, this municipality is finalising a sustainable human settlements framework which will consider integration issues such as a transport network, available facilities and economic opportunities. Swartland sees the ideal human settlements as one characterised by long term planning, coupled to in-depth communication and consumer buy-in.

⁷⁹ Objective 1 (How are municipal officials implementing the principles of BNG, specifically in the five chosen leader towns in the Western Cape?), 2 (What is the relevance of BNG to non-metropolitan towns?), 3 (what impact has BNG had on segregated space?), 4 (what is the status of urban integration within municipalities? Is there cause for concern or for change?), 5 (what are the municipal opinions of the relevance of inclusionary housing within their areas of jurisdiction?), 7 (is place-making for low-income areas desirable or even a possibility?) and 8 (how can BNG be made to be more efficient?)

7.1 PRINCIPLE 1: PROGRESSIVE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT ERADICATION

Chapter 3 sets out extensive debates on informal settlement upgrading: debates that have led to a new focus on upgrading the informal settlement – a topic which is highly supported by BNG. This section considers the challenges faced by municipalities’ in situ upgrading of informal areas where the location is desirable (see Chapter 4, Principle 4) or relocation from undesirable locations. To learn about the municipalities’ views on in situ upgrading, questions (2.1 and 2.2 – see Addendum) were posed to the relevant role-players about the availability of such projects within their municipal boundaries, how the municipalities handle their informal settlements and whether a large-scale project such as the N2 Gateway will be a relevant solution to their problem.

All five municipalities implement informal settlement eradication projects. Swartland municipality recognises that a “new housing development often entails relocation, the disrupting [of] existing social networks and survival strategies of the poor” and thus prefer in situ upgrading (Swartland Municipality, 2006: 5). Beaufort West and Overstrand municipalities spoke of managing informal settlements if housing projects had not yet been allocated to that community. Overstrand officials cited an example to indicate the importance of managing settlements: When a fire damaged a number of RDP houses within their municipality, emergency workers dousing the flames discovered seven families squatting in the backyard of one of the RDP houses. Although backyard renting allows RDP home owners to make an income from lessees, it strains the bulk infrastructure of a settlement - which often malfunctions as a result (recall Section 6.2.3). Beaufort West municipality maintains a management system which requires that all squatters be moved to an allocated area. These families are placed on the municipal housing waiting list and a certain percentage of dwellings in all housing projects is allocated to these households.

All the municipalities thought that a large scale housing project like the N2 Gateway would be relevant in their areas: the unanimous reason given, simply, that their backlogs were big enough. However, Drakenstein and Overstrand foresaw a few difficulties regarding the N2 Gateway. The former indicated that if such a project were to be initiated in their area the planning would have to be more thorough, and the project would have to occur in phases, i.e. 5000 units to be completed with all supporting infrastructure and facilities, followed by a second phase of another 5000 units. In addition, all approval processes such as zoning and EIAs have to be complete well before the due date for breaking the first soil. Overstrand officials bluntly regarded the N2 gateway project as “*The idea was right, the implementation was shitty [sic]*”. One reason given was the occurrence where the then MEC for housing announced that all informal units in the area allocated to the N2 Gateway project would be formalised. Then, a number of people moved onto that site and, no shacks having been marked beforehand, chaos ensued. As a result, many court cases are in effect based on the promise the

MEC had given. Overstrand officials emphasised that the selection criteria for such a project must be made sound before the project is announced to the public.

7.2 PRINCIPLE 2: PROMOTING DENSIFICATION AND INTEGRATION

This principle states that it is imperative that formally segregated communities are integrated into cities and towns so that these communities may benefit from the facilities of established settlements. As the objectives 3 and 4 of this thesis emphasises integration, so too did the field research. Section 7.2 is divided into two subsections which are based on questions 3.1 to 3.4 and 9.1 to 9.7 (Addendum) as well as other questions posed during the respective interviews. The subsection deals with whether socio-economic integration occurs on a race base, as in the past, or based on the income levels of individuals. It also considers if BNG's directive of socio-economic integration has materialised in municipal planning. Subsection 7.2.2 considers the physical integration underlying BNG's inclusionary housing tool, how municipalities interpret it, whether they believe such a tool is relevant to their situation and how they balance the economic desires of the developer with community needs.

7.2.1 Socio-economic integration: divided along income lines

“South Africans evince a strong sense of national identity... However... diversity... in terms of race, class and nationality/language [remains]... strong. While race and nationality/language seem to be receding as primary forms of self-definition, class identity seems to be on the ascendance.”

Republic of South Africa, quoted in Bekker & Leildé (2006: 1)

This quote is true for all of the municipalities (except George) because socio-economic integration occurs on an income basis and racial differences do not dictate spatial patterns any longer. In contrast, George respondents acknowledged that there is still evidence of the old racial South African landscape within their municipality, although they did concede that new developments were more integrated than those of their predecessors (which indicates integration based on income). This phenomenon has been repeated by their SDF (George Municipality, 2008) which indicates that the areas to the south of George experience social mixing and show further potential for integration as per their development potential. The municipal officials are aware of spatial disparities and have consequently developed a clear long-term picture of how these will be addressed. However, they caution that this will not happen quickly and it will most likely be “*something for your children to see*”. The respondents for Beaufort West, Overstrand and Drakenstein reported that socio-economic integration is solely based on income profiles. Drakenstein maintained that, “*we like the theory of BNG, but the reality is that integration occurs based on income.*” They stated further that it is not possible to place a household with zero income in a social housing unit because it would be unable to pay the rent for this type of

housing. Overstrand officials said that this is the way integration should occur as they believe that shared interest binds people in a community. Beaufort West's respondent agreed with Overstrand in saying "*soort soek soort, as ek eweskielik meer geld het, sal ek nou nie tussen 'n klomp pandokkies gaan bly nie. Mense gaan waar hulle beter kan inpas tussen 'n klomp mense.*"⁸⁰ In Overstrand and Beaufort West black, white, and coloured people live in low-income housing settlements - evidently a product of integration. While in Drakenstein municipality only coloured and black people reside in their low-income settlements, the respondent views this as an indication of racial integration.

A Swartland official had a different view maintaining their area experiences an extremely high level of socio-economic integration because "*daar is 'n goeie verstaanbare verhouding tussen almal...*"⁸¹ This official stated that it is important for everyone to know their place in society: "*as jy die werkgever is, is jy die werkgever. As jy die werker is, is jy die werker. Die lyn moet gesny word... en as ons mekaar respekteer, dan is die lewe baie goed.*"⁸² BNG expects that municipalities measure the levels of socio-economic integration in their areas of jurisdiction (RSA, 2004). None of the municipalities has officially done so. Instead municipalities acquired a conceptual understanding of socio-economic integration through personal experience. Drakenstein municipality has built indicators into their draft human settlements framework to serve as their measurement of integration.

7.2.2 Physical integration: A case of inclusionary housing

This section reflects the opinions of municipal officials regarding inclusionary housing (IH) as a tool to assist their endeavours to promote integration and densification within their municipalities. Subsection 7.2.2.1 sets out how municipalities interpret IH, Subsection 7.2.2.2 considers whether respondents think IH will succeed as an integration tool in their areas and Subsection 7.2.2.3 records the methods employed to protect communities against the economic ideal of developers dealing with IH.

7.2.2.1 Municipal interpretation of inclusionary housing

Municipal officials all agreed that IH meant a balanced provision of housing through the provision of a range of housing typologies enforced through requirements that a certain percentage of private developments must include a certain type of housing. Swartland, George and Drakenstein municipalities believed that IH

⁸⁰ *Birds of a feather flock together. If I suddenly have more money, I won't go and live among a lot of shacks. People go where they fit in better among many people.*

⁸¹ *There is a good understanding relationship among everyone*

⁸² *If you are the employer, then you are the employer. If you are a worker, then you are a worker. A line must be drawn...and if we respect one another, then life is very good.*

developments targeted mainly gap housing because the extent of the housing range must be fair as they are of an open-market nature. An official in George stated, “*inclusionary housing must not be seen that you are putting subsidy housing within a high-end range development.*” Thus, IH should not unfairly place subsidy housing (lowest value) next to an erf valued at R2 million. Contrastingly, Swartland and Beaufort West officials maintained a certain percentage of the development could be devoted to subsidy housing.

7.2.2.2 *Municipal opinion towards inclusionary housing and integration*

All five municipalities support IH. Beaufort West municipality supports any tool (including IH) which assists it to meet its housing need and George officials reiterated support as long as the concept remains reasonable with no unrealistic expectations (such as the expected integration of a bottom-end erf in a top-end area). Swartland policy indicates one of the roles of government is to ensure that private development is kept sustainable through adequate monitoring and regulation (Swartland Municipality, 2007). Overstrand’s council is spearheading two such projects⁸³, which confirms their support of IH. However, they are concerned about the failure by various provincial departments to align their budgets, resulting in a lack of the provision of facilities in municipal projects. This, they declared, is a cause for major concern about all future developments. Drakenstein officials insist on implementing IH, but call for sensitivity towards property owners – especially during IH infill developments – as owners have often bought their properties at high prices. IH units must look similar to other buildings in the larger community and they must be constructed in such a way that they do not “*devalue other peoples’ property.*”

All of the municipalities, except Beaufort West, were either in the process of planning an IH project(s) or have such a project running under their jurisdiction. Swartland and George have completed IH projects. Only Drakenstein municipality has experienced resistance from existing communities. Overstrand officials reported that their community evidently not very aware of IH as the municipality had not received much input from it. George municipality had also not received much input, but the IH developments that had been implemented within their municipality were all greenfield developments and not infill. This probably explains the lack of input because existing communities were not greatly impacted and interested buyers were given a choice whether or not they wanted to reside in these developments. No policies aimed at increasing community-input had been established. As mentioned above, Overstrand municipality was planning two IH projects. It faced two big problems in their endeavours to implement gap housing through means of IH projects. The first was a

83 These projects have been initiated by the municipality, but are still in the planning phase. Thus, at the time that this thesis was conducted, specific information had not yet been finalised. However, it was indicated that these projects will be linked mainly to CRU housing and will take place on municipal-owned land. In addition, these projects will be cross-subsidised by other developments.

general concern for all the municipalities, i.e. that IH is not backed by an adequate legislative base (although a discussion paper was released just at the time of this interview to assist municipalities with IH). The second problem was that the income bracket⁸⁴ which gap housing targets is not included in the infrastructure grant given by the department of sustainable human settlements (previously housing). Thus, infrastructure costs must be covered by either the municipality or the developer making this type of housing more difficult to fund.

To overcome this, Overstrand municipality aims to cover the infrastructure costs of their IH developments by cross-subsidisation from the high-value units sold in the same developments. Further, the assistance from higher tier departments is also being sought. All the municipalities consider IH as a relevant tool to promote integration – both physical and socio-economic. Drakenstein and George officials mentioned that although they do not currently have any IH projects running, they are assisting developers who have approached them with ideas regarding such projects. They enforce IH through means of approval conditions, but note this is difficult as it is not yet legislatively enforceable. Other means of encouraging IH include higher density allowances and administrative assistance from municipalities. Drakenstein officials indicated that they assist developers by making use of the housing application process for qualifying beneficiaries. This municipality has also made municipal land available to developers for IH. George municipality is drafting a strategy to guide IH and give it more legal standing to assist its implementation. George's respondents pointed out that IH has practical problems because it, along with other housing initiatives, often creates pockets of housing. The official observed that this results from a lack of bigger-picture planning and said: *"There are no quick answers. We can't put a pocket of people there and there [pointing to random areas on a map] in an endeavour to integrate people. You end up with people in a place where you can't justify running taxi's that far, so you need to understand the consequences of what you are doing: you can't solve one problem to create another for another sector."* This municipality is currently considering a pilot integrated transport system (ITS). The designing of such a system has proved to be difficult as people have not been located densely enough and an ITS cannot be justified in low-density areas due to high construction and operational costs.

7.2.2.3 Integration of community rights with economic ideals of the developer

Officials were asked how they incorporated the rights of the community with the economic ideals of the developer in IH projects. George municipality prescribes 20% of all new developments over a certain size to IH. In Overstrand and Drakenstein ward councillors and identified beneficiaries are included in the development process. Overstrand's respondents were worried that legislation does not yet create an

⁸⁴ Between R3500 and R7000/household per month.

environment conducive to incorporating the rights of the community. They observed that, at this stage, community members only benefit from spin-offs like job creation due to IH projects mixed-use nature.

7.3 PRINCIPLE 3: ENHANCING SPATIAL PLANNING

According to this principle of BNG, spatial planning must comply with the NSDP (recall 3.5) and the UDF (recall 3.2.1) which give strong directives for integrated planning and compact city principles. This section presents findings about how the municipalities have handled the prescriptions and instruments from the policies of higher sphere governments in the municipal quest to bring about integrated sustainable settlements. The first subsection reports on questions 4.1 to 4.4 (Addendum) and considers issues of integrated planning and place creation for low-income developments. Subsection 7.3.2 sets out the findings from questions 4.5 to 4.7 (Addendum) concerning the co-ordination of services, incomplete housing projects and the protection of low-income units from market pressures.

7.3.1 Sustainable city principles: Creating housing-place

The municipal interviewees were questioned on whether they conduct strategic, integrated planning for low-income developments, what influences this planning, and how it differs from that done for the RDP. All five municipalities implement a pre-planned spatial structure for low-income settlements which is dictated by two things – national policy guidelines and available money. Regarding higher tier policy, municipalities are allowed to initiate spatial planning principles like designing space to create a sense of place or an alternative identity for a low-income settlement, but they do so at their own cost. Thus, low-income settlements are planned according to a standard concept which goes no further than meeting housing prescriptions. Overstrand officials mentioned that, in the past, their councillors and the general public were unhappy with the general design of the low-income unit and “*want certain things*”. “*The RDP [unit] doesn't need to look like an RDP [unit]*”. In saying this, the municipality contends that more strategic thought be given to the design of the low-income unit so that it blends in with the identity of the greater town (see principle 7 for more on this).

An interviewee in George asserted that “*you can do a lot which doesn't always cost money, but you need to change peoples' minds*”. He stated that a reality of designing space in a low-income area is that trees get chopped down for firewood and streetscapes are often vandalised. Thus, beneficiaries need to adopt the concept of space creation for it to succeed. This official is distressed by a lack of a sense of community he experiences in many low-income developments. He illustrated this by an incident during a storm. The wall surrounding a family's house collapsed due to excessive moisture. The family sought assistance from a neighbour and when they returned to their house fifteen minutes later their fridge had been stolen. This official despondently asked: “*How do you develop a sense of community if there is an inherent desire not to want to change?*”

Beaufort West municipality has been successful with the creation of place. They sponsored fruit trees to beneficiaries of a housing project for the *“decoration of their properties.”* The municipality followed this initiative with a competition to *“see who had the prettiest garden in a street or area.”* The whole project has been really successful and its effects are ongoing. Beaufort West and Drakenstein municipalities placed the creation of space in the hands of their respective communities. In Beaufort West, individuals are allowed to alter their units if they have the finances. Drakenstein and Swartland officials see subsidised housing as fulfilling a basic need and citizens are expected to improve their living conditions by improving their basic subsidised unit. A Drakenstein interviewee noted that this is justified as the concept of subsidised housing has been redefined as *“not just a house, it’s a home: a place where you can raise your children with dignity.”* Though spatial planning, these settlements must create a fundamental sense of safety and comfort, and they must provide residents with access to economic stability through linkages to economic hubs. The official also stated that being an RDP homeowner allows beneficiaries to sell their unit and buy a better one in another area thus increasing their station in life. She added that this new home helps the children of beneficiaries in developing values founded on belonging and appreciation. She firmly believes that if a community is provided with proper shelter, the country can expect *“to get good responsible citizens in the future.”*

7.3.2 Co-ordination of instruments

Co-ordinating bulk services and infrastructure with the housing process is a tedious and often expensive process. Bulk services are generally co-ordinated interdepartmentally. Overstrand and Drakenstein municipalities add municipal infrastructure grant (MIG) funding to the housing subsidy. Beaufort West municipality sometimes uses separate contractors for the underground and top infrastructures thus necessitating two separate tender processes which can be time consuming. Swartland and Overstrand municipalities do not have any uncompleted housing projects, whereas the other three acknowledged that there are uncompleted projects within their boundaries. Interviewees were asked (Question 3.4 – Addendum) to indicate the number of housing projects that remained incomplete (excluding those which were in the process of being completed). In Drakenstein and George, uncompleted projects (mainly PHP) are not a result of the misalignment of government activities, but rather the mismanagement of funds and contractors’ lack of capacity. Beaufort West municipality suffered a misalignment between themselves and provincial departments where their applications to complete unfinished projects were acknowledged by provincial government but no measures have materialised (recall Section 6.3). This unresponsiveness has continued for a number of years and the municipality is disheartened by this breakdown.

Once new developments have been implemented, subsidised units are protected from the open market by national stipulations that beneficiaries may not sell their units within eight years of receiving them (Footnote

78). After eight years, beneficiaries cannot sell the unit for more than the subsidy value eight years before. Thus, second-generation buyers are protected from rising prices caused by market demands and low-income housing is preserved for the poor. Municipalities are not inclined to intervene in market-related issues and they do not encourage the selling of subsidised units. Swartland municipality does conduct annual land valuations which give the general public an indication of a house's worth. Nonetheless, George and Overstrand interviewees reported that the selling of low-income houses before the expiration of the no-sale condition is a common occurrence and most houses are sold for amounts far below their value (Overstrand stated that R3000 is a common price for an low-income unit). Cross (2006) demonstrates this anomaly by citing the case of Crossroads (an informal community Near Cape Town) where RDP houses, subsidised at R17 000 and valued at R50 000-R60 000, mostly sold for between R4000 and R5000. Drakenstein municipality is planning to implement post-consumer education to guide beneficiaries on the value of their units.

Before the implementing of the eight year condition, Overstrand officials observed, beneficiaries would sell a unit to acquire the capital and then live in a backyard shack. As a result, many of the RDP units were bought by gangsters and shebeen owners and this led to a decaying of the settlement. More recently, sale-related issues have arisen around security of tenure as transfer of title is hardly ever initiated. Overstrand officials named a relatively large housing project of 1578 units in their municipality as an example. As part of the monitoring phase of this project, it was discovered that around 25% of the beneficiaries were not living in the settlement any more, and that some of the units had had as many as three owners. The new owners had been given a letter stating transfer of ownership, but no legal processes had been undertaken and the original owners could not be located. This municipality has approached the department of Land Affairs to assist them with the second-generation transfer to allow secure tenure for the new owners. Regrettably, the process is dragging and could take four or five years to complete. In Beaufort West sales are uncommon: owners rather rent their units out (at around R100-R300/month), either because they have found employment elsewhere or for the rental income. In Beaufort West, this practice is rife with 40% to 60% of low-income units being rented out. Lessees are less attached to the houses and they often abandon them. Many of these empty units fall victim to vandals and this contributes to the general decay of the settlement. Because these units are private property, the municipality cannot intervene. Further, lessees often do not pay property tax nor for municipal services as they see this as the owners' responsibility. Conversely, owners feel the payment to be the lessees' responsibility resulting in catch-22 situation in which the municipality receives no payment.

7.4 PRINCIPLE 4: ENHANCING THE LOCATION OF NEW HOUSING PROJECTS

In Section 4.4, BNG's focus on enhancing the location of new housing projects was discussed. In the field, questions 5.1 to 5.5 (Addendum) were posed to the relevant role-players about how they intended accessing well-located land, whether it being state-owned, private or para-statal land, how they would establish fiscal

incentives and how funding for land acquisition would be provided. Issues of sprawl and how housing was used to curb this were also investigated. Four out of five municipalities are trying to curb sprawl. George municipality does this by maintaining a strict urban edge and only develops land within the spatial budget defined by the edge. Swartland officials also work according to an edge, but prefer to locate low-income housing projects in larger towns (e.g. Malmesbury) where more infrastructure and services are available to absorb the impact of high-density, low-income housing developments (Swartland Municipality, 2007).

Drakenstein and Overstrand municipalities were both establishing urban edges to counter urban sprawl. However, their strategies differ in their approach: Overstrand's growth management strategy targets the densification of (inter alia) Hermanus by considering the historic shape of the town, its growth pattern and what the municipality considers to be important to various areas. It identifies the implications the densifying of an area will have on current and future infrastructure and the resultant needs. Drakenstein's human settlement plan also proposes the use of housing as a tool to combat sprawl, but focuses on the integration of new developments with existing settlements. They view sprawl as costly and "*it takes people away from economic facilities.*" As a result, they deem it more desirable to upgrade existing bulk services than to introduce new services. Beaufort West officials made no mention of an urban edge, but they try to prevent sprawl during their project planning. In doing so, they consider the best placement of open land to keep the town as compact as possible. Most land allocated to low-income housing developments already belongs to the municipalities. One of the main reasons is the lack of an external funding mechanism for the procurement of land for housing developments as promised by BNG. Another reason for the choice of land is to ensure marginalised communities are placed strategically closer to current (and future) infrastructure and opportunities. For example, Swartland officials stated that the best land available was identified, i.e. it being spacious, within walking distance from urban hubs, and developable (in terms of zoning, gradient, ownership etc).

7.5 PRINCIPLE 5: SUPPORTING RENEWAL AND INNER CITY REGENERATION

Principle 5 seeks to provide affordable housing in inner cities – which it states have become characterised by high income residential redevelopment. To uncover what municipalities thought of this principle, questions 6.1 to 6.7 (Addendum) regarding the availability of inner city regeneration projects and whether housing was a part of these were posed to them. If housing was not included, the reasoning behind this decision was sought. The presence of infill development and the availability of land for such developments were also delved into. Overstrand and George were the only municipalities with existing inner city regeneration projects. Overstrand drafted a central business district (CBD) revitalisation strategy in 2001 specifically for this purpose, even though, that they do not experience major urban decay. The first phase of this strategy has been the building of a 'relief road', as per provincial requirements, for the provincial road which runs through their CBD. This 'relief road' forms the boundary of the CBD, and will allow the municipality to redevelop and 'pedestrianise'

the provincial road. Three nodes have been proposed in the CBD as well as the upgrading of the taxi rank. No existing structures will be revamped to medium or high density blocks as Hermanus' housing stock comprises many second-homes. This makes CBD densification unfeasible as it is critical to protect property rates⁸⁵ otherwise "we will not be able to subsidise what we are currently doing". George officials declared they do not want their CBD to die and thus the municipality has commissioned a study to prevent this. They want to ascribe specific activities to certain areas (for example, commercial and industrial space) which must be integrated functionally. They also aim to implement incentives which will keep legal firms and banks in the CBD. One of their main objectives will be to integrate housing into their inner city rejuvenation strategy which will also revamp existing structures for high and medium density housing.

Swartland and Drakenstein municipalities were planning for inner city rejuvenation projects. Specifically, Drakenstein's officials aim to use open space than revamp existing structures as there is ample provision of open space in this municipality's inner city areas. Only George and Drakenstein municipalities did not experience a shortage of infill land. George's respondents claim that there are many opportunities for densification in their municipal borders and Drakenstein's urban edge policy confirms they have enough infill land and densification possibilities to accommodate the projected housing backlog over the next ten years (Drakenstein Municipality, 2007). Specifically, Drakenstein has a mixed-income residential project of approximately 2000 units allocated to an infill site, while George has allocated an area for social housing which is integrated with the long-term vision for the surrounding areas. The projected result is that, within a few years, this housing area will be surrounded by other activity zones such as commercial areas which will enable easy access for these residents. Swartland, Beaufort West and Overstrand municipalities experience a shortage of infill land as their inner cities are densely built up.

Beaufort West municipality does not have an inner city rejuvenation project as there is enough developable space within walking distance from the CBD. Infill development is inhibited as the buildings which are currently in the CBD are mostly occupied. The space that is available for infill opportunities belongs to higher tiers of government land, and ownership has never been transferred to the municipality (against the directives of BNG). The Beaufort West CBD is atypical as it is not the only major area securing large business enterprises. Other areas are scattered in the outer areas of the town making them readily accessible to residents. Thus, housing in the CBD is not deemed as a great need. An interesting point is made here by Overstrand municipality whose situation is similar to Beaufort West's. The former black townships in both of these

⁸⁵ *The protection afforded to private property by the Constitution threatens government initiatives. However, these initiatives may have an adverse effect on private property values which could put municipal tax bases (and income) at risk (Pieterse, 2009).*

municipalities are located within walking distance from economic hubs and CBDs. This is dissimilar to Cape Town where townships are situated approximately 50km away from the CBD. Overstrand feels that towns are not always similar to cities and that *“National policies don't recognise this... They took best practices from overseas and applied them to the metros. Now they want to enforce it on smaller local authorities. Sometimes the policies are too strict and there is no room for discretion.”* Thus, principle 5 of BNG is not seen as relevant to the non-metropolitan situation. Further, Overstrand municipality suggests that higher tier departments should lay down a framework for municipalities, which give more flexibility to their implementation.

7.6 PRINCIPLE 6: DEVELOPING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

Principle 6 seeks to move away from a “housing-only approach” (RSA, 2004: 9) and encourages a holistic view towards housing delivery that includes social and economic facilities. BNG states “Municipalities must determine the need for social/community facilities through a community profile and facilities audit to ensure that facilities are appropriately targeted” (RSA, 2004: 9). Municipalities were questioned 7.1 to 7.6 whether they had complied with the need for social and economic facilities using community profiles and a facilities audit, or if other means were initiated. This principle also stipulates that municipalities should submit a business plan which should include the possibilities for introducing new socio-economic facilities as well as the operational and maintenance costs. The literature emphasises public space for the poor and because such space can be classified under social facilities, questions were put to municipalities regarding the availability and maintenance of public spaces in the design of housing settlements. Whether any bottlenecks exist that prohibit municipalities from providing public spaces was also delved into. The findings have been divided into two subsections; social and economic facilities dealt with Subsection 7.6.1 and the availability of public open space in Subsection 7.6.2.

7.6.1 Social and economic facilities in housing projects

Three out of the five municipalities had not undertaken a facilities audit or compiled a community profile. Drakenstein officials were contented that they have enough facilities so that there is no need for any auditing endeavours. Beaufort West and Swartland municipalities prefer to determine the need through assistance from their town planning departments which consider the size of the site, the number of people who will be residing on it, and the consequent need for facilities. To include adequate facilities in the spatial planning for low-income housing projects, most municipalities conducted surveys to determine the range and capacity of existing facilities and infrastructure as well as whether they can accommodate the densities of a proposed settlement. If not, new facilities are designed into the new development. Swartland officials ensure that all new developments are located within walking distance from existing developments so as to make use of the latter's facilities.

Overstrand stipulates ratios for schools, open spaces and other facilities which must be adhered to in the design of new settlements. The planning official⁸⁶ for George municipality stated that the municipality does not have a formal plan guiding them in the provision of social and economic facilities. All planning was done piecemeal as provision had been made for each project as it was proposed (see also George Municipality, 2004).

Overstrand officials reported that they have undertaken both audits, but feel that BNG is unjustified in saying that the maintenance and management of the multi-purpose clusters - which incorporate what BNG (RSA, 2004: 9) deems as “municipal facilities such as parks, playgrounds, sport fields, crèches, community halls, taxi ranks, satellite police stations, municipal clinics and informal trading facilities” will become the responsibility of the municipality. The respondents pointed out that, according to the Municipal Systems Act, facilities like clinics and police stations are not under the responsibility of municipalities. Concerning the submission of a business plan for facilities needed in low-income settlements, Drakenstein municipality had compiled one to be presented for adoption by council at the end of July 2009. Beaufort West’s officials argue that BNG’s requirements for a business plan applied more to community residential unit (CRU) housing which their municipality had not implemented yet, but was busy considering. Swartland municipality prefers to use its housing policy (Swartland Municipality, 2006), as opposed to a business plan, as a framework. This municipality indicated that facility needs were derived from input from the community who support the policy. Overstrand aligns the information obtained from the IDP review process with their research and reiterated that facilities such as schools and clinics are the responsibility of higher government.

7.6.2 Public open spaces

All the municipalities, except Overstrand (which uses a community profile and facilities audit, coupled with information from the IDP), make provision for public spaces in the design of the layout plan of a proposed project⁸⁷ - guided by predefined percentages applied by the respective town planning departments. It was gathered from the interviews that most public spaces designed for low-income areas in these municipalities are green open spaces. The percentages prescribed by George municipality for open space are flexible; for example if the community wants wider roads in which to socialise, this is communicated to developers and incorporated into the layout design. The municipal requirements for open space are then reduced by the space used for the broader streets. George and Overstrand municipalities prefer larger (even if they are fewer) public spaces which are more functional for low-income settlements to small, scattered open spaces. Overstrand and Drakenstein municipalities found that when a community could not use a space (for example to play soccer on), it was often

86 Note that the George planning official had been with this municipality for just under a year. Thus, most projects that are currently in progress had been initiated and planned in his absence.

87 Which might be informed by information from their respective IDPs.

encroached upon by informal dwellers. Beaufort West officials were worried that many of their open spaces were not properly developed. Overstrand officials observed that higher income areas usually only require open spaces of about 500m² for activities such as exercising or dog walking. The George officials argued strongly against improper planning for public spaces which often entails a tendency to “*colour in a few plots green.*” This is not functional or desirable as a public space must be “*something useful, central, accessible, and safe, with enough visuals on it.*”

The new funding mechanism proposed by BNG does not seem to have filtered to municipalities who manage and maintain the facilities under their responsibility on their own budgets. Beaufort West was the only municipality to indicate that they were constrained by funding and maintenance capacity, which prohibited the development of public spaces within their municipal area.

7.7 PRINCIPLE 7: ENHANCING THE HOUSING PRODUCT

The seventh principle of BNG considers the findings on settlement design, housing design and the quality of housing as per questions 8.1 to 8.7 (Addendum). As settlement design is discussed in depth by many of the principles, this section rather concentrates on the design of low-cost housing – whether it is flexible and whether communities have a say in the design of their units (Subsection 7.7.1). Then, quality of the low-income housing unit will be discussed. Subsection 7.7.2 sets out the individual conceptions each municipality has regarding the newer housing typologies (social and affordable or gap) and whether these additions suit the diverse housing needs of communities. Subsection 7.7.3 takes a slightly less technical stance and records the special stories that have arisen from housing delivery in the respective municipalities. This is necessary as housing is essentially about people and it would leave a gap in this research if the human element of housing was not touched on.

7.7.1 Housing design

According to the municipalities, the design of the housing unit is standardised as the relatively small housing subsidy does not cater for alternative designs. Overstrand officials posit that the addition of simple features such as a gable, will improve the look of the low-income unit, the acceptance of the house as their own (by the beneficiary) and ease the integration process of the new homeowner into the larger community by removing the stigma of the low-income house. However, this is difficult for municipalities due to financial constraints. In the past, the Overstrand council added R4200 to the then housing subsidy of R17 000 for bulk infrastructure so that more could be spent on the design of the unit and the larger settlement. But, they claim this became financially impossible and can no longer do so. In Beaufort West individuals can choose from various predefined options. Community members are allowed to make alterations during the construction phase at their own cost, for

example bigger windows or extensions. In Swartland, an individual can, at his own cost, request the building contractor to add more rooms or features. Beneficiaries can also initiate changes after the completion of the unit as its flexible structure allows for this. Communities are consulted to a certain degree, but these consultations take on more of an informative stance – i.e. that certain alterations can be made at the personal cost of the beneficiary. Beaufort West and Drakenstein municipalities say communities indicate that they are happy with the current design of the low-income unit.

7.7.2 Diverse housing typologies

Recall Section 4.1, a number of different housing typologies and options have been introduced in an attempt to meet diverse housing needs. This section reports on what options municipalities are implementing and why. Table 5 above indicates that five housing typologies exist (gap or affordable, social, subsidy, PHP and informal), and the literature confirms that the most used housing option is subsidy (Subsection 3.4.4). Based on this, the respondents were asked to discuss the housing options most implemented in their areas and why this was the case. Not all municipal perceptions on the definitions of the different housing typologies coincided. Swartland interviewees indicated that affordable housing was for the income group earning between R0 and R3500 per month (however, this suits the literature’s definition of ‘subsidy’ housing). This group is Swartland’s target group for housing delivery. Drakenstein municipality argued that the latter type of housing was in fact defined as “subsidy” housing (Photo 3).



Photo 3: The subsidy unit

Source: <http://www.infraburo.co.za/projects/images>

All five municipalities agreed that peoples’ housing project (PHP) could be defined as allowing beneficiaries to build their own units with the aid of municipal contractors and an allocated subsidy (which beneficiaries can top up with personal funds), giving them more flexibility in terms structure, size and fixtures. Martin (2009) reports this is advantageous because beneficiaries are empowered and afforded a say in their future living environment. George officials indicated that PHP enabled beneficiaries to create their own space, but, to guarantee the project’s success, the involvement of local leadership is essential. Social housing (Photo 4) is

seen by officials from Drakenstein, Overstrand, Swartland and George municipalities as rental stock housing which should be run by social housing institutions (see also Swartland Municipality, 2006). It is a medium to high density housing option aimed at people earning between R1500 and R7000 a month (Swartland Municipality, 2006) or R3001 to R7500 per month (Overstrand interview).



Photo 4: A social housing unit
 Source: www.mputopbusiness.co.za

George municipality aligned the concept of affordable or gap housing with the literature as: “that gap between subsidy housing up to the point where it is very difficult for a person to get a loan from a bank for a house.” Swartland Municipality (2006) and George officials are concerned that persons in these income groups are not adequately covered by a housing programme and George Municipality (2008) indicates that there is a growing need for houses priced in the R400 000 to R650 000 bracket. The official interviewed in George commented on this gap in the housing market by pointing out that searches through any of the local newspapers for such houses will find none. A supply for gap housing might be hindered due to extremely high land values which will cause an inhibitive increase in the cost of this type of housing should it be built. Overstrand municipality contends that gap housing (Photo 5) will never work unless financial institutions become involved in the process as the subsidy given for this type of housing is relatively small at R2000 for a household earning R7400 per month. They cite during a gap housing previous project where 66 units were built and 188 people applied for bank loans to purchase them. The banks only approved 26 of the applications leaving the developers with units they could not sell. In another case, it was proposed to certain income-bracket households (R3001 to R7500 monthly income) that the individuals pay for infrastructure and bulk services, while the municipality covered a basic top structure. The response was negative as the populace thought this to be unfair because other people (R0-R3500 income bracket) were receiving both a house and infrastructure for free.



Photo 5: A typical gap unit built by the city of Cape Town
 Source: <http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/GapHousing>

Overstrand municipality mentioned another possible solution to the gap in the housing market, namely a new programme named community residential unit (CRU) (Photo 6) where the project belongs to the municipality but maintenance will be done by an accredited housing institute. According to this municipality, the maintenance costs (rent collection, garden services, and general cleaning) will be subsidised by national and/or provincial government for the first five years of the project's existence to get the community up and running. The application restrictions are not as stringent as those of RDP units and will thus benefit many more people. There are no restrictions on income. This municipality believes that CRU is a better option for people such as teachers who work in Hermanus (Overstrand), but are already owners of an RDP unit in another area, such as Cape Town, which is their permanent place of residence.



Photo 6: An example of CRU housing
 Source: <http://www.housing.gov.za/Content/CRU>

Overstrand municipality believes that one of greatest contributors to the subsidy unit's inadequacies is that its processes do not encourage a sense of vested interest amongst beneficiaries of low-income units: because an individual receives the house free, he or she is not attached to it. They point out that once (s)he takes up a position in another area, it is common practice to leave the unit and either rent it out or sell it for R5000 to R10 000. Consequently, this municipality argues that people with permanent jobs or those with a proven ability to

pay rent and the capacity to pay maintenance should be put into an RDP, unit while those with seasonal or semi-permanent jobs should accommodate rental accommodation such as CRU. The main reason is that “*a person who gets a free house cannot always pay the taxes on it*” – a phenomenon which often cripples a municipality (recall Section 6.2.3). The officials mentioned that some beneficiaries call the RDP a rental unit because they are required to pay a monthly amount (rates and taxes) for it. Consequently, these people do not believe that they are the owners of the unit. To help eliminate this misconception, the municipality has implemented housing consumer training which explains the reasoning behind rates and taxes.

7.7.3 Special housing matters

As most of the above findings relate to technical matters, it was deemed necessary to include a more human element – which is the overall goal of housing provision – about housing in this research. Municipal officials were asked for special stories stemming from their low-income housing developments. Each municipality had a story to tell. Beaufort West, Overstrand and Drakenstein recounted that assistance is given, in conjunction with the provincial department of safety, to victims of natural disasters such as fires and flooding. Roofs are replaced, houses repaired or rebuilt. Overstrand mentioned that they ensure this happens within ten days of the disaster to minimise the amount of distress suffered by victims. When a fire ravages an informal settlement, materials are delivered to that community by the municipality to rebuild their shacks. The municipality assists such communities by ensuring that shacks are built one metre apart and that roads are designed into the informal settlement to give emergency services access in the case of another fire or other disasters.

A noteworthy innovation was an orphanage built for poor communities by another (high-income) community. The monthly salary of an orphanage “mother” is paid by the latter community. Drakenstein municipality works with external stakeholders, such as churches, to assist people living in informal settlements. Food is given to people in these settlements and the municipality has made provision (in their budget) for emergency housing. George Municipality (2004) told of a public-private housing initiative in one of its rural areas where 25 families, living informally, will be given a house built by a local farmer. Beneficiaries qualify for the housing subsidy and further private funding will be made available to the families to improve the quality and size of the houses they are able to access.

Beaufort West municipality converted run-down barracks previously allocated for housing the aged. The people living there were allocated erven elsewhere and the barracks were converted into a business centre – a good reuse of derelict structures. Finally, Swartland municipality is proud of their capacity-transfer project where individuals were taught skills, including masonry, carpentry and bricklaying. The individuals who completed the course have subsequently been employed in the construction of housing within the municipal area.

7.8 SUMMARY

The findings regarding Principle 1 of BNG verified that all five municipalities are engaged in informal settlement eradication projects and they all acknowledged that a large-scale housing project like the N2 Gateway would help alleviate their individual housing needs. However, the N2 Gateway project did not escape their criticism which included suggested changes like the implementation of the project in phases, greater attention to broader spatial planning, and the reinforcement of the selection criteria for beneficiaries. Findings about Principle 2 indicated that integration has moved from being race-based to income-based; something the municipalities regard as natural. Inclusionary housing was considered to be a relevant tool in the bid to promote integration within municipalities, but find it difficult to implement as it is not adequately backed by sound legislation. Further, this lack of legislation makes it difficult for municipalities to balance the rights of the community with the economic ideals of developers. Currently, this is done through the simple means of prescriptions on developments over a certain size and these are enforced through municipal conditions of approval for new township establishment applications.

The findings regarding the third principle attest to the municipalities' attempts to create a sense of place for low-income areas. Most found this difficult to achieve mainly due to limited funding. Beaufort West has managed to implement a form of greening where beneficiaries are given fruit trees to plant in their gardens. Most municipal departments are well co-ordinated and thus bulk infrastructure is properly integrated into the housing process. It was found that the main cause for concern lies in the co-ordination of the provision of facilities in low-cost housing settlements. This stems from a misalignment between municipalities and provincial departments – the latter being responsible for the provision of these facilities. This has led to a lack of facilities in some of the low-cost settlements in some of the municipalities. Uncompleted projects were reported in three of the five municipalities. This phenomenon is mainly attributable to misalignment of funds and lacking capacity of contractors in PHP housing. Municipalities do not get involved in the market established by the sale of RDP units, but they attempt to protect beneficiaries from market-related prices of low-income housing through consumer education (which informs them of the value of their units so that these units are not sold below their value). A condition is built into the contract entered into by the beneficiary upon receipt of the unit which states that the unit may not be sold within the first eight years of ownership and that it must be sold for the amount of the subsidy which was used to build it. This prevents the value of units increasing to such an extent that they are no longer obtainable by low-income earners.

Principle 4 desires that housing be used as a tool to combat sprawl. Most of the land currently being allocated to low-income development belongs to municipalities as no funding mechanism has been made available (contrary to BNG's commitment) to acquire privately owned land. Three municipalities recorded a shortage of infill land as their inner cities are densely built up. Regarding Principle 5, four of the municipalities have, or

plan to have, inner city regeneration projects. Most of the municipalities have developable land within walking distance from the inner city and, based on this, it was concurred that BNG is more aligned to the issues of metropolitan areas. A finding about Principle 6 is that few municipalities have conducted a facilities audit as required by BNG. A concern was raised that facilities like clinics and police stations would become the responsibility of the municipality. This was said to be a discrepancy in BNG as these facilities are not part of municipalities' responsibilities. Green open space which is functional is preferred by municipalities for low-income areas. Such spaces must be planned properly and must be big enough to cater for the needs of a community. The new funding mechanism for the maintenance of facilities as proposed by this principle has not materialised on a municipal level.

Findings about the seventh principle reveal that the design of the RDP unit is fairly standardised due to a lack of funding. Individuals may, however, implement changes to the design of their structure at their own expense. BNG has introduced many housing options of which the capital subsidy is most implemented. However, municipalities' are starting to take a negative view on this option as it is not sustainable and does not cater for a vested interest among beneficiaries, leading to a heightened municipal stance on rental accommodation. CRU housing is the latest version of this and only Overstrand municipality is in advanced planning phases to implement it. PHP, on the other hand, is seen as more positive in that it empowers beneficiaries by allowing them to create their own space. There is a growing need for houses in the R400 000 to R650 000 price range, i.e. gap housing. However, this form of housing (which is based on private development supported by the capital subsidy) is jeopardised by rising land values in leader towns. Each municipality recorded a special instance relating to their housing delivery.

BNG has both assisted and frustrated municipalities in their endeavours to roll out low-income housing. But, it must be remembered that housing provision is a specialised and intricate challenge, something our country is still mastering. Although frustration is rife, so are dreams. There is a recurrent desire, evident in the answers given by the municipal officials, for better, more sustainable low-income settlements. I requested a local artist (who had resided in both informal and formalised settlements) to graphically depict what he saw as an ideal sustainable settlement (Figure 21). The depictions of this artist are similar to the aspirations of the municipalities. These can be summarised as:

- A formalised township with access to adequate public services
- An integrated, socially-included city
- The creation of a beneficial sense of place to eliminate bleak, standardised settlements
- A compact settlement which offers a variety of housing options and which has steered away from the capital subsidy unit; and
- A regenerated inner city (where relevant) which offers mixed land use.



Figure 21: A representation of the desired sustainable housing settlement
 Source: Young South African artist known as Senzo (2009)

One might perceive that the task of providing all with “adequate shelter” has exhausted government at all levels. The approach that we, as a country, are taking may not be the right one, but to change it could take our discourses to the issues of basic human rights which are so dear to us. Housing is a service which cannot be treated without compassion, deep understanding, and great strength and, in some cases, unpopularity.

8 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUDING DEBATES: PHOENIX OR ACHILLES HEEL?

This chapter highlights the key concepts which have arisen from the phenomenological research conducted as part of this thesis. This study discovered how far South African housing delivery has progressed toward an ideal sustainable settlement by answering research objectives one to eight. The manner in which this has been done summarised in Table 16.

Table 16: Meeting the research objectives

#	OBJECTIVE	SECTION
1	How are municipal officials implementing the principles of BNG, specifically in the five chosen leader towns in the Western Cape?	(Chapter 7), 8.1 and 8.5
2	What is the relevance of BNG to non-metropolitan towns?	8.7 and 8.8
3	What impact has BNG had on segregated space?	8.6
4	What is the status of urban integration within municipalities? Is there cause for concern or for change?	8.6
5	What are the municipal opinions of the relevance of inclusionary housing within their areas of jurisdiction?	8.6
6	What is the current housing situation in the identified municipal areas and what is the reason for this?	8.2 and 8.3
7	Is place-making for low-income areas desirable or even a possibility?	8.6
8	How can BNG be made to be more efficient?	8.9.1

Various debates arose from the findings of the study. These debates are set in Sections 8.1 to 8.7 which highlight the essence of the study. To answer Objective 1, the principles of BNG were discussed and summarised in Chapter 7. However, certain issues have stemmed from the literature and the findings (Table 16) which require further debate and are dealt with in Sections 8.1 and 8.5. In answering Objective 2, Sections 8.7 and 8.8 indicate what aspects of BNG are not relevant to the non-metropolitan context (Table 16). Objectives 3, 4, 5 and 7 deal with integration and place-making for low-income settlements and are concluded in Section 8.6. Sections 8.2 and 8.3 draw conclusions on the current housing situation and why it is so (Objective 6). Last, Subsection 8.9.1 provides the answers to Objective 8 in the form of recommendations to BNG and other policy aimed at providing sustainable settlements in South Africa (Table 16).

Section 8.1 records a subjective scorecard analysis on the performance of the municipalities based on the empirical data (findings). Certain recommendations to policy and for further research arise from the debates in Sections 8.2 to 8.8. These recommendations are summarised in Subsections 8.9.1 and 8.9.2. I would like to pause to acknowledge the work the interviewees are doing. Progression in the standard of housing delivery is evident, even though housing delivery is not yet perfect. A passion for housing is apparent in the words of all the officials.

8.1 BNG SCORECARD ANALYSIS

The seven principles of BNG, as well as the essence of the topics addressed in Chapter 6, were used as criteria for a subjective scorecard analysis (Table 17). However, not all of the issues raised in Chapter 6 were used as criteria. The sub-heading ‘housing technicalities’ (Section 6.2, page 77) is impossible to rate as per a scorecard procedure as it records the opinions of officials on the technical aspects of the housing unit. However, the issue raised in Subsection 6.2.3 (page 82) related to the non-payment for municipal services requires further debate (Section 8.3). To give an analysis of capacity based solely on the three aspects in Section 6.4 will not give an accurate indication of the true capacity of municipalities to implement BNG principles as a more in-depth study is needed. This could be seen as a shortfall of the study, but it must be remembered that the topic, aim and objectives of this study do not focus on capacity of municipalities, rather the ability of BNG to promote sustainable and integrated settlements. However, further debate is necessary to conclude various issues arising from the findings and literature relating to municipal capacity which is set out in Section 8.3. ‘Politics’ has also not been included because its effect is similar in all five municipalities.

It is acknowledged that land coverage varies among the five municipalities, but for sake of a comparison, this was considered negligent. Ranking of the five municipalities was determined using the scale of ‘very good’, ‘good’, ‘average’, ‘poor’ or ‘very poor’. To enable an overall comparison of the municipalities, an arithmetic series (one to five) was linked to the scale i.e. ‘very good’ was allocated five points, ‘good’ four points, ‘poor’ three points and so forth.

Table 17: A subjective scorecard analysis

ANALYSIS CRITERIA	BEAUFORT WEST	DRAKENSTEIN	GEORGE	OVERSTRAND	SWARTLAND
Backlogs v units built (recall Table 11)	4 (30%)	2 (5%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%*)	2 (4%)
Communication (recall Table 13)	4	5	3	3	5
Principle 1: Informal settlements	5	4	4	5	4
Principle 2: Densification and integration	-	-	-	-	-
2A: Socio-economic integration	3	4	5	3	2
2B: Physical integration: inclusionary housing	2	3	4	5	4
Principle 3: Enhancing spatial planning	-	-	-	-	-
3A: Creating housing-place	4	3	3	4	3
3B: Co-ordination of instruments	3	4	4	5	5

Principle 4: Enhancing location	2	3	5	3	5
Principle 5: Inner city renewal	2	3	4	4	3
Principle 6: Socio-economic infrastructure and open space	2	4	2	5	2
Principle 7: Housing product	3	5	3	5	5
TOTAL (out of 55)	34	40	39	43	40
OVERALL PERCENTAGE SCORE	62%	73%	71%	78%	73%

*Note: The latest backlog figures for Overstrand municipality are for 2007, while the backlog figures for the other four municipalities are for 2009. No other figures are available for Overstrand and thus the 2007 were used. The Overstrand IDP (Overstrand Municipality, 2009) supports this figure as the latest for 2009.

Backlogs v units built from 2007 to 2009: The number of units built was divided by the municipal backlog figure, and multiplied by one hundred to compute the percentages used for this analysis. Beaufort West municipality met 30% of its backlog in two years which is seen to be ‘good’. Swartland and George municipalities met 4%, while Drakenstein met 5% of their backlog and were rated as ‘poor’ However, Overstrand only met 2% of its backlog in two years which is seen as ‘very poor’ performance (Table 17).

Communication: Swartland continuously brought up the importance of communication during their interview - especially with regard to the community and were awarded a rating of ‘very good’. Drakenstein officials spoke of a good relationship with higher tiers, mentioned that NGOs are actively involved in many of their housing projects (recall Table 13, page 84) and are in the planning phases for post-consumer consultation. The Beaufort West official showed passion for interaction between the municipality and the general public. Their council holds meetings in different community halls and gives regular feedback on decisions and actions proceeding from these meetings (recall Table 13, page 84). Their communication with NGOs is also seen as ‘strong’ as these entities play an important role in the housing process (recall Table 13). However, the municipality blames the presence of unfinished projects on a breakdown in communication between themselves and higher spheres, which negatively impacts their rating, thereby scoring a ‘good’ (Table 17). Overstrand municipality was seen to be ‘average’ as officials indicated that, although their overall communication with higher sectors is good, they are not included in the drafting of national and provincial policies (recall Table 13). These officials were honest in mentioning that it is difficult to explain the strategic principles of BNG to the homeless who are interested only in immediate survival. George municipality’s communication was also seen as ‘average’ (Table 17) as officials recorded that higher-tier-communication could be better in all instances (recall Table 13, page 84). George municipality also does not implement any unique different measures of communication with the general public, and not stimulus is given to NGO involvement which is based on the interest of local groups.

Principle 1: Informal settlements: All five municipalities have implemented in situ upgrading. However, Overstrand and Beaufort West officials complement in situ upgrading with the management of informal settlements and thus were rated as ‘very good’ (Table 17) than the other municipalities who were ranked as being ‘good’.

Principle 2: Densification and integration (socio-economic integration 2A): No municipalities measure socio-economic integration, but all (except George) indicated that this integration takes place on an income basis. George officials acknowledge that both race and income influence integration, and have undergone thorough planning to ensure their next generation is more integrated – seemingly more so than any of the five other municipalities. Thus, George municipality’s planning was rated ‘very good’ (Table 17). Drakenstein officials also embarked on planning (albeit less intensive than George municipality’s) by building indicators into their human settlements framework to measure socio-economic integration and thus were rated as ‘good’ (Table 17). Beaufort West and Overstrand municipalities were rated as ‘average’. The view of Swartland officials could be compared to the class segregationist views of medieval English landowners where the worker is the worker and the boss is the boss. Thus Swartland municipality was rated ‘poor’.

Principle 2: Densification and integration (physical integration and inclusionary housing 2B): Overstrand is the only municipality to spearhead an inclusionary housing (IH) project was and rated as ‘very good’. George and Swartland municipalities were seen to be ‘good’ as they have completed private IH projects within their jurisdiction and are in the process of dealing with developers for new projects. Drakenstein municipality is also in the process of planning for IH developments (‘average’), while Beaufort West has no IH projects under their jurisdiction (‘poor’).

Principle 3: Enhancing spatial planning (creating housing-place 3A): Beaufort West municipality has attempted place creation for one of their low-income communities by sponsoring fruit trees and later hosting a competition to determine the prettiest garden in that community. Thus, the municipality’s performance was rated as ‘good’ (Table 17). Overstrand municipality was also rated ‘good’ due to previous attempts at place-making by topping up the capital subsidy to assist beneficiaries in adding unique elements to their houses. George, Drakenstein and Swartland were rated as being ‘average’ as they had considered place-creation, i) as the responsibility of the community (Drakenstein and Swartland), and ii) recognised that there is a need to shift the mind frames of beneficiaries before place-making can be successful (George).

Principle 3: Enhancing spatial planning (co-ordination of instruments 3B): Overstrand and Swartland municipalities were rated ‘very good’ because there were no incomplete housing projects under their jurisdiction; which officials claimed was due to excellent co-ordination between municipal departments (recall Section 6.3, page 83 and Section 7.3.2, page 100). The performance of Drakenstein and George

municipalities in terms of the co-ordination of instruments was seen to be ‘good’, while Beaufort West municipality was rated as being ‘average’.

Principle 4: Enhancing location: Swartland and George municipalities were rated as ‘very good’ as both support a fully functioning urban edge and also reflect the reasoning of Principle 4 in their location of housing projects (recall Sections 4.4 [page 60] and 7.4 [page 102]). Drakenstein and Overstrand reflect this reasoning too, but are only in the process of establishing urban edges. Thus, they were rated as ‘average’ (Table 17). Beaufort West municipality were rated as ‘poor’ as officials made no mention of an urban edge, and attempt to prevent sprawl through individual project planning; thus demonstrating a lack of strategic planning.

Principle 5: Inner city renewal: The performance of George and Overstrand municipalities regarding inner city renewal was rated as ‘good’ (Table 17) as both support the existing inner city renewal projects required by Principle 5. Swartland and Drakenstein municipalities were only in the planning phases for urban renewal and thus ranked as ‘average’. Beaufort West municipality had no inner city rejuvenation projects as there was enough developable space within easy walking distance of the CBD. It is my opinion that this municipality should not be penalised for this as it has no need for an expensive inner city strategy, but because Principle 5 of BNG is used as a criteria, Beaufort West was ranked as ‘poor’.

Principle 6: Socio-economic infrastructure and open space: Overstrand municipality had compiled both a community profile and a facilities audit as directed by Principle 6, and was thus rated as ‘very good’ (Table 17). Drakenstein municipality was in the process of adopting these documents which had not been implemented at the time which the research was conducted and was thus rated as ‘good’. Beaufort West, Swartland and George municipalities did not encompass the required documents and rather informed allocation of facilities and open space by means of project planning (town planning departments). These municipalities were rated as being ‘poor’ in this regard.

Principle 7: Housing product: Principle 7 proved a difficult grading tool as it deals with housing design and the various available housing typologies. All municipalities concur that the low-income unit resulting from BNG is more acceptable than its predecessor (RDP), and all municipalities implemented all the housing options summarised in Table 5. However, Swartland, Drakenstein and Overstrand municipalities are noteworthy exceptions and were thus rated as ‘very good’. Swartland and Drakenstein municipalities adhered to the directive of Principle 7 to use alternative technologies and designs to improve the quality and sustainability of the housing unit. Recall that Swartland implemented a concrete mould which proved to be strong and allowed for later alterations to the unit, while Drakenstein is seeking more sustainable building methods for low-income housing. Overstrand municipality is further in the implementation of CRU units (the latest housing option) than the other five municipalities (Table 17). Beaufort West and George were rated as ‘average’ in this regard.

OVERALL SCORECARD RESULTS: Overstrand municipality ranked first overall at 43 points or 78%⁸⁸ (Table 17), with Drakenstein and Swartland municipalities tying at second place with 40 points (73%) each. George municipality ranked third with 39 points (71%), while Beaufort West municipality took last place with 34 points (62%). The interviewees and literature has raised certain issues of debate which are discussed next.

8.2 HOUSING SUPPLY AND DEMAND: THE CURRENT SITUATION

The theory and field research indicate that the supply of low-income housing does not equal the demand. Therefore, the method used for housing delivery does not match the needs of the poor. Municipalities agree with this and perceive the solution to be a large-scale housing project. However, most of the respondents concurred that the different housing typologies must be emphasised more even though some typologies are fraught with difficulty. In addition, the public (in the form of housing co-operatives) must be allowed to shoulder more of the management of social housing to create employment opportunities and sustainable low-income settlements. This concept is mentioned by BNG, but has not filtered down to non-metro municipalities. Municipalities also call for a shift away from the one-erf-one-unit approach taken by the capital subsidy – which is also the most commonly implemented option. The question remains as to why municipalities, demanding heightened prominence for social housing in the findings, have not initiated this move themselves. There are three probable answers to this. First, there is a lack of policy (other than BNG) emphasis on social housing. Second, as a result of apartheid evictions, beneficiaries prefer the security of ownership tenure. Third, housing options such as gap or social housing require the input of private financial institutions – which refuse to get too deeply involved in housing delivery (mainly as a result of a culture of non-payment stemming from the struggle). However, the gap housing subsidy, proposed by President Zuma in his latest state of the nation address, might be a ray of hope in emphasising a diversity of housing tenures.

Municipalities (and the literature) question the concept of “adequate shelter”. Municipalities indicate that the poor should be placed in an environment which is healthy and offers a full complement of services i.e. beneficiaries need not always be presented with a house – especially if they cannot afford one. Most respondents agreed that those with no income should not be given a house unless they can maintain it and accept liability for municipal rates and taxes. This reflects strong neo-liberalist thinking, with the poor not at the centre of development. However, the fact that municipalities are being bankrupted by the indigent system and a culture of non-payment is a very real threat to sustainable development. This is discussed further in the next section.

⁸⁸ Computed by dividing points awarded by 55 (highest possible score) and multiplying by 100.

8.3 MUNICIPAL CAPACITY, UNPAID SERVICES AND PLANNING

All the municipalities expressed frustration over unpaid services. Reasons for non-payment included, i) beneficiaries deeming rates and taxes a form of rent, ii) a culture of non-payment stemming from the struggle years, and iii) a dispute between beneficiaries and their (mostly illegal) lessees regarding responsibilities for the payment of municipal services. In addition, the intricate requirements of EIAs are straining municipalities and even halting housing delivery. Backyard dwelling also pressurises municipal infrastructure. These reasons highlight three issues.

First, how can municipalities, which are dependent on rates income, continue to exist when additional pressure is put on their infrastructure – without any compensation? On the other hand, to have access to services and adequate shelter is a constitutional right to all, no matter what income bracket. Although the privatisation of services can assist municipalities in shouldering service delivery, the literature shows that it has also contributed to the formation of unsustainable settlements and the misuse of the poor for profit purposes. It might be deduced that municipalities are not planning correctly and enough support is not given to them by higher tiers. A strong need for integration of policy remains, and BNG has not accomplished its third principle (of integrating all levels of housing policy with the directives of the NSDP and UDS). In addition, national government has not made good on its promise to assist towns of economic potential in dealing with rapid growth. Moreover, sufficient municipal forecasting is not being done – although the question remains how can one plan if one does not have the proper figures (in terms of how fast or densely a settlement will grow)? Will projections based on population growth suffice for individual low-income settlements proven to be prone to flash growth? Even so, municipalities must include additional space in their settlement design for a certain amount of ‘informal overextension’. It is noteworthy that this forecasting be linked to a higher tier grant capacitating municipalities.

Second the RDP is a capital asset and a stepping stone into the property market (recall Footnote 30). Basically, the concept implies that beneficiaries use their housing unit to emancipate themselves and later sell the unit to buy a better home. However, the Housing Act states that low-income units can only be sold for the amount of the subsidy used to build the unit. However, this stepping stone to emancipation seems ineffectual if one considers the capital subsidy of R40 000 against current property prices. Thus, it may be questioned whether the guise of the capital subsidy as a stepping stone to a better future is valid. Third, although, consumer education is implemented in all municipalities, the information conveyed is dedicated to the theory behind payment of rates and taxes. Very infrequently are beneficiaries introduced to the mechanisms of a capitalist market in which they are expected to take part (through the buying of a better house with the proceeds of their subsidised unit). It would seem that consumer education does not contain a sufficient futuristic element to assist beneficiaries on their way to a better life. Further research on this subject would be extremely beneficial to housing delivery. The next section questions the impact intergovernmental communication might have on housing delivery.

8.4 INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMUNICATION

Concerns were raised regarding a breakdown in provincial communication and that municipalities are not sufficiently involved in the drafting of provincial policy. This has manifested in a misalignment of policies thereby complicating the implementation of BNG principles and exacerbating unsustainable housing delivery. However, other officials were satisfied with the communication between municipal and provincial departments and indicated that communication had no negative effect on their uncompleted housing projects. It would be interesting to determine whether provincial departments have preferences in municipalities, and if these preferences favourable affect municipal housing delivery. If this be the case, would it imply heightened project allocation? If so, what would the extent of the implications be? Would favourite municipalities be able to perform better? The following section compares the issues of housing location i.e. densification and in situ upgrading (formalising informal settlements in their current location which are usually peripheral).

8.5 LOCATION: DENSIFICATION VERSUS IN SITU UPGRADING

The underlying principle of the compact or sustainable city is densification, usually assisted by an urban edge. Main restructuring policies such as the NSDP, BNG and the growth potential of towns fully support this. Recall that the NSDP promotes investment in areas of economic potential. The literature (the poor cannot afford to live in the inner city), and the field research (not all inner cities have available space and non-metropolitan CBD's are often within walking distance from low-income settlements) indicate that compaction might not be the only solution for towns. Some households prefer peripheral sites which allow them to conduct certain activities which smaller sites cannot support. As a result, authors call for the addition of larger sites to the diversity list of housing policy. However, the question remains as to how these sites will be allocated.

In situ upgrading does not always encourage densification. In Section 3.4, Huchzermeyer (2006) indicates that municipalities are reluctant to implement in situ upgrading. Her findings do not co-inside with the field research of this thesis as all municipalities fully support and are implementing in situ upgrading. However, there are two differences between this study and Huchzermeyer's (2006) research. First, Huchzermeyer's research was conducted in 2006 i.e. three years prior to this study. Second, although Huchzermeyer speaks of municipalities in general, she uses the Ekurhuleni Metropolis in Gauteng as a case study which might indicate that a large extent of her research took place in a different province to the study area.

Notwithstanding possible location differences, this could indicate that municipalities have grown more accustomed to the idea of in situ upgrading and, in the last three years have altered their housing delivery. This is too much of an assumption to be seen as fact, but it does highlight a topic for further research i.e. the length of time it takes municipalities to enact a new policy directive, the impacts of this time lapse (in this case, a possible three years) on delivery, and the reasons for the time lapse. Conclusions to the latter topic

would indicate how this time lapse can be shortened and municipal delivery made more efficient. The next section delves into the concepts of place-making and urban integration.

8.6 PLACE-MAKING AND INTEGRATION

The research indicated that low-income housing is often stigmatised and segregated from the rest of society. BNG has not had much impact on segregation, even though it encourages municipalities to plan for more diverse, integrated low-income settlements. The research has indicated that current urban integration is based on income rather than race – which municipalities deem is a natural progression. This may be true in a capitalist sense, but is it so in a just world? Swartland municipality made an interesting comment regarding integration – which officials indicated was on par as long as people know their place in society. This comment might be very similar in text to that made by Relph (1976: 1) “To be human is to have to know your place”, but is very different in meaning. Relph was implying that to discover one’s identity, one links oneself to “place” i.e. the area which you inhabit. However, Swartland officials implied that socio-economic integration prevails when people know their place in society i.e. *“if you are the work giver, then you are the work giver. If you are a worker, then you are a worker... A line must be drawn and there must be respect between and in groups. Then life is very good.”* Although “respect between and in groups” is in line with the concept of integration, “A line must be drawn” is not. The question arises whether officials understand the true meaning of integration or whether the term is seen as another ‘in vogue’ word to appear in policy directives. It might be beneficial to housing delivery to consider the extent of the milieu of “it” words, what the local government interpretations are thereof and how these manifest in service delivery.

From this, one could deduce that housing delivery has failed in decreasing segregation, which the literature shows is still rampant in South Africa. Inclusionary housing was introduced as a means of combating class segregation, and although respondents supported the concept, it is not legally enforceable and has rarely been implemented. The literature warns against too much emphasis on the anti-segregation strengths of inclusionary housing. Thus inclusionary housing has had minimal impact on South Africa’s segregated space and another housing option is needed to enhance urban integration.

Place creation may be an answer to the question posed by one of the interviewees: *“How do you develop a sense of community if there is an inherent desire not to want to change?”* This answer is twofold: that change will occur cannot be assured. However, it has shown that the creation of place, which encourages identity, shows great promise as an integration tool in both a communal and a regional sense. It is not within the capabilities, or even responsibilities, of government to promise that change will occur, but it is government’s responsibility to set an example of change and create an environment conducive to integration. Even though BNG attempts to move away from viewing housing as sterile physical space, it does not cover place-making for low-cost housing except for a brief mention that low-income units should

be similar in facade to the broader environment (Principle 7). Place-making for integration can uplift a poor community, and integrate it into the greater social fabric. Further, the creation of identity within a low-cost housing settlement is a concern for many of the municipalities that are attempting to implement place-making. Housing policy does not set aside a mechanism to make place-making feasible. If the creation of place is attempted in low-income areas – which does not occur often - municipalities and private organisations are left to do so making use of their personal budgets. Place-making should be a product of housing policy, rather than the all too obvious low-income settlements begging to be stigmatised.

Place creation does not have to be expensive. Examples from the field research included; architectural alternatives like a gable (typical to the building style of the area), the supply of fruit trees to home owners, or an allocation tied to the subsidy, to assist beneficiaries in the creation their own space. The research has also shown that it is highly important to obtain the buy-in of the local community – especially the local leaders – to make place creation effective. This is linked to the theory that a greater sense of ownership would prevail if beneficiaries were to contribute to the construction of a top structure. Further, the literature has indicated that a sense of ownership leads to a sense of permanence which provokes greater socio-economic integration. In considering this, the concept of PHP seems inviting. However, municipalities do acknowledge the difficulties of implementing PHP: that these units are not always financially viable for large-scale housing projects and that many PHP units remain incomplete due to a lack of proper skills, process management, technical capacity and equipment. It can then be concluded that no perfect product is available to housing delivery as yet, and that more research should be done to meet the need of the homeless. In its regard of place-making, BNG misses a crucial principle of the sustainable city. However, although much theory exists on this, little has been done to make it palatable to a South African local government, with most place-making research based on middle and higher income settlements. Therefore, this is a topic for further research i.e. place-making for low-income settlements. The issues relating to inner city renewal and metropolitan versus non-metropolitan scale as well as the implications these issues have for policy.

8.7 INNER CITY RENEWAL, SCALE AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Beaufort West municipality was not alone in indicating that Principle 5 of BNG is not relevant to its situation. Overstrand and George municipalities concurred that, during the drafting of many national policies, international best practices were altered with South African metropolitan areas in mind. Principle 5 is not the only example of BNG misinterpreting the needs of municipalities as others were highlighted in Chapters 6 and 7 as well as in Sections 8.3 and 8.7. In addition, housing delivery is fraught with provincial red tape. This raises an issue of scale, i.e. should separate housing policies be available for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas? Should this classification be complied, where would it end? For example, one could use a similar argument to indicate that separate housing policies should be available for urban and rural areas. On this trend, the number of housing policies available in South Africa would be endless and

the red tape of multiple policies would confuse an already chaotic housing industry. As an alternative, housing policies could afford their implementers more flexibility, but this may complicate the process of ensuring a safe housing product as some municipalities could use this flexibility positively, while others may not. This question cannot be answered here as it is a highly sensitive one and needs to be informed by further research. The next section considers whether the requirements of BNG are all relevant for municipal service delivery.

8.8 ALL THAT JAZZ

Civilization is a limitless multiplication of unnecessary necessities.

Mark Twain

BNG demands many requirements from municipalities such as facilities audits, community profiles, business plans etc. It is logical that information is to be collected by municipalities as they are most in contact with their citizens. However, municipalities are confused by some of BNG's requirements. For example, BNG indicates that the management of facilities such as satellite police stations and clinics falls under the responsibility of municipalities. Municipalities concur that these do not fall under their mandate, but rather that of the various provincial departments. This could indicate a misinterpretation of BNG due to a slightly ambiguous statement, or could indicate that BNG does not understand municipal responsibilities (which would be a rather serious flaw). All municipalities indicated that their town planning departments make provision for facilities in their settlement planning. Therefore, the question remains whether segregated housing provision has been a result of the combination of a misguided BNG, coupled to limited funding, and not due to a lack of municipal planning ability. The answer to this lies in further research and cannot be answered here. However, regarding the requirements of BNG: it is questioned whether a facilities audit and all that jazz is really necessary - or just an extra complication in a "multiplication of unnecessary necessities"? The next section concludes the study by laying out summary versions of the recommendations for policy and further research deliberated in the text above.

8.9 SUMMARY

This section marshals summaries of ten recommendations for housing policy in South Africa and eight suggestions for further research which have stemmed from Sections 8.2 to 8.8. The policy recommendations are listed first.

8.9.1 Recommendations for policy

1. Large-scale housing projects are considered to be effective in curbing the housing crises of the five non-metropolitan municipalities. Municipalities should be given a degree of flexibility in managing the housing process to effectively address the issues specific to their respective areas of jurisdiction.

2. Certain sections of BNG are ambiguous and confusing and need to be revised. Also, policy makers must reconsider the requirements contained in BNG that municipalities must comply with and whether they are all necessary.
3. More emphasis must be put on the implementation of different housing typologies put forward by BNG. However, these are fraught with implementation difficulties (e.g. high property values and a lack of developable land) which require further research to be addressed.
4. Municipalities desire a different way of thinking regarding the one-unit-one-erf approach of the capital subsidy. This concept is a problem in densely-built up municipalities which have limited space available. An alternative put forward by municipalities is a fully serviced site linked to the possibility of the provision of a subsidised house once beneficiaries can prove they are able to afford rates and taxes as well as maintenance.
5. The challenge is not solely the supply of housing, rather demand. Housing policy will not come close to meeting the housing needs of the country until the overpowering issue of poverty is addressed more effectively. A stronger alliance is thus needed between housing departments and institutions which deal with socio-economic development.
6. Housing policy can do more to promote the integration of low-income settlements. A valuable tool is place-making – which will also assist in removing the stigmatisation of low-income settlements. New approaches to place-making are needed to make it feasible for low-income areas.
7. Interpretations of various in vogue concepts such as “integration” have been misunderstood by some officials. These misinterpretations could seriously hinder planning for sustainable settlements. Provincial officials should assess municipal interpretations of key planning concepts and an overarching guide of the definition of key concepts should be compiled and made publically available to encourage transparency.
8. The two main hindrances to housing delivery on a municipal scale are the lack of a funding mechanism available for the procurement of land, and poor payment of rates and taxes by individuals (which cripples municipalities financially). These fiscal issues should be addressed by the housing department in conjunction with treasury.
9. Municipalities are not undertaking strategic forecasting for new low-income settlements. Informal settlement growth in formalised areas is common countrywide, and should be considered in the planning phases of bulk infrastructure and services provision. Municipalities must be supported financially in this regard.
10. Intra and inter-tier government communication is not effective regarding sustainable settlement delivery and needs to be vastly improved. Municipalities should be included more effectively in policy brainstorming.

8.9.2 Recommendations for further research

In addition, this research has highlighted topics for further research. These have been summarised in the form of questions:

1. How long does it take municipalities to enact and implement a new national policy directive? What are the impacts of this time lapse on delivery and what are the reasons for the time lapse? The answers will help shorten the time lapse and expedite municipal housing delivery.
2. Are there new, alternative housing typologies and options for the poor and how can they be used to make South African housing delivery more efficient?
3. How has the spending of the NSDP affected municipalities which govern areas identified as leader towns? Is enough support given to these municipalities to facilitate sustainable growth?
4. Should there be more than one national housing policy to cater for the different needs of metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas? What would the impacts of multiple policies be on national, provincial and municipal scales?
5. How can place-making be made financially and spatially feasible for low-income settlements?
6. Does consumer education prepare beneficiaries for entry into a capitalist market and a better life?
7. Do provincial departments show preference toward certain municipalities? If so, does heightened interaction imply discriminating service and project allocation?
8. Has the housing product been a result of the combination of misguided housing policy directives and a lack of a funding, rather than the consequence of a lack of municipal ability to plan?

Ramphele (2008: 15) is correct in saying that, “The leap of faith required to fully embrace our ugly past in order to transform it is often underestimated.” So far, the restructuring process has been inadequate and South Africa’s cities are far from being sustainable. I believe that the accent of housing delivery is misplaced. “The real problem is not housing, but poverty” (Adlard, 2008: 9). Sections 8.1 to 8.7 prove that BNG is neither phoenix nor Achilles Heel. Significant change is not visible as one drives through the South African urban terrain, but BNG has brought about a change in municipal focus (towards sustainable settlement planning). It would be destructive of South African policy to continue to ignore the fact that there are too many poor people in our country. It is encouraging teenage pregnancies with the lure of a small monthly child grant, the creation of an entitled generation, a poor education system, and allowing the exploitation of the poor that increases the names on housing waiting lists. The solutions to these problems lie in tough and unpopular decision making, but, unfortunately, South Africa’s decision makers too often operate to remain popular for political expedience. Until a few brave individuals make a few unpopular decisions, our municipalities will continue running on their hamster wheels and our poor will get wet and sick come winter.

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10 ADDENDUM: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

MUNICIPALITY:
TOWN:
OFFICIAL:
DESIGNATION:
QUALIFICATION:
WHEN QUALIFICATION OBTAINED:
LENGTH OF PERIOD WORKED WITH MUNICIPALITY:
TELEPHONE NO:
EMAIL:
DATE:
TIME:

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

1. Please give a summary description of the development of the RDP unit/housing in your municipality since 1994.
2. What is the communication like between the municipality and provincial, national and parastatal bodies (give examples of parastatal bodies)?
3. What has been the role of NGOs/CBOs regarding housing development (planning, design or implementation) in your municipality?
4. Is there a housing crisis in your area? If so, please explain.
5. Are housing developments influenced by political agenda in this municipality? If so, how?
6. How many housing units has the municipality built from 2007-2009?
7. What, in your opinion, can be classified as “affordable housing” and “social housing”?
8. What is your opinion towards the RDP unit? Is it sustainable? Easy to implement? Does it work?
9. How does the municipality assess the public attitude toward the RDP & BNG? What have these attitudes shown? CONSULTATION?
10. What have been (if any) the bottlenecks to the implementation of BNG principles in your municipality?
11. What is the local authority’s vision of a sustainable human settlement?
12. How far has the local authority progressed in reaching this vision?
13. Which departments are responsible for the creation of sustainable, integrated human settlements? Do these departments work in silos or are they integrated?
14. What bodies (sub-committees etc) are in place in order to manage and implement the housing process?
15. What is the employee turnover for your municipality’s housing section? Does this influence the municipality’s ability to develop sustainable housing?
16. Referring to your mention of... (What they said regarding a housing crisis in their area), what is your opinion regarding the solution to this problem?

BNG PRINCIPLE 1: PROGRESSIVE INFORMAL SETTLEMENT ERADICATION

1. Do you have progressive informal settlement eradication projects within your municipal boundaries? Please explain.
2. What is your opinion of the N2 Gateway project: Could this be a new solution to the housing problem in your municipality? Can it be implemented in a non-metropolitan area (i.e. a town)?

BNG PRINCIPLE 2: PROMOTING DENSIFICATION AND INTEGRATION

1. How would you describe socio-economic integration in your town? Does it exist? Does it occur on a racial or income basis?
2. Does the municipality measure socio-economic integration in its area? If so, how? If not, why not?
3. What is the role of planning in socio-economic integration within your municipal area? Please explain.
4. Does your municipality favour BNG and/or inclusionary housing as integration tools in housing service provision? Please explain your processes relating to these tools in detail.

BNG PRINCIPLE 3: ENHANCING SPATIAL PLANNING

1. Does the municipality conduct strategic, integrated planning for low-income developments? Are communities left to privately recreate the structure of their neighbourhoods? What influences this?
2. How does this form of planning differ from RDP planning?
3. It has been stated that “What the individual requires... is not a plot of ground but a place – a context within which he can expand and become himself.” What is your opinion regarding this statement?
4. Is it easy or even possible to create a sense of place or character for low-income settlements? Why?
5. How is the provision of the various services, such as bulk infrastructure, electricity and sanitation co-ordinated with the housing process?
6. What percentage of housing projects within your municipality remains uncompleted (excluding projects that are in the process of being completed) and what is the reason for this? Is it perhaps due to a lack of co-ordination of these services?
7. How does the municipality protect affordable housing units from the market, i.e. keep them at affordable values for second-time buyers?

BNG PRINCIPLE 4: ENHANCING THE LOCATION OF NEW HOUSING PROJECTS

1. Has the municipality attempted to curb sprawl? What role has housing played in this?
2. Has any land been allocated for new low-cost housing projects? Who owns this land (e.g. STATE, PRIVATE OR PARA-STATAL)?
3. *If so, please indicate them to me on the map (A0 size map of Surveyor General information to be taken to the interview).*
4. What were the underlying factors behind the choice of this land?

5. What funding mechanisms exist to acquire land for housing developments?

BNG PRINCIPLE 5: SUPPORTING URBAN RENEWAL AND INNER CITY REGENERATION

1. Do you have an inner city regeneration project within your municipal borders? Please elaborate on this project.
2. Has housing been incorporated in any of your inner city rejuvenation projects? Please explain.
3. If not, why was housing not included? Contrary to municipal vision for inner cities etc?
4. Were any existing structures revamped into medium or high density housing blocks?
5. Does this town experience a shortage of developable infill land?
6. If so, has it been allocated to affordable (also known as social) housing development?
7. If not, what other land has been identified as a possibility for the development of affordable housing?

BNG PRINCIPLE 6: DEVELOPING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE

1. Has the municipality determined the need for social and economic facilities through a community profile and a facilities audit? Please explain how this was done.
2. If not, were other means to determine the need for social and economic facilities initiated? What were they?
3. Have you submitted a business plan to the provincial government regarding the building, operational and maintenance costs of social and economic facility requirements? If not, why?
4. Sensory qualities: for the poor, public spaces become areas for recreation, a place where privacy can be sought, and a place to conduct business through informal trading and a large part of this household's day is spent in public spaces. How are public spaces included in the design of housing developments within {the specific} town?
5. If so, are they maintained and who maintains them?
6. If not, what are the bottlenecks prohibiting the development of public spaces in an affordable housing settlement?

BNG PRINCIPLE 7: ENHANCING THE HOUSING PRODUCT

1. Is it possible to incorporate the design of the low-income unit into the greater settlement scheme? Is this done in your municipality?
2. If not, what constrains you from doing so?
3. Is it a requirement that the design of RDP or social housing units be flexible? Can households choose the design of their house if they are buyers? Size of house/flat, density, location (near public area or commercial area), façade of unit etc?
4. Were the various communities under the jurisdiction of your municipality consulted on the design of the new units? If not, what were the difficulties foreseen by the municipality that prohibited this?

5. Please discuss the housing options most implemented in your municipality. Please also indicate why these options are implemented.
6. Are these typologies adequate for the diverse needs of your communities?
7. Introduce this question with a previous example, e.g. community who built a house for an old woman whose house was destroyed by a fire. *Are there any similar stories that have occurred in your municipality from housing developments in the past?*

INCLUSIONARY HOUSING

1. What, in your opinion, does inclusionary housing entail?
2. How has the community under the jurisdiction of the municipality (high-income and low-income respectively) reacted to the concept of inclusionary housing?
3. What is the general attitude among government officials toward inclusionary housing?
4. Has there been any success with this type of public-private sector development for inclusionary housing in your town? Or any other similar affordable housing development projects?
5. What incentives exist to assist developers with the building of inclusionary housing in their developments?
6. How, in your opinion, are the rights of the community incorporated with the economic ideal of the developer?
7. What impacted the willingness or number of inclusionary housing developed within your municipality?
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